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MFN STATUS FOR HUNGARY, ROMANIA, CHINA, AND AFGHANISTAN

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE

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MFN STATUS FOR HUNGARY, ROMANIA, CHINA, AND AFGHANISTAN

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1985

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:03 p.m., in room SD-215, Dirksen Senate Office Building, the Honorable John C. Danforth (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Danforth, Chafee, Heinz, Armstrong, Symms, Grassley, Bentsen, Moynihan, and Bradley.

[The press release announcing the hearing and the prepared statements of Senators Heinz, Symms, and Grassley follow:]

[Press Release No. 85-043]

TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE SETS HEARING ON MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS FOR HUNGARY, ROMANIA, CHINA, AND AFGHANISTAN

Senator Bob Packwood (R-Oregon), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, announced today that the Committee's Subcommittee on International Trade has scheduled a hearing on the continuation of most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment for Hungary, Romania, China, and Afghanistan.

The hearing is scheduled to begin at 2:00 p.m., Tuesday, July 23, 1985, in Room SD-215 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building. Senator John C. Danforth (R-Missouri), Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade, will preside.

Senator Danforth noted that on June 3, 1985, President Ronald Reagan sent the Congress his waiver recommendation, under Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act. That section permits the President, absent Congressional disapproval, to waive the conditions on which MFN treatment would otherwise be denied to Hungary, Romania, and China. The effect of the President's waiver recommendation is to extend the waiver authority for the 12 months ending July 1, 1986.

The Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China are the only nonmarket economy countries which have been granted nondiscriminatory (MFN) trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974. Senator Danforth said the President's recommendation of June 3, 1985, set in motion a schedule of procedures by which the Congress may either terminate, or permit by inaction, the extension of the authority by which the President may waive the freedom of emigration condition of MFN treatment.

Senator Danforth added that this year's MFN hearing will also include S. 925, a bill sponsored by Senator Gordon J. Humphrey (R-New Hampshire). S. 925 would deny Afghanistan MFN status.

TESTIMONY BY HON. JOHN HEINZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA AND MEMBER OF THE U.S. (HELSINKI) COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased once again to address the Subcommittee on the subject of Most-Favored-Nation status for Hungary and Romania. I am speaking today as a member both of the Finance Committee and of the Helsinki Commission. Like the Helsinki review process, the annual Most-Favored-Nation review mechanism in

Section 402 of the Trade Act, otherwise known as the Jackson-Vanik amendment, is an important tool of human rights diplomacy. Over the past decade, Jackson-Vanik has eased the lot of tens of thousands who have appealed to the United States for humanitarian assistance.

Let me begin by assuring everyone here today that the Helsinki Commission's new leadership will continue to play a vigorous role in the promotion and preservation of the MFN process. Chairman Alfonse D'Amato, the Senator from New York, and Co-Chairman Steny Hoyer, the Congressman from Maryland, have pledged that our Commission's committed, concerted and compassionate attention to human rights concerns in Hungary and Romania will continue year-round. To this end, the Commission remains ready to engage in a constructive and steady exchange of views and information on human rights with Hungarian and Romanian officials through liaison with the respective embassies and contact with Hungarian and Romanian delegations at multilateral meetings of the Helsinki signatory states.

The witnesses who have been kind enough to appear before the Subcommittee today may differ as to the wisdom of extending MFN to this or that country. That is to be expected. Airing the various points of view is the whole point of holding public hearings. More important than the differences, however, is the fact that virtually every witness testifying today—whether from Congress, from the human rights or ethnic communities or from the Administration—has come to address one important question: How can we best promote the humanitarian aims of Jackson-Vanik? Ten short years ago, linking human rights concerns and trade was an untried and highly controversial proposition. Today, the Jackson-Vanik review has become a fact of diplomatic and legislative life. Yet, the annual MFN review is in danger of being taken for granted here in the United States; this is the second year in a row that the House has not scheduled MFN hearings. And, I fear that MFN deliberations are looked upon by other governments with altogether too much complacency.

The Helsinki Commission therefore takes this occasion to emphasize how seriously we regard the MFN review. Every year, we take a fresh look at each country under review and make a new determination on MFN extension based on human rights performance, not promises; on deeds, not words. While we do not expect to see overnight transformations, we do expect steady improvements in human rights conditions to be made over time. Mindful that Jackson-Vanik is a specialized tool of leverage designed to promote emigration, I would also stress that the Commission strongly believes that the spirit of the legislation embraces wider human rights considerations, such as respect for freedom of expression, religious liberty and minority rights. These other important humanitarian issues merit constant monitoring and deserve to be given more prominent public attention.

Taking the above considerations into account, I will now comment on the two Helsinki signatory countries to which Jackson-Vanik is applicable, Hungary and Romania. I understand that Senator D'Amato will address the separate question of Afghanistan later on in our proceedings.

Turning to Hungary, the Commission is pleased to note that family reunification cases between our two countries have continued to be resolved without difficulty. While the number of cases between Hungary and the United States at any one time has never been high, the resolution of outstanding cases by the Hungarian authorities over the last two years demonstrates how the annual MFN review can work to meet the concerns of all those involved. Therefore, the Commission supports the renewal of Hungary's MFN status for another year.

At the same time, however, it must be remembered that Hungary continues to have emigration laws which are restrictive, even as compared to other East bloc countries. For example, emigration is legally permissible only if the person is 55 years of age or older, and permission can be denied if it is found to be contrary to the public interest, as determined by the Hungarian authorities. Thus, while the current situation is favorable, the laws on the books may discourage some Hungarian citizens from applying to emigrate. The laws also increase the possibility that problem cases between the United States and Hungary may arise in the future.

With respect to human rights, it is frequently reported that Hungary's practices are good when compared to those of the other East bloc countries. While the Commission would not argue this point, we would nevertheless point out that Hungarian performance over the past few years has worsened. Hungarian citizens who, in conformity with the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document, speak out for human rights and express their independent views on other sensitive issues are harassed. Harassment takes the form of denial of permission to travel abroad, periodic apartment and automobile searches, short-term detention for questioning, police reprimands and occasional fines. While these actions are mild relative to practices in countries neighboring Hungary, they nevertheless have been successful in forcing Hungarian dissident intellectuals to carry on their activities in a much less open manner. Independently published material has become more difficult to find, and the dissidents no longer organize regularly in large groups.

In the past year, the treatment of dissident intellectual Gyorgy Krasso has been particularly disturbing. On November 22, 1984, Krasso, a retired economist who spent seven years in prison for his activities during the Soviet-suppressed Hungarian Revolution of 1956, was informed by Hungarian authorities that henceforward he must report to the police once a week and must not leave his apartment between 8:00 PM and 6:00 AM or visit any public places. Krasso's virtual house arrest culminated months of harassment. Earlier in 1984, he had been questioned by the police and reprimanded for an interview he gave to a samizdat publication on the execution of the leaders of Hungary in 1956. And, in the fall, he had been fined approximately double the Hungarian average monthly wage after his apartment was raided and samizdat confiscated. In January of this year, Gyorgy Krasso suffered a severe heart attack and was hospitalized for weeks.

What made the Krasso case of special interest to the Commission is that his house arrest in November 1984 came within days of the opening of the preparatory conference for the Budapest Cultural Forum. The six-week Forum, to begin on October 15, 1985, is the first CSCE meeting to take place in the East Bloc. In light of the Krasso incident during the preparatory meeting last year, the Commission will scrutinize the Hungarian Government's actions during the Forum to ensure that private citizens and non-governmental-organizations (NGOs) have access to the country and the conference site and are permitted to engage in the same kinds of activities that took place during the Madrid Review Meeting. Such activities would include making their views known to the thirty-five delegations, organizing seminars, exhibits, demonstrations, press conferences, etc. The Hungarian Government's treatment of NGOs in connection with the Cultural Forum will be a telling indication of the depth of Hungary's commitment to the human rights provisions of the Helsinki and Madrid agreements.

With respect to Romania, let me stress at the outset that the Commission is under no illusions about the human rights situation in that country. Despite Romania's independent stance on some foreign policy issues, internal conditions are grim. Within that difficult context, however, we can identify some areas where light has been shed, and where, as a consequence, improvements have been made.

Romania still has highly restrictive emigration laws, regulations and practices. Yet, despite strong official opposition to any kind of emigration, record numbers of Romanian citizens have been able to secure exit permission. The State Department has indicated that emigration from Romania to all countries has more than doubled and emigration to the United States has increased almost ninefold since 1974, the last year before MFN was granted to Romania. In 1984, emigration from Romania respectively to the United States (4,545) and to the Federal Republic of Germany (14,831) was the highest ever. Monthly totals for the United States and the Federal Republic for the first half of 1985 are well within satisfactory limits. In 1984, Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel (1,908) was greater than in 1983. However, the Jewish emigration total for the first six months of 1985 is a disturbing one-half of that recorded for the same six-month period of 1984. The Commission therefore urges the Romanian Government substantially to improve its performance on Jewish emigration.

At least four times a year, the Commission presents lengthy caselists to Romanian officials. I am gratified to report progress in the resolution of Commission cases over the past year. The Commission's July 1984 list contained 328 cases roughly representing 1200 individuals. After one year, 99 (30%) cases have been resolved, i.e. the people left Romania, and 64 (19.5%) more have received approval from the Romanian government to depart. The Commission had asked that 42 of the cases on the July 1984 list receive special consideration. Of these, 5 (12%) have since been resolved and 10 (24%) have been approved for departure. The resolution and approval rates of cases on the Commission lists have been slightly higher than in the past. Furthermore, we do not see a radical fluctuation in the number of resolutions and approvals (higher during months coinciding with the annual MFN review in Congress and unacceptably lower during the rest of the year)—a tendency that Congress had cause to criticize in the past.

Mr. Chairman, the Commission has always been of the opinion that numbers alone do not tell the whole Romanian emigration story. Year after year, we have decried the economic and procedural barriers emigrants must overcome and the myriad forms of harassment which emigrants must endure before leaving Romania.

Therefore, the Commission places heavy weight on the news communicated to us by the State Department that an agreement in principle recently has been reached concerning improved Romanian procedures for emigration to the United States. Under the new procedures, emigrants destined for this country will no longer be subjected to the hardships previously inflicted on passport holders awaiting entry visas for the United States. The Commission is aware that the results of the new understanding cannot have been felt in time for this hearing. Therefore, we want to make it clear to the Romanian Government that we regard the agreement as a declaration of serious intent and firm commitment.

We trust and expect that the effects of the agreement in principle will become manifest in the very near term. Making progress in the emigration field over the coming year is especially significant in light of the six-week Human Contacts Experts Meeting of Helsinki signatory states, which is scheduled to begin next April, just in advance of the 1986 MFN review.

The broader human rights problems in Romania continue to generate substantial congressional and public concern. Accordingly during the past year, the Commission repeatedly has raised the following issues with Romanian officials, inter alia:

(1) The house arrest of Father Gheorghe Calciu since his release from prison in August 1984. A decision on the part of Romanian authorities to permit the Calciu family to emigrate would be greatly welcomed here in the United States.

(2) Continuing stringent restrictions on religious liberty and the harsh treatment of activist Christians, particularly dissenting Baptist pastors, including—

Inadequate supply of religious literature. The unauthorized distribution, as exemplified by the recent sentencing of Constantin Sfatcu to seven-and-one-half years of imprisonment;

The demolition or threats to demolish churches and historic religious sites, such as Bistrita Baptist Church. On a positive note in this regard, the congregation of Oradea's Second Baptist Church, which is scheduled for demolition, has received assurances that it can use its present structure until a replacement is completed;

Refusal to license or delays in the licensing of activist pastors. For example, Pastors Negrut and Gheorghita of Oradea now have licenses, but Pastors Beni Cocar and Ion Stef from Medias have yet to be given licenses;

The Eastern Rite Catholic or Uniate Church remains banned, despite believers' repeated appeals for legal reinstatement and a new provision agreed at the Madrid Conference of Helsinki signatory states regarding the registration of religious institutions;

(3) Inhumane treatment, including beatings by secret police and psychiatric abuse, of arrested or confined persons;

(4) The Romanian Government's insensitivity to and inadequate provision for the cultural and educational needs of Romania's extensive Hungarian and other minority populations, and the persecution of minority rights' activists. Since last year's MFN review, evidence came to light that at least some of a shipment of 20,000 Hungarian-language Bibles sent to Romania legally in the early 1980s were made into toilet paper. Also, there have been interrogations and beatings of Romanian citizens of Hungarian ethnic origin following their contacts with Western visitors of Hungarian descent.

(5) In contravention of Madrid Concluding Document provisions, the restriction of access by Romanian citizens to the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest;

(6) Restrictions on the free flow of information contrary to Helsinki information provisions, including the registration of all typewriters with the police and the strict regulation of the use of duplicating machines; interference with delivery of mail/parcels, the monitoring of phone calls, and restrictions on making international phone calls;

(7) The complaint still pending before the International Labor Organization with respect to Romania's suppression of the S.L.O.M.R. free trade union in 1979;

(8) Although regarded as a sensitive issue by the Romanian Government, the reunification of the Fodor family remains a matter of humanitarian concern to the Commission.

Taking all of the above into consideration, and giving particular weight to Romania's new agreement in principle on emigration procedures for U.S.-bound emigrants, the Commission does not think there is any useful advantage to be gained by opposing renewal of Romania's status this time around. However, Romania must clearly understand that our agreement to MFN renewal in 1985 is not to be regarded as an unqualified seal of U.S. approval. Since Romania's MFN status first came up for annual review in 1975, the decision to extend MFN to Romania has hinged on the delicate calculation that humanitarian aims would be better served by the renewal of MFN status than by its denial. The Commission makes an important distinction between any diplomatic gestures that Romania may make and actual human rights improvements, which Romania subsequently must demonstrate.

To sum up:

(1) Twelve months from now, the Commission again will be looking for measurable progress in Hungary and Romania.

(2) In the meantime, the Commission will continue to play a major role in the bilateral decision-making process vis-a-vis Hungary and Romania.

(3) The Commission's concern about the human rights situation in both countries is deep and year-round, not just a function of the MFN review every summer. Accordingly, all human rights issues for Hungary and Romania will be pursued by the Commission through other appropriate fora as well, such as the upcoming Budapest Cultural Forum and the Berne Human Contacts Experts Meeting of the CSCE.

(4) To these ends, the U.S. Helsinki Commission looks forward to working cooperatively with the Executive Branch and Congress in accordance with our mandate to promote and encourage respect by Hungary and Romania for the human rights and fundamental freedoms set forth in the Helsinki Final Act and Madrid Concluding Document.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR SYMMS' TESTIMONY ON MFN STATUS FOR ROMANIA AND AFGHANISTAN

Mr. Chairman, there are two countries which currently receive most favored nation status whose internal situation, and policies towards the U.S. I would like to address briefly in my statement.

Afghanistan, through what I can only view as an incredible oversight or fluke, continues to enjoy MFN privileges from the U.S. Although the trade is small between our two countries, the symbolism of MFN status to the Soviet puppet government in Kabul is a major concern. There is no need for me to elaborate on the appalling human rights situation inside Afghanistan or the political bent of the Afghan Government. We have covered that topic extensively in the Afghan Task Force hearings, an ad hoc bipartisan committee which Senator Gordon Humphrey chairs, and of which I am a member. I wish everyone at this hearing had the opportunity to sit through some of the sessions the task force has held, because they would be shocked at the enormity of the Soviet offenses against the innocent people of Afghanistan. Afghanistan deserves MFN status, in my opinion, as much as the Soviet Union does, in other words, not at all. I see no justification whatsoever for continuing MFN status with Afghanistan, and am pleased that the State Department has also taken this view.

Senator Scoop Jackson wisely conceived of the Jackson-Vanik language, which properly tied, since 1974, human rights commitments to privileged trade status for Communist countries. In other words, Jackson-Vanik was a carrot and stick approach to the Communist nations—if they allow emigration, they may receive MFN status.

In the case of Romania, the case for denying MFN is clear. Romania has not been complying with Jackson-Vanik. An article from the June 12 New York Times by the program director for the International League of Human Rights argues that human rights have taken a beating in Romania—that "no dissent is allowed; no independent labor unions, citizens' groups, scientific and legal or other professional associations can function. Not even underground presses survive . . . the regime controls virtually all aspects of life, intruding deeply into personal family and religious matters."

Now the Senate and House just recently passed a sanctions bill against South Africa, a country which fought beside us in two world wars, and which is the major bulwark against Soviet imperialist ambitions in Africa. In contrast to Romania, in South Africa there are labor unions, very active ones, there are citizens groups, there are free newspapers, there are opposition parties, and government critics can travel unmolested in the west and vocally and fearlessly criticize the Government. Blacks pour into South Africa to flee the famine and persecution of neighboring black Marxist states, and yet we sanction South Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I do not think I am going too far in saying that the U.S. has a bad reputation for vilifying our friends, and ignoring the greater vices of our enemies. Romania is no friend of the U.S.

A Heritage Foundation report on Romania states that the country is believed to re-export goods to the USSR, goods whose sale to Moscow is banned, that Romania has campaigned for increased Soviet presence in the Middle East negotiations, and that the Romanian Secret Service is totally integrated within the Soviet KGB. In fact, a key Romanian intelligence official who defected to the U.S. stated that all significant Romanian intelligence is offered directly to the KGB, that 70% of their trade personnel abroad are intelligence officers, and that joint trade ventures with the West are used to infiltrate their agents to obtain technological secrets. The Commerce Department has confirmed technological transfers to the U.S.S.R.

Former Ambassador to Romania David Funderburk, who resigned in protest over State Department tolerance of Romanian behavior, has argued that MFN status should be lifted. MFN gives Ceausescu, one of the Eastern Bloc's most brutal dictators and a genuine Stalinist, an enhanced image in the East. While Romania has profited from MFN by increasing dramatically its imports to the U.S., our exports to Romania have not increased appreciably since 1976.

Two particularly shocking incidents—the well-publicized 20,000 Bibles donated by the World Reformed Alliance to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania being recycled into toilet paper, and the beating to death of a priest, Father Geza Palfi, by security police for merely suggesting that Christmas should not be a work day, have galvanized public support for lifting MFN. There are many other such incidents which time will not allow to be enumerated.

One thing is evident—the Romanians need MFN more than we do, and we should use that leverage to improve the lot of the Romanian people. There persists a myth that commerce locks nations into mutual dependency relationships which somehow keeps world peace. As Joseph Finder, the author of "Red Carpet" has said, "The expression 'business as usual' may signify international comity to us capitalists, but to the Communists, who are less convinced of the palliative effects of commerce, the phrase does not mean as much."

In light of the exposed Romanian record of cultural genocide, and of ignoring and arbitrarily applying Jackson-Vanik stipulations, the United States should lift MFN status until humanitarian conditions markedly improve. And, MFN should be not regranted until this government can provide assurances that important technology is not flowing from Romania to the Soviet Union. I also think it would be helpful to have congressional trade and intelligence committees review Romania's internal situation, and security concerns involved, and recommend a timetable for reform.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR CHARLES E. GRASSLEY

Mr. Chairman: I am deeply troubled by the fact that year after year numerous reports continue to reach us of constant Romanian contravention of universally recognized principles of human rights, whether in matters of emigration, religion, minority rights or human freedoms.

According to the Helsinki Commission and State Department figures, Romanian emigration to the United States, Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany has fallen substantially from last year. In fact, just this year alone I have received letters of request for assistance from one hundred and twenty families who want to leave Romania to be reunited with their family members. I have sent these requests on to Ambassador Malitza at the Romanian Embassy in Washington and, unfortunately, I have yet to receive a response.

I would like to submit for the record, Mr. Chairman, the letters I have received with a list of those desiring to emigrate. If it would be proper, I would also like to request that a letter from this committee be sent to Ambassador Malitza as a follow-up expression of our concern, along with any other names which may be provided today by members of this committee.

In the general spirit of Jackson-Vanik, broader human rights concerns have been voiced in the past when considering MFN renewal for Romania. As in past years, Romania's human rights record has been sharply criticized by international human rights organizations, by Romanian emigre groups and this year by a former U.S. Ambassador. As in the past, I look forward to their testimony today.

In particular, I was outraged last month by reports that Bibles shipped from the West as part of the agreement under MFN status for Romania had been pulped and turned into toilet paper. This is a slap in the face that shows the contempt of their Government for the free exercise of religion. I hope that former Ambassador Funderburk will be able to elaborate on these charges.

I would conclude by saying that in view of the current manifestation of this religious contempt . . . anti-Semitism . . . the fears that the aging Romanian ruler may not be able to control this situation indefinitely . . . the fact that Romanian Jewish emigration is currently running about half of what it was for the corresponding period in 1984 . . . And more cases of separation of spouses in Romania than in the rest of the Soviet bloc countries combined . . . we should not pass judgment on this matter lightly.

Mr. Chairman, it would be my hope that members of this committee along with members of the Helsinki Commission could meet frequently with Romanian officials on a year round basis in order to make the Jackson-Vanik amendment a meaningful tool in the quest for improved human rights performance by the Romanian Government. In my estimation, this would also provide us with a means to help accelerate Romanian Jewish emigration or, at best, provide us with information for future approval of MFN status.

AM PFAFFENBERG 15, 6741 BILLIGHEIM-INGENHEIM 1,
West Germany.

To the Honorable CHARLES E. GRASSLEY,
Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade, Capitol Hill Office, Washington, DC.

DEAR SIR: You might certainly receive many such letters asking for your assistance in a matter or other. You are a USA official, your influence is strong and you are in the position to help persons in need. This determined me to write you and ask you to help me reunite my family in West Germany.

Your government granted Romania the M.F.N. Status and is in the position to analyse its compliance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974. And my family case is just such one. I have been living in West Germany, but my father, my sister and her family members are kept against their wish still in Romania.

In 1963 when my family applied first for emigration, Romania did not enjoy the MFN, yet since 1975 in spite of the fact that the emigration appliances have been based just on the Jackson-Vanik Amendment and also on the Helsinki Accords' provisions (chapter III stipulates the family reunification right), my family's emigration permission has not been granted by Romania's officials.

You might not believe it, but so many years really passed and my family members were not allowed to leave Romania. I myself addressed to Romania's competent officials and asked for their emigration right, stipulated also by the Universal Declaration for the Human Rights, (section 13) and by the International Pact for the Civil and the Political Rights, (section 12). And the West German officials intervened on my family's behalf, but you see the result. It seems that their influence is not so effective. Every time when an American official intervened on a family's behalf by Romania's officials, generally to Mr. Mircea Malita, Romania's Ambassador in Washington, D.C., the result was a positive one. Here, in West Germany achieved many a family their reunification due to such an intervention.

I implore you to intervene on behalf of my old father, he is 89 years old, and on the other members' behalf by Romania's Ambassador in Washington, D.C. 20008, N.W., 1607 23rd Street. My sister is also very sick. Having been deported after the Second World War to the Soviet Union because of her German origin, she got there a very severe illness. The competent officials in West Germany granted my all family members wanting to leave Romania the Immigration Permission, it has the number III-4-34123 Liste Ru 20882.

Since there are no reasons to prevent them from leaving Romania, at your intervention they will sure be granted the exit permit. Please intervene for us! See in this respect the enclosed list containing the personal data and the address of my family members longing for their emigration right.

I am closing here and remain very thankful to you.

Sincerely yours,

ANNA PROCKER.

LIST WITH THE MEMBERS OF MY FAMILY LIVING IN ROMANIA AND WISHING TO EMIGRATE TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

My father—Procker Petru, born on 02.08.1895. He is a widower, retired, and has a pension of 300 lei (about 6 dollars).

My sister—Schipfer Ecaterina born *Procker*, on 19.03.1927. She is a housewife;

The husband of my sister—Schipfer Nicolae born on 16.03.1929, a worker;

My sister's son—Schipfer Nicolae, Jr. born on 09.04.1951, a worker;

His wife—Schipfer Margareta born Prinz on 05.06.1956, a worker;

Their daughter—Schipfer Doris, born on 24.03.1977.

The address of my family is: 1910 Giarmata Vii, Str. Parcului 105-107, Judet Timis, Romania.

INSINGER STRASSE 46, 8500 NÜRNBERG 60,
West Germany.

To the Honorable CHARLES E. GRASSLEY,
Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade, Capitol Hill Office, Washington, DC.

DEAR SIR: Please forgive the liberty I take by addressing myself directly to you. What prompts me this gesture is my despair and my wish to help my family, that is my parents and grand-parents in obtaining the emigration permission from Romania.

I know only too well, that you are not directly in charge of such matters. Yet, the American Government has granted Romania the MFN status for ten years, thus granting it all the benefits of this status. Since the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, links the MFN status to the liberalization of the emigration policy, I know dare to ask for your support for my relatives who were not so fortunate as to be granted them the emigration permission by Romania's authorities.

My parents and grand-parents have applied for emigration because they haven't any children in Romania, I am their only child. By acting in this manner, the Romanian authorities contradict a series of such international agreements, such as the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, the Helsinki Accords and the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights.

I hope that you will have some understanding for our difficult situation and will grant us your help. Interventions on the part of US officials are very well received by the Romanian Government, and many landsmen have achieved family reunification as a result of such support. Please contact the Romanian Ambassador, Mr. Mircea Malita, in Washington and recommend our case to his attention. Thus, my parents and grand-parents might finally join me in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Please find enclosed the list with their names, data and address. Entry permission to West Germany: III-4-34123 Liste Ru 28827.

I repeat, you are our only hope now, since I already have addressed myself to all competent German and Romanian authorities, without receiving much help.

Hoping for an answer, I thank you in advance.

Gratefully,

ROSWITHA KILZER.

LIST

With the names and the data of my family members from Romania, wishing to emigrate to the Western Germany:

Finser Anton—my father. Born on 18.01.1935, blue-collar worker
Finser Katharina—my mother. Born Bader on 21.05.1945, blue-collar worker
Bader Peter—my grand-father. Born on 24.01.1901, retired
Bader Anna—my grand-mother. Born Reichert on 12.12.1908, retired.
Their address is: 2922 Neudorf no. 82, jud. Arad, Romania.

SCHUMANNSTR.6, 6522 OSTHOFEN,
West Germany.

To the Honorable CHARLES E. GRASSLEY,
Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade, Capitol Hill Office, Washington, DC.

DEAR SIR: I am an ethnic German from Romania living for several years in West Germany and taking interest in the USA and western countries politics toward Romania, the country where still my only sister lives. Thus, I could notice that the USA Government has granted Romania for ten years the MFN one year at a time. Under the USA Trade Law, the MFN status can only be granted to countries with non-market economies and only if those countries are allowing free emigration. Romania does not comply in our family reunification case with the USA Trade Law (section 402 of 1974 Trade Act) and you, an American official might remind it of the obligation assumed by receiving the MFN for another year. The same USA Administration said recently that compliance with the Human Rights Accords (1975 Helsinki Final Act) by the Eastern European countries (Romania is one of them), is "seriously flawed". The plight of my sister—a widow in Romania shows clearly that the Romanian officials do not comply with any commitments on free emigration or family reunification. The few emigration permission granted in Romania are made in a very arbitrary manner deviding family members.

My sister applied together with her daughter for the exit permit ten years ago. The all family members are ethnic Germans and their entry permission in West Germany has the following number: III-4-34 123 Liste Ru 27149 and III-4-34-123 Liste Ru 4855. Our relatives are living in West Germany and you can understand the anguish and distress I feel over the plight of my sister, a widow in Romania. Only she and her daughter are still in Romania.

Writing you about our case, I hope to convince you to contact on our behalf the Romanian officials within the Romanian Embassy in Washington, DC. Your large influence determine the Romanian Ambassador to take position in such cases and contact the Romanian emigration office. Most cases have always got the exit permit.

This is a proof for us having close relatives in the East that the USA officials' intervention are received very seriously by the Romanian government and many others.

I thank you for your kindness and for all humanitarian actions which the USA officials have done on the behalf of the people in need. If you need them, you can find the names, personal data and address of my sister, her daughter with husband and two children wishing to leave Romania, in the annexed list to my letter.

Thank you in advance.

Gratefully yours,

JANZER ANNA born **KASNEL**.

LIST CONTAINING THE NAMES, ADDRESS AND PERSONAL DATA OF MY FAMILY MEMBERS WISHING TO LEAVE ROMANIA AND EMIGRATE TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Katarina Schneider born Kasnel—my sister. Born on 01.12.1919. Retired and Widow.

Annemarie Warres born Schneider—daughter of my sister. Born on 04.11.1939. Housewife.

Johann Warres—son-in-law of my sister. Born on 03.11.1937. Worker.

My sister's daughter has two children: Annemarie Warres born on 23.12.1963. Rainer Warres born on 24.10.1965.

The address is: 1981 Giarmata, Str. Morii no. 821, Judetul Timis, Romania.

SAMUELSTR.4, 6520 WORMS,
West-Germany.

To the Honorable CHARLES E. GRASSLEY,
Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade,
Capitol Hill Office, Washington, DC.

DEAR SIR: Apologize us, please, for daring to write you although we are aware of your numerous duties and responsibilities. Yet we have no other choice because we are old, simple persons and have no influence on the Romanian government's representatives.

After all your government granted communist Romania the Most Favored Nation Status in exchange of liberalizing its emigration policy, and we consider that your government assumed the responsibility to check up if Romania does comply with the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

We are Romanian emigrants and since January 1984 we have been living in West-Germany because we are Germans. We think that writing you now in order to ask your help in the case of our family reunification, we bring also to your attention the fact that Romania disregards the Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974.

When we were permitted to leave Romania, the local authorities told us that our son, his wife and mother-in-law * * * twelve months passed and our son or his family members have not got any news referring to their emigration permission.

Romania's emigration procedure reflects no compliance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment's provisions or with those of the Helsinki Final Act signed in 1975 by President Nicolae Ceausescu that stipulates under chapter III the right to family reunification.

We hope you would like to understand some old parents longing to have the son around and would try to offer us a helping hand.

Concerning the Immigration permission for West Germany, our son, his wife and his mother-in-law have already received it in 1981 and it is registered under No. III-4-34123 Liste Ru 24356.

You might use your influence on the Romanian Ambassador in Washington, D.C. and we are sure that he cannot refuse you if you would be so kind as to recommend him our case of reunification with our son.

We assure you of our gratitude for any help you might be able to offer us and we are including in an attached list the personal data and the address of our son, his wife and his mother-in-law living in Romania and wishing to be reunited with us and the other family members living in West-Germany.

Some old parents have been looking forward for your help remaining,

Gratefully yours,

EVA ALBINGER and CRISTOPH ALBINGER.

LIST WITH THE PERSONAL DATA AND THE ADDRESS OF MY FAMILY MEMBERS LIVING IN ROMANIA AND WISHING TO EMIGRATE TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Albinger Matei, our son. Born on 07.08.1927. Worker.
Albinger Ecaterina, his wife. Born Hügel on 25.09.1926. Retired.
Hügel Elisabeta, her mother. Born on 26.12.1903. Retired.
The address is: 1981 Giarmata, Str. Garii No. 934, Judetul Timis, S.R. of Romania.

MAY 1985.

GENTLEMEN, The Organisation for Danube Swabians liberation wants, first of all, to thank you and all the United States Officials for the precious help granted the ethnic German minority from Banat, Romania, last year. Thanks to your position many families have achieved their reunification in the Federal Republic of Germany. Yet, there are many of them still separated by the Iron Curtain. On their behalf, since they cannot endure any longer the discrimination they are subjected to in Romania, our Organization appeals to you for assistance.

The Congress Hearings for the renewal of the Most Favored Nation Status for Romania, are to be held in the summer of this year, and the Banat Swabians from Romania now address this appeal to the President of the United States. Ronald Reagan, and to all members of the U.S. Congress, asking for help and beseeching them to interview by President Nicolae Ceausescu, so that the right to emigration in order to achieve family reunification of this ethnic minority might be respected.

You might know about the reprisals to which the Danube Swabians have been subjected under the communist regime. In spite of the fact that several international agreements and also the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania guarantee ethnic minorities rights equal to those of the majority of the population and the possibility of preserving and developing their cultural entity, the Danube Swabians from Romania are treated in a most inhuman manner. Being victims of a discriminatory, oppressive treatment and of a steady policy of Romanisation, these people have reached the point * * *.

The persecution and the undescribable suffering of the Swabians started during the deportation years to the Soviet Union and to the Romanian steppe-region called Baragan. Our families were separated then, the same as they are now separated by the Iron Curtain. The economic situation of the Banat Swabians, a result of their unnatural pauperization, has grown unbearable and represents one more reason why most of them want to leave Romania at any risk. Also our religious tradition is very powerful and we have to convince our children that the school-version educating them as atheists is wrong. We try to educate our children as God-fearing human beings. Yet, if Swabians who are catholics, attend church on Sunday, they have to reckon on the very next day with being accused of mysticism and a retrograde mentality by the Party organisation. That is also a reason why most of them want to leave Romania.

And the greatest wish is to achieve the reunification of their families in Western Germany, the country of their fore-fathers. Organisation for Danube Swabians liberation beseeches you for assistance and to the purpose it is annexed a list containing the names and the address of our most pressing cases of family reunification.

Many of the persons whose names are to be found on the list annexed to the letter, have experienced the hardships of deportation and the tragical separation of families. They are still separated by the Iron Curtain: some family members live in Romania, while the others in Western Germany.

The great majority of the persons whose names are included on the list enclosed are pensions, peasants and blue-collar workers. Only a few have any higher education, and because of having applied for emigration they were either fired or set on much lower-paid jobs, yet none of them was granted permission to leave Romania.

Their situation is extremely difficult. The separation is caused by the fact that the legal procedures are conceived in such a manner in Romania that they raised all imaginable barriers in the path of those seeking family reunification. You may notice if you examine the enclosed list containing our most pressing cases of family reunification that the great majority of the people who live separated in Romania and West Germany, are very near relatives, that is parents and children, brothers and sisters.

Our plea is the result of our disappointment at seeing that the legal emigration procedures take many years, sometimes twenty or more. Many people are very old, retired, others even handicapped or seriously ill persons; nevertheless they are still prevented from rejoining their children or brother and sister from West Germany. This, despite the fact that their health could be much improved and their disease often cured if they were allowed to join their relatives from West Germany who wish to help them.

Numerous emigration applications (in view of family reunification) have been handed in twenty or more years ago, and have still not been solved until 1985. The Romanian government's attitude is unhuman! Perhaps President Nicolae Ceausescu is not conscious of the fact that life has become unbearable for the Banat Swabians, who are neither permitted to leave Romania nor are any measures taken to improve their situation. The Banat Swabians implore the United States Government's Representatives to intervene by the Romanian President, so that the right to family reunification of this ethnic minority might be respected.

We remain gratefully yours,

THE ORGANISATION FOR DANUBE SWABIANS LIBERATION.

Persons of ethnic German origin living in Romania that want to be reunited with their Families from the Federal Republic of Germany. Persoane de origine etnică germana care trăiesc in România si vor sa se reuneasca cu familiile lor din Republica Federală Germania.	Their faily members living in the Federal Republic of Germany are: Membri familiilor lor din Republica Federală Germania sînt:
1. Guth Elisabeth Guth Josef-husband a.wife a.their son Guth Reinhold Address:1900 Timisoara,Str.Frasinului 1, Sc.B,Apart.2 Guth Elisabeth,widow,retire,very ill. Address: 1947 Johanisfeld Nr.320,Judet Tinis.	Father.sister with family and a lotof other relatives. Tatăl. sora cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.
2. Schmidt Josef Schmidt Ecaterina,born Picklor, and hers old parents: Picklor Margareta picklor Joan,retires Address: 1900 Timisoara,Str.Zborului Nr.10,Blpc 30/2, scara A,Ap.2,Judet Timis.	Two daughters with their families and other close relatives. Două fiice cu familiile lor,singurii lor copii.
3. Kramczynski Adalbert Kramczynski Kätharina,and their son Kramczynski Peter married with Kramczynski Renate and their child Detlef Kramczynski Address: 1981 Giarmata,Strada Morii 818,judet Timis.	Son with his family.brother with his family and other close relatives. fiul cu familia lui,fratele cu familia lui si alte rude apropiate.
4. Lux Nicolae Lux Susanna,and their daughter Lux Anna and the mother of Nicolae Lux Lux Barbara(1909),retire. Address: 1981 Giarmata.strada Nouă No.18.Judet Timis.	The daughter with her family.sister and other close relatives. Fiica cu familia.sora,nepot,si foarte multe alte rude apropiate.
5. Mutsch Peter (1984) Mutsch Johana (1902) and their daughter Hacker Elisabetha.born Mutsch,widow,born 1925. Address: 1981 Giarmata,Strada Nouă No.91.Judet Timis.	the daughter with hers family, the son with his family.brothers sisters. with their families. Fiica,cu familia e, [illegible]

6.
Binder Stefan
Binder Veronika-husband and wife

Brandl Veronika born Binder
Bradl Klaus Ulrich
They have 4 minors children:
Claudia,Karla Horst a.Günther
Addrress:
Communa Jecea Mare Nr.393,Judet Timis.

daughter with her family,brothers,
sisters with their families

Fiica cu familia ei,frati si surori
cu familiile lor.

7.
Binder Anton
Binder Elisabeth-husband a.wife.
They have two twin daughters:
Elvine a.Brunhilde Binder
Address.
Jecea Mare Nr.44,Judet Timis.

Sisters a.brothers with their
families,and other close relatives.

Surori si frati cu familiile lor
si alte rude apropiate.

8.Engelmann Ecaterina,widow,a.hers daughter
Anheuer Ecaterina,born Engelmann
Anheuer Johann and their dauchter
Anheuer Rita
Address:
1938 Peciul Nou Nr.295,Judet Timis.

The son with his family and other
close relatives.

9.
Greif Petru
Greif Magdalena-husband a.wife
Greif Petru Jr.-son
Greif Elfreide his wife
They have 2 children:
Armin(1980) a.Arnold(1983)
Address:
1981 Giarmata,strada Johanna Nr.890,Judet
Timis.

The son with his family a.other
many close relatives.

Fiul cu familia lui si alte numeroase
rude apropiate.

10.
Ebner Magdalena(1897)-widow
Rosner Elisabetha,born Ebner
Rosner Josef
Rosner Johann
Rosner Margarita
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.399,Judet Timis.

Daughter with her famili.sister with
family and other many close relatives.

Fiica cu familia,sora ci familia si
alte numeroase rude apropiate.

11.
Schlauch Anna,born Estermann,widow with 2
children:
Schlauch Helmuth
Schlauch Helfried

Estermann Margareta,born 1912,mother of
Schlauch Anna

All relatives are living in West
Germany.

Toate rudele sunt in RFG in Romania
numai au pe nimeni

12. Tioschitz Anna(her husband is dead) and her son Tioschitz Peter Address: 1981 Giarmata,Strada Viilor Nr.556,Judet Timis.	Parents and all relatives. parintii si toate rudele apropiate.
13. Sehler Mihai Sehler Susana,born Zimermann Zimermann Josef Zimermann Margareta-the parents of Susana Sehler. Address: 1981 Giarmata,Strada Viilor Nr.622,Judet Timis.	All relatives are living in West Germany.(the son with his family) Toate rudele apropiate locuiesc in RFG(Fiul cu familia)
14. Kleer Antoniu Kleer Ecaterina born Schweininger Kleer Gerlinde,their daughter Schweininger Petru Schweininger Ecaterina-parents of the Kleer E. Address: 1957 Lovrin Nr.179 a.Nr.12,Judet Timis.	The daughter ~~XXX~~ with his family and other many close relatives. Fiica cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.
15 Fander Anton Fander Katharina,retires. Fander Anton Jr. Fander Elisabeth. and their son Fander Werner. Address: Masloc Nr.120,Judet Timis.	The son with his family,brothers a.sisters withtheir family. Fiul cu familia,fratii si surori cu familiile lor.
16 Lauer Jon Lauer Elisabethe Address: 1874 Gizela Nr.57,Judet Timis They have a son who is married: Lauer Erwin Lauer Malvine Address: 1900 Timisoara,Bulevardul St.Plavat,NO.137, Ap.12,Scara B,Judet Timis.	The daughter with her family,sister with family,a.other numerous close relatives. Fiica cu familia,sora cu familia,si alte numeroase rude apropiate.
17. Kornacker Adam Address: 1952 Jecea mare Nr.178,Judet Timis.	The wife.
18. Lux Franz Lux Susana and their baby Lux Astrid. Address: 1981 Giarmata,No.844,Judet Timis.	All relatives are living in West Germany. Toate rudele apropiate locuiesc in RFG.

19.
Schneider Pavel
Schneidere Barbara
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Strada Bătrină Nr.229,Judet Timis.

The daughter and her family and other close relatives.

Fiica cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

20.
Audi Nicolae
Audi Rozalia -husband a.wife-
Address:
Jimbolia,Str.Ciprian Porumbescu No.6,Judet Timis.

The son,brothers, sisters and other many close relatives.

Fiul cu familia,frati,surori si alte rude apropiate.

21.
Willing Johann
Willing Franziska and their son
Willing Ioan
Address:
Jimbolia,Strada Petru Höfler 12 A.,Jud.Timis.

and the grandmother
Martin Ecaterina born 1904.
Address:
Jimbolia,Str.Republicii No.25,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,the son of Martin Ecaterina.They have no relatives in Romania.

22.

Dian Francisc,retire
Dian Anna,retire
and their daughter
Seeger Annemarie,born Dian
Seeger Herbert her husband
and two minors children
Silvia (1978) and Sven(1980) Seeger
and Grandmother
Arheuer Elisabetha born in 1896
Address:
1938 Peciul NOu Nr.140,Judet Timis.

The son with his family,sisters with their families and other close relatives.

Fiul cu familia,surori cu familiile si alte numeroase rude apropiate. In Romania numai cu alte rude.

23.
Esperschidt Nikolaus
Esperschidt Hilde and two children:
Gundolf and.Egbert Esperschidt
Address:
Comuna Tomnatic No.410,Judet Timis.

The parents and other many close relatives. They have no other relatives in Romania.

Ei vin la părintii lor si la alte multe rude apropiate.In Romania nu au pe nimeni apropiat.

24.
Huber Elisabetha,retire.
Huber Hans,retire. They have a son:
Huber Horst
Address:
1900
Timisoara,Strada Ion Slavici Nr.10,Judet Timis.

The daughter, the sister and other close relatives.

Fiica cu familia,sora cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

25.
Krier Franz,retire
Krier Anna,housewife
Address:
[illegible] Str.14 No.11 Cod 1951

The daughter with family and the son with his family.

Fiica cu familia si fiul cu familia.

26
Holz Johanna,retire
Holz Anton,retire and paralytic
and their son
Holz Peter
Address:
1947 Johannisfeld Nr.272 Uivar,Judet Timis.

The Mother,Sisters with family,and many close relatives.In Romania they have no relatives.

Mame,surori cu familliile,si alte numeroase rude.In Romania numai au rude.

27
König Matei
König Anna,born Götz and their daughter

Kunz Anna born König
Kunz Joan and their children
Gerda-Emilia and Hermine Kunz

Götz Elisabetha-grandmother
Address:
1982 Pischia Nr.232,Judet Timis.

The son with family,brothers and other relatives.

Fiul cu familia,frati cu familiile si alte numeroase rude.

28.
Götz Eva
Gotz Francisc
Address:
Pischia Nr.344,Judet Timis.

Maurer Erika born Götz
Maurer Franz and two children
Oswald and Arlette Maurer
Address:
Pischia Nr.33,Judet Timis

Gotz Elisabetha,born 1895
Götz Elisabeta,born 1922
(mother a.sister of Götz Francisc)
Address:
Pischia Nr.240,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,sisters with families and other close relatives.

29
Buchert Erwin
Buchert Magdalena-Ileana,a.their children:
Erwin a. Helmuth Buchert
Addres:Allea Vlaicu,Block X 5,Sc.B,Etj.IV,Ap.13,
Judet Arad.

The parents,and other close relatives.
They have no relatives in Romania.

30
Klein Elisabetha
Klein Mihai, and their son
KleinRobert married with
Klein Rodica
Address:
1910 Giarmata Vii,Strada Parcului Nr.88,
Judet Timis.

The mother,sister and brothers with their families.

Mama, sora cu familia,frati cu familiile lor.

31
Mülbach Walter
Mülbach Erika. They have two children:
Robert and Monika Mülbach
Address:
1981 Giarmata,strada Principala Nr.501,Judet Timis.

The mother,daughter with her family,sister withrh family and 4 brothers with their family.In Romania they have no relatives.

Mama,fiica cu familia,sora cu familia si 4 frati cu familiile lor.
In R [illegible]

32 Gusan Jon Gusan Zitta,husband a.wife. They have a son: Gusan Carol married with Gusan Elena Address: 1981 Giarmata,Strada Principală Nr.501 ,Judet Timis.	The mother,the daughter with her family,and four brothers with their family. Mama,fiica cu familia,patru frati cu familiile.
33. Griess Ignatz (his wife is dead on the February 1985) Address: 1981 Giarmata Nr.722,Judet Timis. Müller Cristof and his wife Müller Magdalena Address: 1981 Giarmata Nr.862,Judet Timis.	They have all relatives in West Germany
34 Fortler Valentin Fortler Katharina and their sons Walter and Gerhard Fortler Address: 1936 sànmihaiul German Nr.70,Judet Timis	The daughter with her family, sister with her family,and many close relatives. Fiica,sora,si alte [illegible] rude cu familiile lor.
35. Albinger Matei Albinger Ekaterina born Hügel Hügel Elisabetha (1903),retire. Address: 1981 Giarmata,Strada Gării Nr.934,Judet Timis.	The mother and the sister with her family.They have no relatives in Romania. Mama si sora cu familia ei. Ei numai au alte rude in Romania.
36. Berenz Nicolae Berenz Katharina and their son Berenz Nicolae Jr. Address: 2944 Sànpetru-German Nr.33 Judet Timis.	The mother,brothers,sisters and other close relatives. Mama,frati,surori si alte rude apropiate.
37 Novak Seon and his wife Novak Rozalia. They have a child: Norbert Novak(1979) Address: 2977 Sàntana,Strada Căpricoarei Nr.64, Judet Arad.	The parents a.the brother with his family.They have no relatives in Romania. Părintii si fratele cu familia. Ei numai au alte rude in România.
38. Schmidt Ignatz-1903-retire. Schmidt Katharina,born 1907 and their son Schmidt Mathias Schmidt Elisabetha and their daughter	Mother,daughter a.sister with family.They have no relatives in Romania. Mama,fiica cu familia,sora cu familiile.In România [illegible]

39.
Mayer Ecaterina
Mayer Peter,retire, and their daughter
Mayer Magdalena.
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Strada Principală Nr.410,
Judet Timis.

Mother.Brothers with family.
They have no relatives in Romani
Mama,frati cu familiile.In
Romania numai au pe nimeni.

40
Orth Anna
Orth Georg, and their daughter
Rosner Erna Susanna born Orth
Rosner Josef and their children
Manfred and Lothar Rosner
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Nouă Nr.42,Jud.Timis.

Mother,sisters,brothers with
their family.They have no relatives in Romania.

41.
Roth Maria
Roth Jakob
They have two daughters:
Roth Annemarie,very ill
and
Frombach Renate born Roth,married with
Frombach Herbert
They have a baby
Alexandra(1982)
Address:
1992 Sânandrei Nr.472,Judet Timis.

Brothers,sisters and other
many close relatives.They have
no relatives in Romania.
frati,surori cu familiile lor
si alte numeroase rude.Ei nu[illegible]
aupe nimeni in Romania.

42.
Ebner Josif
Ebner Katharina born Tasch and their son
Ebner Josif Jr.
Tasch Anna Maria born on 1908
Address:
1981Giarmata Str.Viilor 858,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,
sister with her family and
other numerous relatives.They
have no relatives in Romania.
Fiica cu familia,sora cu famili
si alte numeroase rude.In Roma-
nia[illegible] au alte rude.

43.
Lafleur Anna
Lafleur Nicolae and their son
Lafleur Nicolae Jr.
Address.Jimbolia,Str.Ion Slavici 159,Jud.Timis.

Mother and many close relatives.They
have no relatives in Romania.
Mama si alte rude apropiate.In
Romania numai au pe nimeni.

44
Herz Magdalena
Herz Petru
Winkler Magdalena (1902)
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Strada Morii Nr.049,Judet Timis.

The mother,brothers with famil
and many close relatives.They
have no relatives in Romania.
Mama,frati cu familiile lor
si alte rude apropiate.In Romania numai au pe nimeni.

45.
Regert Josef
Regert Anna
Address:1981 Giarmata,Strada Nouă 107,
Judet Timis.

Brothers,sisters with family.
They have no relatives in Roma
The parents are dead.
Frati,surori cu fam.[illegible]
Romania numai au [illegible]

46.

Seeger Jon
Seeger Ecaterina
and their son
Seeger Horst married with
Seeger Hedwig
they have a baby
Holger Seeger(1982)
Address:
Peciul Nou Nr.124,Judet Timis.

Son with family,brother with family and other close relatives.

Fiu cu familia,frate cu familia si alte rude apropiate.

47.

MiChels Francisc Nicolae
Michels Anna Teresia,born Vogel

Vogel ASnna (1910),retire.
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.341,Judet Timis.

Mother,brothers,sisters with families and many close relatives.

Mama,frati si surori cu familiile si alte rude apropiate.

48

Pierre Nicolae
Pierre Franziska born Kelsch
Kelsch Elisabetha born 1899
Address:1947 Tomnatic 302,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family a.many close relatives.They no relatives in Romania.
Fiica cu familia si alte rude apropiate.In Romania nu mai au pe nimeni.

49.

Wissens Francisc,born 1921,retire
Wiessens Francisca,born Csaftary

Csaftary Anna,born 1907,
retire
Address:
1834 Nitchidorf Nr.100,Judet Timis.

The son with his family and many close relatives-.

Fiul cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

50

Ilina Helga born Bäcker
Ilina Nicolae. They have two children:
Cristian(1981) and Marcus(1982)
Address:
1953 Jimbolia,str.Ion Slavici Nr.9,Judet Timis.

The parents and the sister with her family.

părintii si sora cu familia.

51.

Weiland Sebastian
Weilansd Anna Born Schmidt

Schmidt mathias born1910
Schmidt Ecaterina Born1917,retires.
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Strada Bătrână No.287,Judet Timis.

The son with his family,the brother with his family and many close relatives.

Fiul cu familia.fratele cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

52

Hummel Joan
Hummel Elisabeth
Address:
1984 Săcălaz,Str.8-a,Nr.718,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family and other close relatives.In USA the brother with his family.

Fiica cu familia si alte rude apropiate. In USA un frate cu familia

53.
Eberle Iosef,1903
Eberle Anna
and their daughter
Lessl Varvara born Eberle,1928
Lessl Ioan,born 1927
and his father
Lassl Petru born 1899
Address:
1978 Cheglevici Nr.179,Judet Timis.

The son with his family
and other close relatives.

Fiul cu familia si alte
rude apropiate.

54.
Müller Gertraud,born 1912
and her daughter
Heber Eva
Heber Nikolaus
and their children
Nikolau and Hermann Heber
Address:
Comuna Cärpinis,Str.III Nr.24,Jud.Timis.

Children with families.
brother and sisters with
families,and many close
relatives.

Copii cu familiile,fratii
si surori cu familiile
precum si alte numeroase
rude apropiate.

55.
Geier Elisabeth
born Basting
Geier peter
and their children
Fredy and Günther Geier
ASddress:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Caprei Nr.167,
Judet Timis.

The parents,brother and
siters with families,they
have no relatives in Romania

Părinti,fratii si surori
cu familiile precum si
alte numeroase rude. In
Romania numai au pe nimeni.

56.
Eichinger Peter
Eichinger Barbara
and their daughter
Potye Anna,born Eichinger
Potye Ioan and their daughters
Anna and Eva Potye
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.416 Judet Timis.

The son with family,4
sisters with their families,
brother with family and
other many close relatives
They have no relatives
in Romania.

Fiul cu familia,4 surori
cu familiile,frate cu
familia si alte apropiate
rude.

57.
Bodendorfer Ecaterina
Bodendorfer Mihai
and their daughter
Untermeger Dorothea,born Bodendorfer
Untermeger Erich
they have 2 children
Untermeger Eduard and Helga
Address:
1985 Masloc Nr.207,Judet Timis.

The daughter with family,
sisters a.brother with
families.

Fiica cu familia,surori si
frati cu familiile.

58
Stricker
Anna
Stricker Michael
and their children
Stricker Erika and Richard
Address:

The Brothers with families
and othermany close relatives.
The have no relatives
in Romania

Frati cu familiile,si alte
rude apropiate In [illegible]

59.
Becker Elisabetha,widow
and her son
Becker Josef
Becker Katharina,and their children
Adfelheit and Arthur Becker
Address:
1938 Peciul Nou,Strada Bisericii No.88
Judet Timis.

The with his family,brothers
and sister with their families.
and other close relatives.

Fiul cu fam.lui,frati si
surori cu familiile lor.
In Romania numai au alte rude apro-
piate.

60.
Schlauch Nicolae
Schlauch Anna
Schlauch Peter,widow and his daughter
Beate (1980)
Wagner Maria born Schlauch
Wagner Wilhelm, and their child
Gabriel-Roland(1974)
Address:
1910 Giarmata Vii,Str.Islaz Nr.5
Judet Timis.

The parents,sisters a.brothers
with their families a.other
close relatives.They have
no relatives in Romania.

Parintii,surori si frati cu
familiile,precum si alte nume-
roase rude apropiate.In Romania
numai au pe nimeni.

61.
Kreppel Elisabetha born 1924,widow,
retire.
Address:
1951 Cärpinis,Str.III Nr.25,Judet Timis.

The son with his family and
other close relatives.
She have no relatives in Ro-
mania.
Fiul cu familia.In Rom.numai
are alte rude.

62.
Rückert Susanna,widow a.her son
Rückert Josef
Rückert Maria and their child
Rückert Helmuth
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Carii Nr.944,Jud.Timis.

Brother and sisters with fami-
lies and many close relatives.
They have no relatives in
Romania.
Frati si surori cu fam.lor.In
Romania numai au alte rude
apropiate.

63.
Kassnell Marianna,born1901,widow
and her daughter
Schneider Katharina,born Kasnel,widow,
and her daughter
Warres Annemarie,born Schneider
Warres Johann
They have 2 children
Warres Annemarie and Rainer
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Strada Morii Nr.821,Judet
Timis.

The daughter with family,sis-
ters and brothers with families
and other close numerous rela-
tives.

Fiica cu familia,frati si
surori cu familiile,si alte
nmeroase rude apropiate.

64.
Jost Susanna,born 1895,widow,and her
daughter
Reis Elisabetha,born Jost on 1916
Reis Nikolaus,born 1913
and their daughter
Reiss Anna
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.898,Judet Timis.

The son with his family,brothers
a.sisters with their families and
many close relatives.

Fiul cu familia frati si surori
cu familiile lor si alte rude apropi-
ate.

65.
Albinger Ecaterina,born Kern in USA
Addrress:
1981 Giarmata,str.Viilor Nr.601,Judet Timis.
and her son
Albinger Mathias
Albinger Susanna
they have two dauchters
Albinger Edeltraut and

Buch Elisabetha born Albinger
Buch Mathias
and theis baby
Cristoph
Address:
1962 Peschia Nr.171,Judet Timis

The dauchter with her family,sisters, brothers with their families and numerous close relatives.

Filca cu familia,surori si frati cu familiile si alte numeroase rude.

66.
Kaiser Franz
Kaiser Eva and their son
Kaiser Matei married with
Kaiser Lidia-Emilia.
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Johana Nr.889,Judet Timis.

The sister with her family,brothers with their families and other numerous relatives.

Sora cu familia,frati cu familiile lor si alte numeroase rude.

67.
Geier Elisabetha and her son
Geier Josef married with
Geier Ecaterina,they have 2 children
Geier Hildegard a.Anita

Address:
1981 Giarmata,Strada Nouă Nr.49,Judet Timis.

The sister with her family and other close relatives.

Sora cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

68
Laub Hans
Laub Elena
and their children
Ewald(1975) and Roswitha (24.12,85)
Address:
1953 Jimbolia,Allea Cito Nr.3
Judet Timis.

The parents,the broter with his family many close relatives.

Părinti,frati cu familiile si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

69
Schmidt Martin
Schmidt valeria and their son
Schmidt Ernst.
Address:
1953 Jimbolia,Strada Emanoil Gojdu Nr.5
Judet Timis.

The dauchter with her family,brothers and sisters with their families.

Filca cu familia ,frati si surori cu familiile lor.

70.

Schummer Rosina,widow
and her son
Schummer Josef
Schummer Margareta
they have 2 children
Laudia-Iris and Harald-Erich Schummer
Address:
1900 Timisoara,Str.Andrei Nicolaescu Nr.36,
Judet Timis.

The daughter,brothers [illegible] also their own family members and many other relatives.

Fiica cu familia frati si surori cu familiile,precum si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

71.

Schmitz Johann,born1920,retire
Schmitz Maria born 1925,retire.
and their daughter
Schmitz Gertraud

Address.
Cärpinis.Str.I-A Nr.12,Judet Timis.

The sisters with the families and many other close relatives..They have no in Romania other relatives.

Surorile cu familiile lor si alte numeroasew rude apropiate.In Romania numai au pe nimeni.

72.

Wild Nicolae born 1921,retire
Wild Ecaterina -his wife.
They have a daughter:
Schuch Gertrude born Wild
Schuch Francisc her husband.
They have 2 children:
Hannelore and Frank Schuch
Address:
1985 Masloc Nr.142,Judet Timis.

The children with their families ,sisters and brothers with their families and many other close relatives.

Copii cu familiile lor, surorile si fratii cu familiile lor, precum si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

73.

Molitor Jakob,born 1910,widow
and his brother
Molitor Michael,born 1909,blind.retire.
The daughter of Jakob Molitor
Höchst Margareta born Molitor,
Höchst Matei and their daughter

Hummel Hedwiga,born Höchst
Hummel Ioan
Address:
Comuna sacalaz No.196,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,brothers, sisters with their own family members, and mmany other close relatives.

Fiica cu familia ei, fratii si surorile cu familiile lor precum si alte numeroase rude apropiate.
In Romania numai au alte rude apropiate.

74.

Procker Petru born 1895,retire
and his daughter
Schiofer Ekaterina,born Procker 1927
Schiofer Nicolae,born 1929
and their son
Schiofer Nicolae Jr.
Schiofer Margareta
with a baby Doris
Address:
1910 Giarmata Vii,Str.Parcului Nr.105-107,
Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,sisters and brothers with their own family members. They have no in Romania other relatives.

Fiica cu familia,frati si surori cu familiile lor.In Romania numai au alte rude apropiate.

75.
Kumaus Johann
Kumaus Mariane and their 3 children
Kumaus Erwin
Kumaus Hans
and
Kilzer Erna born Kumaus
Kilzer Mathias
and their child
Kilzer Bruno (1980)
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Bätrânä Nr 213,Judet Timis.

The mother,the grandmother,
the sister with her family,
and many other close relatives.They have no in Romania other relatives.

Mama,bunica,sora cu familia si alte rude apropiate.In Romania numai au pe nimeni.

76.
Kilcher Rosalia
Kilcher Johann and their son
Kilcher Walter
Kilcher Johann Sr.,the father of Johann Kilcher.
(born 1902)

Address:
1971 Becicherecul-Mic Nr.525,judet Timis.

The brothers and the sisters with their own family members.They have no in Romania other relatives.

77.
Wojtek Josef
Wojtek Anna Maria and their two children
Arthur(1976) and Rolf (1983)
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.924,Judet Timis.

The parents (the mother is very ill),sisters and brothers with their own family members and many other close relatives.

78
Hummel barbara,widow,born 1911
Address:
1900 sacalaz Nr.73,Judet Timis.
and her daughter
Rosenauer Barbara,born Hummel
Rosenauer Ivan
they have two children
Cristina and Karin
Address:
1900 Timisoara,Str.Stelelor Nr.12,Bloc 17,
Sc.C.Ap.6,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,
brothers and sisters also their own family members and many other close relatives.

Fiica cu familia,frati si surori cu familiile precum si alte rude apropiate.

79.
Renoth Hilde born Probst
Renoth Mathias
Address:
Probst Peter
Probst Rosemarie born Lego
and her parents
Lego Nicolae
Lego Anna born Loser and their invalid daughter

Lego Annemarie
Loser Gertrude born Engel 1919
Engel Ana born 1889 the mother of Loser Gertrude.
Address:

The parents in West Germany and the brothers with their families in the USA

Pärintii in RFG si fratii cu familiile lor in America.

80.
Rennon Francisc
Rennon Ecaterina,born maus, and their son
Rennon Nicolae married with
Rennon Monica
they have 2 children
Elke and Edeltraud

and the daughter of Rennon Francisc and Ecaterina
Noll Margareta born Rennon,married with
Noll Anton
and two children
Dietmar a.Cristine

Maus Elisabeta,the grandmother born 1907.

Address:
1947 Tomnatic Nr.501,Judet Timis.

The children,sisters and
brother with their family
members and many other close
relatives.

Copii,surorile si fratii cu
familiile lor precum si alte
numeroase rude apropiate.

81.
Kleitsch Peter
Kleitsch Elisabeth,born Harrar,and their son
Kleitsch Robi
Kleitsc Kathalin
and a baby Melinda(1982)
Address:
1974 Tomnatic Nr.311,Judet Timis.

Harrar Maria Elisabetha,born Cocron 1921
/the grandmother/
Address:
1974 Tomnatic Nr.538,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,
brothers,sisters also their
own family members and many
other close relatives.

Fiica cu familia,fratii si
surori cu familiile lor
precum si alte rude apropiate.
In Romania numai au pe nimeni
apropiat.

82.
Remmel Anton
Remmel Eva
and the mother of Anton Remmel
Remmel Barbara
Address:
1961 Sänpetru Mic Nr.70,Judet Timis

and their daughter
Wolf Elfriede born Remmel
Wolf Manfred
and 2 babies
Michael and Monica
Address:
1976 Sännicolaul Mare,Statia Electrică,Judet timis.

The children with their families
brothers and sisters also
with their own family members

Copii cu familiile lor,fratii
si surori deasemenea cu fami-
liile lor precum si alte nume-
roase rude apropiate.In Romania
numai au pe nimeni.

83.
Stein Elisabeth,born Czivay
Stein Mathias
Address:
1938 Peciul Nou Nr.59,Judet Timis.

Czivay Nikolaus Jr.
Czivay Elisabeth
and their daughter

The parents, the daughter
with her family, the son with
his family,brothers and sisters
also with their own family
members.
Parintii,fiica,fiul,fratii
si surori cu familiile lor.

84
Nix Johann,retire
Nix Katharina and their son

Nix Johann Jr.
Nix Elisabeth and two children
Cristiane Anna-Maria and Ulrike
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Nouă Nr.136,Judet Timis.

The parents,children with their families, [illegible] with their families and other close relatives.They have no other relatives in Romania.

Parintii,surorile si alte rude apropiate impreuna cu fam.lor. In Romania numai [illegible]

85.
Kohn katharina
and her daughter
Petri margarete born Kohn
Petri Georg
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.350,Judet Timis

And the daughter of Petri G.and M.
Renoth Eva born Petri
Renoth Franz
They have two children
Monika and Franz
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.89,Judet Timis.

All the relatives are in [illegible] Germany.

Toate rudele lor [illegible] in RFG.

96.
Wagner Franz
Wagner Agnes
Address:
1981 Giarmata Str.Nouă 137,Jud.Timis.
and their son
Wagner Ion married with
Wagner Helga born Eisenbeil.
and their two Children
Gottfried and ingrid Wagner

Eisenbeil Magdalena,the mother of H.Wagner
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Principală Nr.532,
Judet Timis.

All the relatives [illegible] Germany.

Toate rudele lor [illegible] in RFG.

87
Prinz Joan
Prinz Ecaterina
and theoir son
Prinz Gerhardt
Prinz Melitta
and their baby Patrik (1983)
Address:
1985 Masloc 270,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,the sister with her family and many other close relatives.
They have no in Romania other relatives.

fiica cu familia,sora cu familia si foarte multe rude apropiate.
In Romania numai [illegible]

88.
Stoiadin Baltazar
Stoiadin Anna and their son
Stoiadin Alfred
Stoiadin Rosvita
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Sifoanelor Nr.329,
Judet Timis.

The brothers with their own relatives and many other close relatives.They have no in Romania other relatives.

89.
Kasznel Josef,very ill,medical retired
born on 1931,
Kasznel Eva,his wife and their daughter

Schawille Erna born Kasznel
Schawille Hans her husband
Schawille Bettina(1984)
Addres:1981 Giarmata,Str.Nouă Nr.133,Timis.

Brothers with their families,the
parents are dead and in Romania
they have no relatives.

Frati cu familiile lor.Parintii
sint decedati,iar in Romania
nuami au pe nimeni.

90.
Frey margareta and hers mother
Krenczlein Helena,widow,born on 1913.
Address:
1985 Masloc Nr.109,Judet Timis.

The husband,the son with his
family and many other close
relatives.

Sotul,fiul cu familia si alte
numeroase rude apropiate.

91.
Vaskan Vladimir,medical retired,born on 1924,
Vaskan Etel his wife
and their daughter
Bauer Claudia born Vaskan
Bauer Werner
Address:
1985 Masloc 130,Judet Timis.

The son with his family,the
brothers with their family
and many close relatives.They have
in Romania no relatives.

Fiul cu familia,frati cu familiile
lor, si alte rude apropiate..In
Romania numai au pe nimeni.

92.
Suica Gertrude born Bongardt
Suca Stefan, and their children
Daniel(1980) and Anita (1982)
Address:
Timisoara-Freidorf
Str.Ardealului Nr.2/8,Bloc A 2,Etaj I,Apart.8,
Judet timis.

Lupoian Adela born Bongardt
Lupoian Mircea
and their child
Mihai-Radu lupoian(1979)
Address:
Timisoara,Str.Lebedei Nr.8,Ap.6,Et.I,Timis.

The mother and the sister with her
family.They have no relatives in
Romania.

Mama si sora cu familia. In Romania
numai au pe nimeni.

93.
Spitz Franz
Spitz Elisabetha born Herz
and their two children
Mellitte and Jutta Spitz
Address:
1953 Jimbolia,Str.Timis 2,Judet Timis.

and the parents of Elisabetha Spitz

Herz Ioan -1911.retire,
Herz Elisabetha -1916-
Address:
1981 Giarmata Nr.548,Judet Timis.

The father,brothers,sisters with
their families and many close relatives

Tatäl,frati,surori cu familiile
lor si alte numeroase rude apropiate

94.
Kern Laurentiu-1919-medically retired
Kern Katharina, and their daughter

Till Katharina born Kern,and her husband
Till Jon. They have 2 minors children:
Arnold (1973) a.Bruno (1976)

Schmidt Joan 1906-retired(1906) the father of
Kern Katharina.

Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Morii Nr.798,Judet Timis.

The mother, sisters, brothers with their family members and many other relatives.

Mama, fati,surori cu familiile si alte rude apropiate.

95.
Gille Magdalena(1920) retired.
Address.
1947 Johannisfeld No.66,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family and many close relatives. She have no re latives in Romania.

Fiica cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.
In Romania numai are nimeni.

96.
Weber Michael (1902)retired,very ill
Weber Elisabetha,(1907) retired,
and their son
Weber Josef married with
Weber Irina,very ill,medical retired for 15 years!

Address :
1981 Giarmata,Str.Johannei 1098,Judet Timis.

Fiica cu familia,surorile cu familiile lor,si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

The daughter with her her family and many other close relatives.

97.
Zerwes Magdalena-1917-retired
and her son
Zerwes Walter Franz married with
Zerwes Sussana. They have 3 children
Hermine: Christine:Walter.

Address:
1981 Giarmata 1080,Judet Timis.

The son with family,the brother with his family and many close relatives.

Fiul cu familia,fratel cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

98.
Hess Joan
Hess Helene
and their child
Hess Manuela

Address:
Jimbolia,Str.Aradului No.7,Jud.Timis.

Brothers,sisters with their own family members a.many close relatives.

Surori si frati cu familiile si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

99.
Polonyi Stefan-born on 16.Feb.1900
Polonyi Barbara born on 12.Dec.1901

Address:
1947 Jonel No.241,Judet Timis.

The son with family,the brother with his family and many other close relatives.

Fiu cu familia,fratele cu familia si alte rude apropiate.

100.
Frombach Elisabetha,widow,
and her son
Frombach Joanmarried with
Frombach Elisabetha
they have a son
Frombach Joan Jr.,married with
Frombach Erika
they have a daughter
Melanie(1979)

Address:
1981 Giarmata No.318,Judet Timis.

The son with his family.the brother with his family.sisters with their families.and other close relatives.

Fiul cu familia, fratele cu familia si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

101.
Keller Anton-born 1915,medical retired
Keller Elisabetha,born Kilzer on1927.retired.
Kilzer Katharina,1903,retired,the mother of
Elisabetha Keller.
Address:
Timisoara V.-Mehala,Str.Paroseni No.23,Timis.

The son with his family and many other close relatives.

Fiul cu familia si alte rude apropiate.

102.
Krier Annamaria
Krier Anton
They have 2 children.
Address:
Johannisfeld Nr.429,Judet Timis.

The parents and many close relatives.

Pärintii si alte numeroase rude apropiate.

103.
Jung Jon,medical retired,very ill.
Jung Elisabetha his wife.
Address:
1981 Giarmata Str.Carol Nr.684,Judet Timis.

The sons with their own family members and all relatives.
They have no relatives in Romania.

Fii cu familiile lor,frati,surori cu familiile lor si toate rudele.
In Roania ei numai au pe nimeni.

104.
Szalapski Andreas
Szalapski Elisabeth,born Quaiser,very ill,medical retired.
Quaiser Terezia,retired
Address.
Satul Jonel No.178,Comuna Uivar.Judet Timis.

The son with his family and other close relatives.They have no relatives in Romania.

Fiul si familia lui precum si alte numeroase rude apropiate.
In romania numai au pe nimeni apropiat.

105.
Gering Josef(1927)
Gering Katharina(1926)
Address:
1981 Giarmata No.526,Judet Timis.

The father from Katharina lives in Californien-Los Angeles.the son and his family in [illegible].
They have no relatives in Romania.

106.
Schindler Elena born 1907,retired,widow and her
son:
Schindler Juliu Eduard
Schindler Ecaterina and their children
Schindler Karina (24.jan.1970)
Schindler Tiberiu (06.jan.1972)
Address:
1725 Bocsa I,Str.T.Vladimirescu 11A,judet
Caras-Severin.

The daughter with her family,
and many close relatives.
They have no relatives in Romania.

Fiica cu familia si alte rude
apropiate.In Romania numai pe
nimeni.

107.
Ferch Adam
Ferch Josefina and their son
Ferch Ewald.
Address:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Noua No.28,Judet Timis.

Tha daughter with her family
and many close relatives. They
have no relatives in Romania.

Fiica cu familia si alte rude
apropiate.In Romania numai au pe
nimeni.

108.
Bucher Gunther
Bucher Christine and thei child
Bucher Kai-Uve(1979)
Address:
1900 Timisoara,Calea Bogdanestilor
No.31,Judet Timis.

The parents.brother and sisters
withtheir family and many close
relatives.They have no relatives
in Romania.

Parinti,surori,frati cu familiile
lor.In Romania numai au alte rude
apropiate.

109.
Schneider Sebastian
Schneider Anna,both very ill,retired.

Schneider Barbara,widow and her two sons:
Walter a.Erich
Addres:
Giarmata.Str.Viilor Nr.594,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family and
many close relatives.They have
no relatives in Romania.

Fiica cu familia si alte rude
apropiate.In Romania numai
au pe nimeni.

110.
Griesel Peter
Griesel Josefa /retired.
Address:
1956 Bulgarus Nr.264,Judet Timis.
and their son
Griesel Ewald
Griesel Margareta
and their two children:
Gernot-Uwe and Artur-Sven.
Address:
1900 Timisoara.Str.Lidia Nr.3.Judet Timis.

Fiica cu familia ei,sora cu familia
ei si alte rude apropiate.

The daughter with her family
and other close relatives.They
have no relatives in Romania.

111.
Schikula Anna born Rauch,widow.
and her mother
Rauch Magdalena born 1916
Address:
2915 Comuna Tudor Vladimirescu,Str.Progresului

Daughter with her family.sister,
brother with their family a.many
close relatives.
Fiica cu familia,frati.surori
si alte rude apropiate.
[illegible]

112.
Maria Theresia Staudt,widow,retired
and her son
Josef Staudt,unmarried.
Address:
1947 Johannisfeld No.391,Judet Timis,

and her daughter;
Annemarie Rieser born Staudt married with
Nikolaus Rieser
They have two children
Brigitte a.Karin
Address:
1937 Peciul Nou No.471,Judet Timis.

The sister with her family and
many close relatives.They have
no relatives in Romania.

Sora cu familia si alte numeroase
rude.In Romania numai au alte
rude apropiate.

113.
Resch Anna-Maria
Resch Friedrich Eugen
and their son
Resch Manfred Sebastian
Address:
1900 Timisoara,Str.Cezar Boliac Nr.19.A,
Judet Timis.

The mother,brother ,sister
with theoir family a.many
close relatives.They have
no relatives in Romania

Mama.frati.surori si alte
numeroase rude.In Romania
numai au pe nimeni.

114.
Eichinger Johann,born 1908,retired.
Eihinger Elisabeth,born 1912.
They have a son:
Eichinger Johann jr.married with
Eichinger Valentina, and their children:
Juliana, Helmuth and Johann Eihinger.

AddreSS:
1981 Giarmata,Str.Morii 820,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family.
sisters and brothers their
family and many close relatives.

115.
Schuller Susanna,born 1911,widow,retired
and her daughter
Feller Eva born Schuller, married with
Feller Sebastian, very ill (cancer)
and their daughter:
Tittel Adelheit born Feller married with
Tittel-Feller Oskar.
Address:
1982 Pischia Nr.288,Judet Timis.

The daughter with her family,
brothers,siters with their
family and other close relatives.

Fiica cu familia,frati.surori
cu familiile si alte numeroase
rude.

116.
Heidenfelder Theresa-Anna born Achs
Heidenfeder Michael
and their son:
Heidenfelder Arthur
Address:
1900 Timisoara,Calea Sagului Nr.24,Ap.30,
Etj.VII,Judet Timis.

The parents from Michael Heidenfelder:
Heidenfelder Michael sr.(1911)
Heidenfelder Elisabeth,(1915)

The parents.brother,sisters,
with their family and other
numerous relatives in W.Germany.
They have relatives in USA to.

Parinti.frati.surori in Germania,
precum si alte rude apropiate
in USA.

Senator **Danforth**. This hearing will come to order. This hearing is on the most-favored-nation status for Hungary, Romania, China, and Afghanistan. I would like to say to the witnesses and to the audience today that we have a long list of witnesses. This is a subject about which people feel very, very strongly. In prior years, there have been some outbreaks in the audience at this hearing. Members of the audience are guests of the Finance Committee, and your demonstrations will do your cause no good whatever, and I am going to insist on order during this hearing. We are pleased to begin today's proceedings with two Members of the Senate, Senator Humphrey and Senator D'Amato. Gentlemen, it is good to have you with us. I don't know who would like to start. Senator Humphrey, your name is first on the list.

Senator **Humphrey**. May I begin, Mr. Chairman?

Senator **Danforth**. Certainly.

STATEMENT OF HON. GORDON J. HUMPHREY, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senator **Humphrey**. I have a statement which I would like included in full. With your permission, I will abbreviate my remarks. Mr. Chairman and Senator Heinz and members, thank you for inviting me to testify today.

The bill which I have introduced, S. 925, would deny most-favored-nation status of Afghanistan and make that country ineligible for any form of credit, credit guarantees, or investment guarantees. S. 925 currently has 29 cosponsors in the Senate, including 5 who sit on this committee. In consultation between my staff and the State Department, many changes in the bill have been made in order to preserve the executive branch's traditional prerogative in the field of trade relations.

Mr. Chairman, this hearing is an appropriate forum for a discussion of the situation in Afghanistan, for what we are talking about here is the queston of what role trade and favorable trade relations should play in the conduct of foreign policy. In Afghanistan, I think the situation has deteriorated so conclusively into Government-sponsored horror as to warrant a long overdue assessment of the American commercial presence in that country. At the same time, one of the advantages derived from this hearing on most-favored-nation status in Afghanistan is the attention that it will focus on the wretched, gruesome, and unconscionable state of affairs to which the Afghan people have been subjected since the Soviet invasion and the subsequent setting up of a puppet government was uncovered.

The situation for the Afghans has not been improved. The Soviet troops in that country, numbering more than 115,000, just recently completed a devastating attack on the strategic Kunar Valley. Soviet jet aircraft, deployed behind the facade of an indigenous Afghan Air Force, now regularly conduct deadly sorties across the Pakistani border. Inside Afghanistan, the plight of her people gets worse on a daily basis. In the winter and spring of this year, Kurt Lohbeck, a respected freelance journalist, did a series of pieces from within Afghanistan for network television. He reported visiting valleys once well populated, now completely deserted. He saw farms and villages abandoned for miles and miles at a stretch as a result of the policies of the death and destruction mapped out by the Soviet invaders and their Afghan quislings. Disease, already a problem in an undeveloped nation such as Afghanistan, has become rampant. The incidence of malaria has increased threefold between 1982 and 1984, and malnutrition in many parts of the country has made it near impossible to control the widespread outbreak of disease. The fragile agricultural system has been deliberately destroyed—crops burned and irrigation networks ruined. Widespread food shortages may well lead to famine on a large scale. Mr. Chairman, Louis DuPree, the distinguished academic, has described the Soviet policy and that of their puppet government as "migratory genocide" or the rubbleization of that country, the intentional destruction of the countryside not controlled by the Soviets and the murder or forced exodus of the people. That exodus, by the way, numbers well over 4 million in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran—the largest refuge population in the world.

Mr. Chairman, what does all of this mean in the context of the hearing on most-favored-nation status of Afghanistan? The tragedy recounted above serves to remind us that the Afghan Government, whose complicity in the annihilation of that country and its people calls into question the very legitimacy of that Government, has no claim upon the good graces of the United States nor upon any favorable treatment, in trade or otherwise, by the U.S. Government. The Congressional Research Service has estimated that the denial of most-favored-nation status will not have adverse ramifications for the Afghan people themselves. Consequently, by passing this legislation, we can put our sentiments condemning the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan into action, without making life more difficult for the Afghan people who continue their struggle for survival.

Mr. Chairman, I am not aware of any controversy over this bill. It is supported by the State Department, even more so since we made some minor changes to their liking. I not only thank the committee for entertaining it but urge that it be rapidly reported to the floor if, in your judgment that is due. Thank you.

Senator **DANFORTH**. Thank you, Senator Humphrey. Senator D'Amato.

Senator **HUMPHREY**. And excuse me.

Senator **DANFORTH**. Are you leaving?

Senator **HUMPHREY**. If I may. Did you have questions?

Senator **DANFORTH**. I was going to ask you a question or two. Yes.

Senator **D'AMATO**. I will make my statement very short, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **DANFORTH**. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Senator Humphrey follows:]

STATEMENT OF SENATOR GORDON J. HUMPHREY

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and the other members of the Subcommittee on International Trade for inviting me to testify today on behalf of legislation to revoke most-favored-nation status enjoyed by Afghanistan. It is indeed commendable that, in conjunction with your regular hearing on the most-favored-nation status of China, Romania and Hungary, you have decided to investigate more fully the issue of Afghan-American trade relations.

The bill which I have introduced, S. 925, would deny most-favored-nation status to Afghanistan and make that country ineligible for any form of credit, credit guarantees or investment guarantees. S. 925 currently has 29 cosponsors in the Senate, including four who sit on this subcommittee.

In April of this year, the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, J. Edward Fox, informed me in writing that the administration supported legislation to discontinue most-favored-nation status in Afghanistan. More recently, in consultation between my staff and the State Department, minor changes in the bill have been made in order to preserve the executive branch's traditional prerogative in the field of trade relations. Whereas S. 925 in its original form would explicitly revoke MFN status, the bill as revised would grant the President authority to deny that treatment. It would, however, require that he report to the Congress if he has not revoked most-favored-nation within 40 days of enactment. The revised version would also give the President the flexibility to restore MFN status if conditions in that country were to change dramatically. All in all, the bill in its revised form represents a very satisfactory compromise as well as an effective piece of legislation, one which I believe the administration can fully support.

Mr. Chairman, this hearing is an appropriate forum for a discussion of the situation in Afghanistan. For what we are talking about here is the question of what role trade and favorable trade relations should play in the conduct of foreign policy. In Afghanistan, I think the situation has deteriorated so conclusively into Government-sponsored horror as to warrant a long-overdue assessment of the American commercial presence in that country. At the same time one of the advantages derived from this hearing on most-favored-nation status in Afghanistan is the attention that it will focus on the wretched, gruesome, unconscionable state of affairs to which the Afghan people have been subjected since the Soviet invasion and subsequent setting up of a puppet government in Kabul.

Since the beginning of this 99th Congress, I have attempted to bring to the attention of the Senate and the public at large the horrible situation in Afghanistan, as well as the brutality of the Soviet invaders and their puppet government hosts. Indeed, several of our colleagues, including the Senator from New York, Mr. D'Amato, and members of this subcommittee, have been involved in focusing attention on this dramatic occupation.

While there is no need to reiterate in gory detail all of the particulars about the war in Afghanistan and the suffering of her people, it is important to point out that the situation for the Afghans has not improved. The Soviet troops in that country, numbering more than 115,000 men, just recently completed a devastating attack on the strategic Kunar Valley. Soviet jet aircraft, deployed behind the facade of an indigenous Afghan Air Force, now regularly conduct deadly sorties across the Pakistani border. It is unclear whether they are piloted by Soviets or Soviet-trained Afghans, but the strategy—to intimidate Pakistan into quiescence—is certainly Soviet-inspired.

Inside Afghanistan, the plight of her people gets worse on a daily basis. These Afghans know nothing of, nor do they care about international politics and the tidy euphemisms which are occasionally used to rationalize the Soviet invasion. They are simply victims, pawns caught up in a brutal Soviet land grab. In the winter and spring of this year, Kurt Lohbeck, a respected freelance journalist, did a series of pieces from within Afghanistan for network television. He reported visiting valleys once well-populated, now completely deserted. He saw farms and villages abandoned for miles and miles at a stretch as a result of the policies of death and destruction mapped out by the Soviet invaders and their Afghan quislings.

Disease, already a problem in an underdeveloped country such as Afghanistan, has become rampant. The incidence of malaria increased three-fold between 1982 and 1984, and malnutrition in many parts of the country has made it near impossible to control the widespread outbreak of infectious disease. The fragile agricultural system has been deliberately destroyed, crops burned and irrigation networks ruined. Widespread food shortages may lead to famine. Unlike Africa, however, where climate has played a role, there can be no denying the deliberate, determined nature of the famine conditions in Afghanistan.

Mr. Chairman, I can best generalize the picture of what is happening in Afghanistan through the descriptions of others who have written on the subject. In a recent article entitled "Boiling the Sea: Soviet Terror in Afghanistan," authors Peter Collier and David Horowitz note that "Soviet strategy in Afghanistan is based on a brutal rejoinder to MAO's poetic notion of guerrillas swimming in a sea of popular support. If that is true, Russian generals answer, then we shall boil that sea and ultimately drain it, leaving the fish exposed and gasping on barren land."

Louis Dupree, the distinguished academic, has described the Soviet policy as "migratory genocide," or rubbleization—the intentional destruction of the countryside not controlled by the Soviets and the murder or forced exodus of the people. That exodus, by the way, numbers well over 4 million in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran—the largest refugee population in the world.

What does all of this mean in the context of a hearing on most-favored-nation status for Afghanistan? The tragedy recounted above serves to remind us that the Afghan Government, whose complicity in the annihilation of that country calls into question its very legitimacy as a governing body, has no claim upon the good graces of the United States nor upon any favorable treatment, in trade or otherwise, by the United States Government.

Since World War II, the extension of favorable trade terms, including most-favored-nation status, by the United States to other countries has involved a decided political component, exclusive of the economic gains which might be derived. Indeed, the very reason for today's hearing on most-favored-nation status in Romania, Hungary and China is founded in the Jackson-Vanik human rights amendment to the Trade Act of 1974. Trade of any kind whatsoever between the United States and several Communist countries is banned for political reasons. Most Soviet bloc countries do not enjoy most-favored-nation status because they have not fulfilled Jackson-Vanik's stipulations on emigration, nor has the President requested a waiver on political grounds. The Congress just recently passed legislation that would ultimately deny MFN status to South Africa, a long-time ally, on political and human rights grounds.

It is a clear and accepted fact that international politics, particularly human rights, has become a criterion—at times explicit, at times implied—of American trade policy. There is nothing at all misguided or incorrect in linking the one to the other. How in good conscience can we offer favorable trade treatment to governments which mercilessly repress or otherwise brutalize their own people? If we are serious about championing the cause of human rights abroad, then how can we overlook human rights when conducting trade policy? The recent decision to expand commercial contact with the U.S.S.R., as we approach the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Accords, is a case in point. I have several times asked officials in this administration what the Soviets have done, either in the international arena or with respect to their own people, that we should reward them with renewed trade and agricultural arrangements. Certainly the moral imperative argues that we cannot conduct the one while ignoring the other—"business as usual" and all that.

Mr. Chairman, if this political component is to be a criterion in the determination of most-favored-nation status—as it has been in the past and as it will surely be in the future—then consistency, morality and logic make it incumbent upon us to give the President the authority to deny most-favored-nation status to Afghanistan. Certainly there can be no debating the deplorable state of human rights conditions in that country. To the extent that the Karmal Government is in fact a legitimate government, then its genocidal treatment of her own people justifies the revocation of MFN status at the very least. And to the extent that the Karmal regime is merely a puppet facade for the Soviet occupation, Afghanistan should receive no better trade treatment than the Soviets themselves.

Perhaps the only justification for preserving that status would be if its removal would hurt the very people we are trying to help, in this case the Afghan people. It was for this reason that I voted against South African sanctions—because they are likely to hurt the blacks more than they contribute to the abolition of Apartheid. However, in this case, the Congressional Research Service has estimated that the denial of most-favored-nation status will not have adverse ramifications for the Afghan people. Consequently, by passing this legislation we can put our sentiments condemning the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan into action without making life more difficult for the Afghan people who continue their struggle for survival.

I would be happy to answer any questions the committee may have at this time.

STATEMENT OF HON. ALFONSE M. D'AMATO, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Senator D'Amato. Let me commend the senior Senator from New Hampshire for his outstanding leadership in this endeavor, and I am supportive of it. I would ask that my entire statement be entered into the record as if read in its entirety to save the committee some time. Let me commend you, first, for holding these hearings. Second, I think that S. 925 is the very least that we could undertake. I believe that in terms of our moral commitment to the freedom fighters of Afghanistan that it is absolutely essential that we undertake revocation of most-favored-nation status. We are talking about $20 million in trade. That does not seem like a terribly significant amount, but the fact of the matter is that, if we are going to be lending our moral support to these freedom fighters, then I think the very least that we can do is to adopt S. 925. I think that then puts us on the line and shows that we have more than just rhetoric. I think that our colleagues in the Congress—in the House—should be commended for having passed an effort that will make $15 million in aid available for humanitarian aid to the freedom fighters. I think that this would give very little heart and very little meaning to those who sacrificed their lives who have seen 4 million of their people forced to flee Afghanistan and certainly would send the right kind of signal for those people who stand up to the oppression that the Soviets have brought to Afghanistan. So, I am pleased and privileged to be here with the senior Senator from New Hampshire and to say that I am delighted to be a cosponsor. And I would hope that this legislative effort on his part would result in this committee's favorable action. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you very much.

[The prepared written statement of Senator D'Amato follows:]

STATEMENT BY SENATOR D'AMATO

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me this opportunity to testify on behalf of legislation, S. 925, to rescind Most-Favored-Nation trading status for Afghanistan. I want to commend my good friend and colleague, the senior Senator from New Hampshire, for introducing this bill, and for the fine work he has accomplished as Chairman of the Task Force on Afghanistan.

Withdrawing Most-Favored-Nation status for the illegal government of Afghanistan will demonstrate the U.S. commitment to the gallant Freedom Fighters who are seeking the removal of the Karmal government. It would be inconsistant to continue to support the efforts of the Freedom Fighters while allowing MFN status for the Soviet puppet regime in Kabul.

The United States imported $13 million in goods from, and exported over $7 million in goods to, the nation of Afghanistan during 1984. Although trade between our nations is not significant, suspending MFN would be important as a signal, not only to the Soviet Union, but to the Freedom Fighters as well that the United States has a firm policy against Moscow's brutal adventurism in Afghanistan.

The selective awarding of Most-Favored-Nation status is a deliberate attempt to hold Communist nations accountable for their discriminatory emigration practices. Some may argue that Afghanistan should retain MFN status because it does not follow such discriminatory emigration policies. In fact, Afghanistan, with the help of the Soviet Army, has forced the emigration of 3 million Afghans to Pakistan and 1 million to Iran. These Afghans, representing one-fourth of that war-torn nation's pre-invasion total population, were compelled to flee in a new version of warfare called migratory genocide.

The point is that the Soviet Union, whose army occupies the major trading centers in Afghanistan and which is Afghanistan's largest trading partner, does follow a policy of discriminatory emigration. We cannot allow any advantages of MFN with Afghanistan, no matter how small, to benefit the Soviet Union.

Not unlike other nations under Moscow's domination, the Soviet-backed Afghan government is consciously aiding Moscow's attempt to terrorize and obliterate the Afghan people. The war in Afghanistan, now in its sixth year, primarily has been fought by the Soviet Army. 115,000 Soviet Soldiers are stationed within Afghanistan and another 35,000 are positioned just across the Soviet border. The U.S.S.R. has embarked on a campaign of terror, but the courageous people of Afghanistan have refused to capitulate. Those Afghans who have defied the odds and remained in Afghanistan must endure Soviet-sponsored chemical warfare, a scorched earth policy, indiscriminate bombings, and relentless Soviet offensives that achieve little except the senseless destruction of life and property.

The might and brutality of the Red Army, however, has not prevailed over the Afghan Freedom Fighters. Moscow's hope for a quick annexation of Afghanistan was dashed by the resolve of the Freedom Fighters. In the five and one-half years of devastation, Moscow's armies have only securely occupied approximately ten percent of the nation.

Recent reports indicate that Pakistan and the Soviet-backed government of Afghanistan were making progress in negotiations to resolve the conflict. There is no doubt that progress on these talks has only been possible through the resilience and fortitude of the Freedom Fighters, coupled with strong U.S. support for their efforts.

Without MFN trading status, trade between the United States and Afghanistan may become more difficult, but it will not end. Currently, the United States has complete trade embargoes with several Communist countries, such as Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, and Nicaragua. Such nations are active clients of the Soviet Union who depend heavily upon Moscow's assistance. It is consistent with our policy that we do not aid these nations with our trade.

By adopting legislation to rescind Most-Favored-Nation status for Afghanistan, we send a signal that their standing in the community of nations is deplorable. S. 925 is the proper step for a rational policy toward Afghanistan. I believe that after implementing the provisions of S. 925, Congress also should closely review the possibility of cutting off trade completely with Afghanistan.

Continued pressure must be applied to the puppet government in Kabul, as well as on the Soviet Union. I commend my colleagues in Congress who have approved, for the first time, overt aid to assist the Freedom Fighters. Although the amount to be sent, $5 million, will not end the food and medical care shortages they are experiencing, such aid will be a boost to the morale of the resistance in Afghanistan. The passage of S. 925 will send a similar message of our support to the Afghan Freedom Fighters.

I urge this distinguished panel to quickly approve S. 925 and to work for its passage on the floor of the Senate. Thank you, again, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to speak on behalf of this legislation.

Senator DANFORTH. My one question is this: Do you think that this bill, if enacted, would have any effect on either Soviet policy or Afghan policy?

Senator D'AMATO. Mr. Chairman, are you directing that toward me? I think it would have an effect.

Senator DANFORTH. Do you think it would change their policies?

Senator D'AMATO. No; but I think it would begin to put some substance behind the rhetoric that they have grown accustomed to hearing, that others throughout the world have viewed us as the paper tiger who makes pronouncements. Then, even in spite of what is going on, sees fit to turn his head and to engage in trade. How can we do that—on one hand, saying that we are appalled by that which is taking place—the genocide of the Afghan people—and then by the same token, not even begin to invoke the mildest of sanctions. So, I think that it is at least keeping faith with what we should be about.

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Chairman, may I respond to that because I think it is an important question? From my view, the continued extension of most-favored-nation status to the Government of Afghanistan—the puppet government—lends to that government an element of credibility to which it is by no means deserved. And we should withdraw that element of credibility. Will that change Soviet policy, by and of itself, no. But it seems to me that we in the West and in the Third World are missing important opportunities to orchestrate every possible element of pressure against the Soviet Union to encourage that country and to make it in the interest of that country to withdraw, not only support in the sense of the freedom fighters, but marshaling every diplomatic and every political and every economic means at our disposal toward that end. And this is but one element and one effort in that regard.

Senator **Danforth**. Senator Heinz.

Senator **Heinz**. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions, but I have some testimony that I would like to submit on the subject of Hungarian and Romanian MFN, but I will wait until there are others who have questions to finish.

Senator **Danforth**. Senator Armstrong.

Senator **Armstrong**. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions, but I would like to congratulate my colleague. I did not have an opportunity to review all of the testimony, but I did review the testimony submitted by Mr. Humphrey, and I appreciate what you are doing in submitting the bill.

Senator **Danforth**. Senator Symms.

Senator **Symms**. No questions right now, Mr. Chairman. I apologize that I missed the testimony of our two colleagues, but I will review it. And then, at the proper time, I do have a statement that I would like to make.

Senator **Danforth**. All right. Gentlemen, thank you very much.

Senator **Heinz**. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to note that Senator D'Amato appears here for the first time as Chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Commission. He has not previously appeared in that role, although he has once or twice spoken very moderately on such subjects as industrial development bonds. But in this connection, he wears a new hat and he wears it well.

Senator D'**Amato**. Thank you very much, my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania. I am delighted again to be able to appear here with Senator Humphrey. I commended him on his initiatives. It has the support, by the way, of the State Department. I find that intriguing. I won't say anything further. [Laughter.]

So, I wonder about that. I think it is interesting, and I think it is most appropriate that we really undertake this rather modest effort. I think it is a modest effort in attempting to give some aid to those who are most in need of it.

Senator **Danforth**. When the State Department speaks out on international trade, the Finance Committee should listen. [Laughter.]

Senator D'**Amato**. Mr. Chairman, somebody said this is a new Senator D'Amato in this session.

Senator **Heinz**. You are supposed to be testifying in favor of the bill——

Senator D'**Amato**. I am testifying in favor of the bill. I am just saying that generally we have found them on the other side of these things. Maybe our good friend, Edward Derwinski, was able to bring some—you know, I would like to see us exercise more than just empty rhetoric, and I think this bill begins to move us in that direction. So, I am pleasantly surprised at the State Department for supporting it.

Senator **Danforth**. Maybe foreign policy and trade policy are the same in the view of the State Department. What do you think? [Laughter.]

Senator D'**Amato**. I am not going to get into those troubled waters, Mr. Chairman. I am going to let you, who have been dealing in that area, continue to lead us.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you both very much. Senator Heinz, do you have a statement?

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN HEINZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Senator HEINZ. Mr. Chairman, I debated for a long time whether I should join Senator D'Amato and Senator Humphrey at the table because I am testifying, but I decided that I could assure myself of easier treatment from my colleagues if I hid among them up here. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased once again to address the subcommittee on the subject of most-favored-nation status for Hungary and Romania. I am speaking today as a member of both the Finance Committee and the Helsinki Commission. Like the Helsinki review process, the annual most-favored-nation review mechanism in section 402 of the Trade Act, otherwise known as the Jackson-Vanik amendment, is an important tool of human rights diplomacy. Over the past decade, Jackson-Vanik has eased a lot of tens of thousands who have appealed to the United States for humanitarian assistance. Let me begin by assuring everyone here today that the Helsinki Commission's new leadership will play and continue to play a vigorous role in the promotion and preservation of the MFN process. As we have seen, Senator Alfonse D'Amato, the Senator from New York, and also Cochairman Steny Hoyer, the Congressman from Maryland, have pledged that our Commission's committed, concerted, and compassionate attention to human rights concerns in Hungary and Romania will continue year around. The Helsinki Commission takes this occasion to emphasize how seriously we regard the MFN review. Every year we take a fresh look at each new country under review, and make a new determination on MFN extension based on human rights performance, and not promises; on deeds, not words. While we do not expect to see overnight transformations, we do expect to see steady improvements in human rights conditions to be made over time.

Taking the above considerations into account, I will now comment on the two Helsinki signatory countries to which Jackson-Vanik is applicable, Hungary and Romania. I think we have heard from Senator D'Amato and Senator Humphrey on the subject of Afghanistan.

Turning to Hungary, the Commission is pleased to note that family reunification cases between our two countries have continued to be resolved without difficulty. Therefore, the Commission supports the renewal of Hungary's MFN status for another year. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that Hungary continues to have emigration laws which are restrictive, even as compared to other East bloc countries. Thus, while the current situation is favorable, the laws on the books may discourage some Hungarian citizens from applying to emigrate. The laws also increase the possibility that problem cases between the United States and Hungary may arise in the future. With respect to human rights, it is frequently reported that Hungary's practices are good when compared to those of other East bloc countries. While the Commission would not argue this point, we would nevertheless point out that Hungarian performance over the past few years has worsened. Hungarian citizens who, in conformity with the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document, speak out for human rights and express their independent views on other sensitive issues are harassed. While these actions are perhaps mild relative to practices in countries neighboring Hungary, they nevertheless have been successful in forcing Hungarian dissident intellectuals to carry on their activities in a much less open manner.

With respect to Romania, let me stress at the outset that the Commission is under no illusions whatsoever about the human rights situation in that country. Despite Romania's independent stance on some foreign policy issues, internal conditions are grim. Within that difficult context, however, we can identify some areas where light has been shed and where, as a consequence, improvements have been made. But Romania still has highly restrictive emigration laws, regulations, and practices. Yet, despite strong official opposition to any kind of emigration, record numbers of Romanian citizens have been able to secure exit permission. In 1984, emigration from Romania—respectively to the United States, 4,545, and to the Federal Republic of Germany, 14,831—was the highest ever. Monthly totals for the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany for the first half of 1985 are well within satisfactory limits. In 1984, Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel was 1,908 and was greater than in 1983. However, the Jewish emigration total for the first 6 months of 1985 was a disturbing one-half of that recorded for the same 6-month period of 1984. The Commission therefore urges the Romanian Government substantially to improve its performance on Jewish emigration. At least four times a year, the Commission presents lengthy caselists to Romanian officials. I am gratified to report progress in the resolution of Commission cases over the past year. The Commission's July 1984 list contained 328 cases, roughly representing 1,200 individuals. After 1 year, 99, that is to say 30 percent, of the cases have been resolved; that is, the people left Romania; and 64, or 19.5 percent, more have received approval from the Romanian Government to depart. The resolution and approval rates of cases on the Commission lists have been slightly larger than in the past.

Mr. Chairman, numbers alone do not tell the whole Romanian emigration story. Year after year, we have decried the economic and procedural barriers emigrants must overcome and the myriad forms of harassment which emigrants must endure before leaving Romania. Therefore, the Commission places heavy weight on the news communicated to us by the State Department that an agreement in principle recently has been reached concerning improved Romanian procedures for emigration to the United States. Under the new procedures, emigrants destined for this country will no longer be subjected to the hardships previously inflicted on passport holders awaiting entry visas for the United States. The Commission is aware that the results of the new understanding cannot have been felt in time for this hearing. Therefore, we want to make it clear to the Romanian Government that we regard the agreement as a declaration of serious intent and firm commitment.

The broader human rights problems in Romania continue to generate substantial congressional and public concern. Accordingly, during the past year, the Commission repeatedly has raised the following issues with Romanian officials, among other things.

First, the house arrest of Father Gheorghe Calciu since his release from prison in August 1984. A decision on the part of the Romanian authorities to permit he and his family to emigrate would be greatly welcomed here in the United States.

Second, continued stringent restrictions on religious liberty and the harsh treatment of activist Christians, particularly dissenting Baptist pastors.

Third, inhumane treatment of arrested or confined prisoners.

Fourth, the Romanian Government's insentitivity to and inadequate provision for the cultural and educational needs of Romania's extensive Hungarian and other minority populations and the persecution of minority rights activists.

Fifth, in contravention of the Madrid Concluding Document provisions, the restriction of access by Romanian citizens to the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest.

Sixth, restrictions on the free flow of information contrary to Helsinki information provisions.

Also, although regarded as a sensitive issue by the Romanian Government, the reunification of the Fodor family remains a matter of humanitarian concern to the Commission.

Taking all of the above into consideration and giving particular weight to Romania's new agreement in principle on emigration procedures for United States bound emigrants, the Commission does not think there is any useful advantage to be gained by opposing renewal of Romania's status this time around. However, Romania must clearly understand that our agreement to MFN renewal in 1985 is not to be regarded as an unqualified seal of United States approval. To the contrary. The Commission makes an important distinction between any diplomatic gestures that Romania may make and actual human rights improvements which Romania substantively must demonstrate. Mr. Chairman, I have a much lengthier full statement. I would ask unanimous consent that it be included in the record in full. I appreciate the interest of the Chair and members in the Romanian and Hungarian situations and hope that the committee will take the testimony of the Commission into account in its deliberations.

Senator DANFORTH. All right. Without objection. And all of your statements will be included in the record automatically, so the witnesses don't have to ask for that permission. Next, we are happy to have Congressman Crane and Congressman Siljander.

Senator SYMMS. Mr. Chairman, could I make a brief opening statement?

Senator DANFORTH. Yes, Senator Symms.

Senator SYMMS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and I will be as brief as possible here. There are two countries that currently receive most-favored-nation status whose internal situation and policies toward the United States I want to briefly comment on. Afghanistan, from what I can view only as an incredible oversight, continues to enjoy MFN privileges from the United States. Although the trade is small between our two countries, the symbolism of MFN status with the Soviet puppet government is a major concern. There is no need for me to elaborate on the appalling human rights situation inside Afghanistan or the political views of the Afghan Government. We have covered that topic extensively in the Afghan Task Force hearing in the ad hoc bipartisan committee, which Senator Humphrey chairs, and of which I am a member. I do wish that everyone at this hearing had the opportunity to sit through some of the sessions the task force has held because they would be shocked at the enormity of the Soviet offenses against innocent people of Afghanistan. Afghanistan deserves MFN status, in my opinion, as much as the Soviet Union does—in other words, not at all. I see no justification whatever for continuing MFN status with Afghanistan, and I am pleased that the State Department has taken this view.

Mr. Chairman, in my view, Senator Jackson wisely conceived the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which properly ties since 1974 human rights matters to privileged trade status for Communist countries. In other words, Jackson-Vanik is a carrot and stick approach to the Communist nations. If they allow emigration, they may receive MFN status. Mr. Chairman, in the case of Romania, the case of denying MFN is very clear. Romania has not been complying with Jackson-Vanik. An article from the June 12 Wall Street Journal by the program director for International League of Human Rights argues that human rights are taking a beating in Romania. No dissent group is allowed; no independent labor union, citizens' group, scientific or legal or other professional associations can function. Not even an underground press has survived. The regime controls virtually all aspects of life, intruding deeply into the personal, family and religious matters. Mr. Chairman, I do not think I am going too far in saying that the United States has had a bad reputation for villifying our friends and ignoring the greater vices of our enemies. In my view, Romania is no friend of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I have another meeting which I am going to have to attend. I hope to be back, and I apologize to some of the witnesses that I will not be here to hear, but if I am not back, I would hope that Ambassador Funderburk would answer the following questions. No. 1, is there evidence of Romania transferring technology to the Soviets from the United States? No. 2, what is Romania's involvement in military arms exports and terrorism? No. 3, is there evidence of Romania's complicity in the death of the Catholic priest, Father Joseph Halif and of the demolition of various churches and jailing of the church leaders on trumped-up charges? And question No. 4, how much does the Romanian Government benefit in money from MFN and what products are dumped on the United States market as a result and produced by virtual slave labor? Mr. Chairman, in order to save the committee's time, I would ask unanimous consent that my entire statement be committed to the record as if stated.

Senator DANFORTH. Without objection.

Senator SYMMS. And I welcome my dear friend and colleague, Congressman Crane, who will testify before this committee today, and I will yield my time so that you may go ahead.

Senator DANFORTH. Congressman Crane, we are delighted you are here.

STATEMENT OF HON. PHILIP M. CRANE, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. **Crane**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and it is a privilege to appear and testify today. And I thank my distinguished colleague—former colleague from the House—Senator Steve Symms for his welcoming remarks, but I think I get the hint: As soon as he yielded to me, he indicated that he is leaving. I am not sure whether there is a message there or not. [Laughter.]

I would ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, that my entire statement be entered in the record.

Senator **Danforth**. You don't even have to ask for it.

Mr. **Crane**. Thank you, sir. I will be brief. There are two bills that I have introduced and that is in response to the President's waiver on the question of most-favored-nation status for Romania. One bill, which is potentially subject to a challenge, would simply overrule the decision the President made. The other, I think, goes to the heart of the problem, and that is giving, as we did in 1974 with Jackson-Vanik, the right of the President to personally exercise unilaterally the power of determining what nations—which might not otherwise have qualified for MFN—are eligible to receive it. In this case, it applies to Hungary and it applies to Romania and it applies to the People's Republic of China. What my objective is is to reassert congressional responsibility, which I thought basically we did. We established guidelines for most-favored-nation status with the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and I feel it is a good guideline. All we asked these countries to do—these nonmarket economies—was to observe some pretty fundamental human rights. The right of emigration without fear of reprisal or punishment, if one seeks to emigrate. And if in fact they lived up to that minimal standard, then they would enjoy certain trade concessions that we have conferred upon the market economies in the world. There are 18 that we do not grant MFN to, running from Albania to the Soviet Union; but as I say, in these three cases we, through executive authority or exercise of that waiver authority, have given them MFN status and yet there is no evidence whatsoever that giving them that kind of a break has resulted in a liberalization of their emigration policies nor punishments and abuses, violations of human rights against their own people. There are, it seems to me, some economic considerations aside from the human rights considerations. And Ambassador Funderburk, I think, when he testifies can elaborate more fully on this, that we have a significant worldwide trade imbalance. It is no more vividly demonstrated than in the imbalance of trade we have with Romania. Moreover, the Romanians have been guilty of dumping products on our markets. We are, in the Trade Subcommittee over on the House side, now debating some legislation that moves in the area of protectionism on textiles. The Romanians have dumped textiles in our markets in violation, in fact, of agreements; and then they come to plead their case in security sessions, so, they are not even abiding by trade agreements that we presumably have with them. These outrages are bad enough, but it seems to me that the real outrages you will hear from others who will testify before the committee, including Reverend Havadtoy, on the obscenity of the Romanian Government permitting 20,000 Bibles to be shipped ostensibly to get into the hands of Romanian citizens, and the Bibles never arrived. It was subsequently uncovered that the Bibles have been converted to toilet paper. It is this sorry, dismal record that, it seems to me, warrants action on the part of Congress to reassert the principles of Jackson-Vanik, at a bare minimum; and in addition to that, to recognize that Romania is a friend of the United States if you are talking about the people. But that Government clearly is not a friend of the United States or its people; and this action, therefore, Mr. Chairman, is called for. Thank you.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you. Congressman Siljander.

[The prepared statement of Congressman Crane follows:]

REMARKS OF HON. PHILIP M. CRANE, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, ON MOST FAVORED NATION TRADE TREATMENT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, it is indeed a pleasure to have the opportunity to testify before this Subcommittee on the granting of Most Favored Nation status to non-market (communist) countries. Reforms in the existing system are long overdue, and hopefully this hearing will conclusively reveal those shortcomings and loopholes that allow repressive governments to repeatedly receive MFN trade status from the United States.

In an effort to establish some prerequisites that the granting of MFN trade status would be contingent upon, in 1974 the Congress incorporated a provision that would require communist countries to comply with the basic tenets of the Jackson-Vanik amendment in order to receive MFN status. The Jackson-Vanik provisions were made a part of the Trade Act of 1974 in an effort to improve the respect for basic human rights in communist countries. As the amendment itself states, its purpose is "to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights. . . ." This is accomplished by denying MFN status to the non-market (communist) countries that have failed to comply with the amendment's provisions regarding the right to emigrate.

In addition, the law also contains a provision which allows the President to ask for a waiver in cases where the non-market country does not comply with the emigration requirements of Jackson-Vanik. Unfortunately, the last three Administrations have invoked this waiver authority for several communist countries which do not even comply with the minimal emigration requirement of Jackson-Vanik. It is incomprehensible to me that we should grant MFN status to a country that does not even comply with the simple requirement of "allowing citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate." The only other requirement in Jackson-Vanik is that the government not "impose more than a nominal tax, levy, fine, or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the desire of such citizen to emigrate."

These dual requirements are anything but onerous or excessive, and yet we have not insisted that they be respected. Year after year successive presidents have elected to waive compliance with Jackson-Vanik. Meanwhile, merely expressing a desire to emigrate from within these communist countries could lead to the loss of one's ration cards (without which they cannot buy food), demotions or terminations at the place of their employment, harassment of spouse and children, detainment and imprisonment, and even death. We would all agree that this is most severe treatment for expressing a wish to leave a country.

Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to discuss for a few moments the specific case of MFN with Romania.

For a decade now, every successive President has continued to renew the MFN status to the Socialist Republic of Romania. Over that same period of time both the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committee have been hearing reports of emigration taxes, of religious persecution and of the systematic repression of all those who criticize the government. Yet surprisingly, no President has ever denied MFN status to Romania.

I bring up the example of Romania because Romania is supposed to be one of our success stories, a country against which we supposedly have used the "leverage" of MFN to move the Romanians away from the Soviet Union and reduce the number of human rights violations. However, our former Ambassador to Romania, David Funderburk, tells a very different story, a story you will hear later in this hearing.

A simple glance at the map of Eastern Europe will tell us how much "leverage" we actually have in encouraging independence from the Soviet Union. The geo-strategic reality is that this country has no open access to the West. It is completely surrounded by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia; countries which have absolutely no tolerance of actions contrary to the wishes of Moscow.

A basic review of the governmental structure of that country will also reveal how much "leverage" we actually have in reducing the overall emigration problem, the overall religious persecution, and the systematic repression of critics of the government. The political reality is that the government of this country is a totalitarian dictatorship run by the communist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu. This man has personally ordered the assassination of critics of his regime, has allowed bibles to be turned into toilet paper, and runs a police state where cars are randomly stopped and trunks inspected, armed military personnel thoroughly search anyone coming in to or going out of the country, and citizens are required by law to report to the police any contact they have had with foreigners within 24 hours. Just open your ears to the testimony of Juliana Pilon of the Heritage Foundation, Reverend Jeff Collins of Christian Response International, and Ambassador Funderburk to hear how unsuccessful the leverage of MFN has been.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, while you may know of a few Romanian citizens whose problems with their government have been solved soon after the flag of MFN was waved about their cases, you must remember that there are 22 million people in that country. A half dozen individuals do not constitute leverage. Instead, they constitute a facade which blinds Americans from the political assassination, the torture and murder of outspoken priests, the treatment of emigration applicants as traitors to their country, and the flow of U.S. technology to the Soviet Union.

Romania is supposed to be making progress in human rights, thanks to our generous trade policy. However, Mr. Chairman, a regime that bulldozes churches, murders clergymen, and incarcerates individuals who are discovered transporting bibles in the trunk of a car is not making progress in human rights.

Romania is not the only undeserving nation that is currently reaping the benefits of free and open access to our economy. The administration, by requesting a waiver for Hungary and the People's Republic of China, has apparently elected to overlook the abysmal human rights records of these communist countries as well. The argument in favor of leverage doesn't hold up any better for Hungary or the PRC than it does for Romania. Why is it that the Congress continues to allow the President to waive the review of human rights conditions and grant the advantages of American trade to these offenders of personal freedoms?

Today I am introducing two pieces of legislation that seek to address the shortcomings of the current process of granting MFN trade status to non-market countries. One is a resolution of disapproval of the President's decision to waive the Jackson-Vanik provisions and grant MFN status to Romania. The other would eliminate the President's waiver authority over non-market countries as established in the Trade Act of 1974. If Romania, Hungary, and the PRC want to continue to receive the benefits of trade with the U.S., they will have to prove that their human rights conditions are in compliance with the standards as established under Jackson-Vanik. The president will no longer have the unilateral power to waive this compliance.

I believe that the time has come for us to let these non-market countries know that in order to get MFN trade status they must deserve it. We owe it to the people of communist countries to exercise our congressional authority over trade and remove from the President the ability to grant trade status without even considering human rights conditions. In this way, no future administration, or Congress for that matter, can disregard human rights in according MFN status to non-market countries.

In closing I would like to thank the distinguished Chairman for holding these hearings. Perhaps the eyewitness accounts of those scheduled to testify will finally motivate the Congress into legislating a permanent change in the procedure for granting MFN trade status to communist countries. By strictly applying Jackson-Vanik to those communist countries currently enjoying the benefits of MFN status, maybe then a dramatic improvement in the overall human rights situation will finally occur. Until that time, the United States will continue to subsidize the repression and brutality that characterizes the regimes in Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China.

STATEMENT OF HON. MARK D. SILJANDER, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. **Siljander**. Yes. I would like to thank the committee for having the courage to hold hearings. I only wish our side was courageous enough to do so as well. As I sit here with Congressman Phil Crane, who has been a leader in this area, I am in support of all his comments. I just want to say, Mr. Chairman and others, that I recently visited Romania for a short time. My clear, distinct impression based on that visit, after talking to so many officials and citizens there, is that there is a definite doublemindedness. There is always another side of the coin as one talks with the people and with the administrative officials. For example, there are plenty of Bibles, we are told, for all those who want them, but we were not told that they had distributed as many Bibles as the Government feels is necessary for the people—not what the people feel is necessary for themselves.

And 20,000 Bibles, for example, that were shipped to Romania for distribution under an agreement with the Government have been turned into toilet paper, to show the kind of indiscriminate disconcern for religion by the Government of Romania. And we have samples of that toilet paper. We have held news conferences where some of the Bible was still in print on that toilet paper.

Let me also mention that they said they had built 34 church buildings in the last 5 years, but they haven't told you they have torn down 36. And the ones that they have replaced are in such inconvenient locations that the old, the elderly—many of those without automobiles or convenient transportation--can no longer attend a church because it is so far out of their reachable area. I visited a church that was under construction with a local official. The local church leader is smiling, saying, "Yes, we have no problems with construction materials. The Government has been very cooperative." And out around the building, with the local official in front and out of ear's distance, he said a small word: "Please help us." So, while the officials are intimidating enough to censor, there is a secondary reality always.

Emigration is another obvious issue. When the most-favored-nation trade status hearings begin, there is a flood of emigration; but unfortunately at other times between the hearings, we find the government flooding emigration lines with those they know are ineligible and will never be OK'd. As a result, a backlog of immigration lines in the United States has been blamed as opposed to Romania.

I saw the rubble of a church that had been bulldozed in Dstrice, Romania, and shared the hearts and concerns of many local people there in the middle of wintertime. I just want to say, Mr. Chairman, that the faith of the people in that country, both of the Christians and the Jewish people, is remarkable, despite the intimidation that they have to go through. They have been watching the Government tear down so much of what they paid so much for in their own personal blood, sweat, tears, and finances to build. It is quite a disaster.

Oh, yes, they have issued permits to build churches, the Government will tell you. What they don't tell you, Mr. Chairman, is that it is impossible to obtain building supplies to build the churches, because the 5-year plan under the Marxist government of Romania will not allow for the construction of churches. There are only so many nails, so many square foot of carpeting, so much wood allowed in the 5-year plan for the country. And people who might sell building materials to the churches—those people are often fired from their jobs or are mysteriously missing not too many months later. So, in every single case—I wish there were more time to go into more cases at this hearing—I wanted to share with you my own personal experience and my own study of the situation. There is definitely a doublemindedness that is more than apparent upon visiting that country and hearing the hearts of the people there. So, I do sincerely thank you for holding these hearings. I feel at the bare minimum we should ask that the Jackson-Vanik language be included. I have a bill in the House to do this—including cultural, religious, and ethnic rights along with the rights of emigration, before we so freely hand out a special trade status to a country that engages in such tyranny and intimidation of their people. And I thank you for the chance to testify.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

[The prepared written statement of Congressman Siljander follows:]

TESTIMONY OF REPRESENTATIVE MARK D. SILJANDER BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE HEARING ON MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS FOR ROMANIA

Mr. Chairman: Thank you for inviting me to testify before your committee. These hearings are a timely and important expression of Congressional Concern for the welfare of people struggling against communist tyranny. I hope the House of Representatives will have the same courage that the Senate has.

I join Congressman Phil Crane here today in support of his motion to disapprove the granting of Most-Favored Nation Status to Romania. The irresponsible decision by the Shultz State Department is another signal to the rest of the world that the United States is a paper tiger that punishes its friends, rewards its enemies and is impotent in the face of those who would kill our citizens. It is indeed an embarrassment to reflect that he is a member of a Republican Administration.

The Communist country of Romania has increasingly violated the human rights of its citizens. This heinous crime is not restricted to one particular group, and both Christians and Jews alike are constantly under extreme pressure and persecution in Romania. Please let me take the time to inform you of just a few of the many various actions that the government of Romania has taken to deny its citizens and others of their human rights.

Although the Romanian authorities go out of their way to convince the West that there is no violation of its inhabitants' human rights, there is an extremely large volume of reports of severe restrictions on freedom of speech, the right to peaceful association, freedom of religion, and the right to emigrate. These charges are not merely allegations, but all are clearly documented and are alarming to any person who values individual liberties. We cannot overlook this, nor can we overlook the thousands of arbitrary searches and detentions, the denial of due process, and the pshychological and physical intimidation leveled at those seeking to emigrate. Romania is, indeed, still in the Soviet shadow, and, despite the reports that it often pursues an independent course, these policies are indicative of the increasing ties that she shares with the Soviet Union, another blatant violator of the human rights of its people.

Here are some more specific examples of the shocking conduct of the Romanian dictatorship. Beyond using its pervasive control over every facet of community life and its monopoly over every kind of organized activity, Romania has, in recent years, increasingly resorted to sheer terror tactics, such as arrests, savage beatings, imprisonment, interrogations, mysterious disappearances, exile and psychiatric treatment, in order to intimidate an increasingly resentful minority population. Recently, such occurrences have sharply intensified, especially for religious and intellectual leaders of minorities such as Hungarians. This also includes the continued discrimination against Hungarians in the Romanian educational system and the stirring of ethnic animosities and chauvinistic sentiments by the Romanian government. In keeping with the tradition of tyrannies which feed the people on nationalism in order to divert their attention from immediate hardships, Romania's deepening economic crisis has brought on an ever more virulent appeal to the basest kind of national chauvinism and to sentiments of hatred against the "barbarian intruders," Hungarian and other minorities who wish to practice freedom. This results in beatings, imprisonment, disappearances, and murders of minority individuals.

In view of the already discussed decline in minority educational opportunities and the denationalization of Hungaries communities, it is hardly surprising that the same policy of curtailment and elimination permeates minority cultural life as well. The following are the words that appeared on flyers posted in Transylvania by the Romanian government which openly incite Romanians against Hungarians: "Romanian brothers! The Hungarians are traitors, they want to give Transylvania away. Stop them! Beat them! Tear them asunder! Romanian brothers! Rid the country of the Hungarian Parasites so that we can be its true possessors." Furthermore, editors of leading Hungarian-language periodicals are being fired from their jobs on a continual basis. New threats of job dismissal are aimed against Romania's minority intellectual community. There is a prohibition of ceremonies and publications marking the centennial of the birth of Karoly Kos, a leading twentieth century cultural and spiritual figure of Transylvanian Hungarians. There is also a prohibition of ceremonies and publications commemorating the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sandor Korosi Csoma, the Transylvania-Hungarian scholar, traveler, and author of the first Tibetan-English dictionary. Romania has made efforts to further limit contacts between Transylvanian Hungarians and their ethnic kin from Hungary, and there are great restrictions on the use of the Hungarian language. This is, however, just the tip of the iceberg.

In Romania, the secret police are ubiquitous, busy suppressing political dissent. In March 1983, the state required that all typewriters and calculators be registered, so their use would be denied to persons who "present a danger to the public order or state security." Even lending or leasing such machines is forbidden. While other Soviet bloc nations may monitor the possessions of such items, Romania actively tries to limit their ownership by confiscating them.

Religious persecution is another of Romania's most blatant violations of human rights. Propaganda and smear tactics are used to promote atheism and discredit religion, and religious leaders are used by Romanian authorities. Unauthorized demolition of churches is a favorite activity of the Romanian government, and as a result, many church congregations are forced to meet in small tents in the bitter cold. There is a need for church buildings, and appeals for authorization forms to build them gain no results. Pastors are under constant surveillance, pressure, and harassment, and the personnel structure and salary scale set by the Romanian government severely limits pastoral ministry. There are limits on the number of seminary students allowed, and church activities bring job discrimination. Recent orders issued by the Romanian government have stated that people who engage in religious activities or who attend church are to be purged out of all administrative jobs, and instructions for its implementation were given. Certain fields of study are off limits to Christian students, and Christians are imprisoned on pretexts unrelated to Christian activities. As a rule, when the Communist authorities want to put a Christian in prison for practicing his/her religion, they find a charge that has nothing to do with that person's Christian activity. This way, they can pretend that Christian faith or activity is not the reason for imprisonment.

Elena and Traian Bogdan were involved in evangelism and in getting news of religious persecution to the West. Elena, risking her life, escaped to the United States. However, her husband Traian was found hanged, after four unsuccessful attempts to cross over the Romanian border. Romanian Secret Police are using sophisticated torture techniques against those caught distributing Bibles. The crackdown seems aimed at the growth of the evangelical churches in Romania. Police powers have recently been extended to increase their chances of finding Bible distributors. They are now allowed to stop any car traveling on the road and demand that the trunk be opened, ostensibly to check if the driver has a spare tire, but actually to see whether forbidden literature is being transported. Police have the power to confiscate the car if they find Bibles. The Reformed Church of Romania is under great pressure, and the pressures are threefold—1) pressure of the militant/atheist state, 2) suppression of a national minority, and 3) the presence of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which is not a church at all, but merely another agent of Communist, pro-Romanian propaganda. In Romania, every nationality and religious denomination was compelled to hand over its archives, and more than eleven million books, written in the language of the minorities were taken from the communities, schools, towns, and central libraries of Transylvania, Banat, and Partium. This is still continuing in many Romanian communities. Romania does not allow the importation of any foreign publications, except a few expressly technical magazines or periodicals. Part of the intellectual and material destruction in Romania is the demolition of 426 monuments and historic memorials, which belonged to the Hungarian, German, and Jewish nationalities as their cultural heritage.

The government of Romania actively discourages emigration. Emigrants often wait for years and experience harassment or other difficulties before being permitted to leave Romania, and the government also exercises close supervision over religious and international expressions. Many thousands of Romanians have been denied the right to emigrate, including those seeking medical treatment abroad or family reunification. Merely requesting exit permission triggers such reprisals as employment demotion or dismissal, eviction, and denial of essential goods and services.

Despite a full range of constitutional guarantees, all liberties may be exercised only within the narrow limits established by the party and state. Political dissent and deviation from the party's policies are not tolerated. The use of intimidation, and, to a lesser extent, physical pressure to discourage such activities persists. The population is convinced of the omnipotence, capriciousness, and relentlessness of the government's extensive security apparatus. Conditions have been deteriorating alarmingly and rapidly. With the media under direct government control, the Romanian government has tried increasingly to rid itself of Radio Free Europe. In 1984, West Germany uncovered a Romanian bombing plot against Radio Free Europe, the only independent source of broadcast news about Romania in Romania.

It is evident that Romania is, in fact, one of the most flagrant violators of human rights. The United States cannot just be an innocent bystander to this egregious felony. A wise man once said, "All that is necessary for the survival of evil, is that good men do nothing." This is precisely what is occurring in the case of Romania. We cannot simply watch on as human lives are imprisoned, and the United States must react before more human lives are wasted away. Immediate action must be taken in dealing with Romania before it becomes too late. I hope that you will give this important matter very serious thought and careful consideration, as this is a very delicate and pressing situation. Indeed, this urgent situation cannot be ignored.

Once again, thank you for the opportunity to testify before your committee. I wish you well in your deliberations.

Senator **Danforth**. Senator Armstrong.

Senator **Armstrong**. Solzhenitzyn pointed out that the only redeeming feature of human nature is our willingness to avoid looking at any kind of unpleasant situation—even an evil situation—if, by doing so, we think we can prolong our own well being or even the illusion of well-being. I don't know much about Romania, but I would have to say to my colleagues from the House that I think they really do a service, not only for the Congress, but particularly for people in that country who would have no other voice if it weren't for them and a handful of others expressing these concerns. I am somewhat familiar with analogous situations within the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and it appears to me that the very fact that there is even a handful in the West who are willing to champion the cause of religious freedom and freedom of ethnic observance, freedom of emigration, and other—what Congressman Crane characterized as "fundamental freedoms"—are really affording a degree of protection to these people, which isn't much; but it is the best we can do and it is a lot better than nothing. So, Mr. Chairman, I don't have any questions, but I just wanted to express my admiration for the testimony that has been presented. I also want to say that I hope the members of the committee and our colleagues in the Senate, as they look at this issue, will be inspired to really be serious about what is happening in Romania and in Afghanistan and in other nations around the world; and not only, let me say, in the Communist nations, although they are the ones that are frequently overlooked, where abuses of human rights have just become a repetitious story and where, regrettably, the official position of the United States in many cases has been one of sweeping it under the rug, hoping it will go away, and somehow—as Solzhenitzyn pointed out—by ignoring the situation we can prolong our own sense of well being. So, I thank our colleagues for coming to be with us today.

Senator DANFORTH. Senator Moynihan.

Senator MOYNIHAN. Mr. Chairman, I welcome my colleagues as well, and I am in general in support of Senator Armstrong's remarks. The behavior of the Romanian Government in a whole range of areas has been despicable. The routinization and bureaucratization of tyranny is almost normal behavior. We have statutes that address this problem, and we ought to use them. And I just want to again thank our colleagues.

Mr. CRANE. Thank you. And if I may add just one thing, Senator Moynihan, that is I wonder if the Romanian Government is sitting and laughing at the United States because the more generous we become to their Government the more obnoxious they become in the treatment of their own people. We are making not just a laughing stock of ourselves but it has to be horribly depressing to the Romanian citizens who are living under that tyranny to see the United States, in effect, rewarding a tyranny for the oppression inflicted upon them. Again, I thank you for this opportunity to appear.

Senator DANFORTH. Gentlemen, thank you very much.

Mr. SILJANDER. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I could ask unanimous consent that my full testimony could be entered in the record?

Senator DANFORTH. You don't even have to ask. It will automatically be put in.

Mr. SILJANDER. All right. Thank you.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you. The next witness is the Honorable Edward Derwinski, Counselor of the Department of State.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. May I ask that my statement in full be entered in the record?

Senator DANFORTH. Absolutely. You cannot only ask, but I assure you it will be done. [Laughter.]

Mr. DERWINSKI. In the interest of time, I will concentrate primarily on the issue of Romania since the other two countries involved—Hungary and China—do not seem to be the center of as much attention at this point. Mr. Chairman, the continuation of specific waivers permitting most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania, Hungary, and China are before you at this point; and my testimony, as I indicated, will primarily concentrate on Romania. But I would make the point, and I might also make a personal observation—having worked in the House version of Jackson-Vanik at the time—that the intent was to establish a relationship between trade and immigration. That has been the consistent interpretation and the emphasis over the years. The administration's position is that the extension of MFN treatment to these three countries for an additional year is of fundamental importance to our policies toward Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and, of course, East Asia. These policies have been reaffirmed by all United States administrations since 1975 for Romania, since 1978 for Hungary, and since 1981 for China.

MFN treatment for Hungary and Romania is an important manifestation of the President's differentiation policy toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This policy takes account of the considerable diversity existing within Eastern Europe and provides U.S. support for the foreign policy and internal policy differences which have evolved in many of those countries. Romania has established, for over 20 years, a record of comparative independence from the Soviets on foreign and defense policy issues. The limits Romania places on its Warsaw Pact military participation are unique in Eastern Europe. Romania has, in fact, in specific instances, exercised restraint on hard-line Soviet decisions. I think it would be helpful, Mr. Chairman, if I could make a point about most-favored-nation status, especially in view of the arguments by my former colleagues in the House. I think we have to keep in mind that most-favored-nation status is not a subsidy or an aid program. As a matter of fact, there are 140 countries that have MFN; only 14 do not. So, MFN is really part of a normal trade relationship, rather than a special subsidy or procedure. The application of Jackson-Vanik applies to emigration procedures: it does not constitute U.S. endorsement of internal developments or U.S. satisfaction with the internal situation in countries which have MFN status.

On the contrary, extension and continuation of MFN, with annual review, creates important opportunities for us to work successfully for improvements in these countries' emigration and human rights performances. The administration is aware of the considerable public and congressional concern over the human rights situation in Romania. We share that concern. We believe that the continuation of MFN status gives us effective influence to seek improvements in Romania's respect for human rights and to secure further improvements in Romania's emigration performance, in a general sense as well as in specific cases.

We have worked out in recent months a practical series of improvements on emigration with the Government of Romania. In fact, I was in Bucharest just 6 weeks ago to hammer out the final agreement. We will issue letters of eligibility through our Embassy in Bucharest to prospective Romanian emigrants who appear to meet our criteria for early admission to the United States. Romanian authorities will issue emigration passports only to persons to whom we have issued an eligibility letter. The point is, there will no longer be a backlog of Romanians with passports for emigration to the United States who do not meet our admissions criteria. The policies of the Romanian Government regarding passport issuance will jibe with our admissions regulations and procedures to ensure an orderly flow.

I might also add, Mr. Chairman, that the cooperation of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees have been helpful to us. Following consultation with those committees, we have made available 750 additional fiscal year 1985 refugee numbers for Romanians. All Romanian passport holders who are currently eligible for our Romanian refugee program will shortly be able to depart. During my visit to Bucharest last month, we presented the Romanian Government with a list of 23 specific emigration and marriage cases. As of this moment, 11 of the 23 cases have been approved, and we expect approvals of others very shortly.

One specific case, which Senator Heinz directed your attention to, is Gheorghe Calciu and his family. We have been advised that they will be permitted to leave Romania. Our latest information is that they are now concluding their procedures for passport issuance. Mr. Dorin Tudoran, who is a dissident literary critic is another Romanian who has been of great concern to us. Our delegation to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts meeting mentioned him in their presentation this spring. He has received his passport and, to the best of my knowledge, will leave Romania shortly. These are two examples of specific cases we have been able to work out.

I should also mention—and I am saying this not to gloss over charges regarding the handling of religion in Romania; the infamous toilet paper episode, for example, is something that no one, under any conditions could justify—that there have been active, direct contacts between American and Romanian religious communities.

For example, one of the latest positive developments is that the Romanian Government has completed arrangements for the Reverend Billy Graham to hold a crusade in Romania in September. As I understand it, Reverend Graham will address church audiences of several denominations in Bucharest and six other major population centers. His meetings will be transmitted to church audiences by closed circuit television, and the Romanian Government has given assurances that there will be no interference with Reverand Graham's audiences. This is another positive development which we think that our annual review of Romania's MFN status has helped produce. Mr. Chairman, there is a positive situation with regard to freedom to emigrate from Hungary. I don't believe that is controversial.

Regarding the Republic of China, we believe that MFN has served the economic and political interests of the United States as well as the People's Republic of China. They have given top priority to improvement in the area of foreign trade and investment. Many U.S. businesses are taking advantage of these investment opportunities. There seems to be a positive prospect for U.S. investments, and we think it would be consistent with our relations with China to maintain the practical relationship that MFN provides. I should also add that there are over 60,000 Chinese with approved visa petitions waiting for their turn to emigrate to the United States. Most of them already have family members living here, and this is a natural process that will work itself out. I also should add, Mr. Chairman, that the administration fully supports legislation which would authorize but not mandate the President to discontinue MFN treatment for Afghanistan. We stand ready to assist in any way the passage of such legislation. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you.

[The prepared written statement of Mr. Derwinski follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to testify for the Administration concerning the extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 and continuation of the specific waivers permitting Most Favored Nation (MFN) tariff treatment for Romania, Hungary, and China. My colleagues from Commerce, Treasury, and USTR are submitting written testimony. I will discuss the specific waiver for each country in detail. My testimony regarding Romania will be somewhat more detailed than for Hungary or China, since I went to Bucharest last month to discuss emigration procedures and human rights issues. I saw the Foreign Minister and met with President Ceausescu for more than three hours, and would like to report on significant developments from my visit. I would first like to make a few general remarks.

Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, the Jackson-Vanik amendment, establishes a relationship between trade and emigration. But the consequences of continuing MFN treatment for Romania, Hungary, and China extend well beyond trade or emigration. The extension of MFN treatment to these countries for an additional year has fundamental importance to the Administration's policies toward Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and East Asia. These policies have been reaffirmed by U.S. Administrations since 1975 for Romania, since 1978 for Hungary, and since 1981 for China.

MFN treatment for Hungary and Romania is an important manifestation of the President's differentiation policy toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This policy takes account of the considerable diversity existing within Eastern Europe and provides U.S. support for the foreign policy and internal policy differences which have evolved and which continue to develop between the various Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. Hungary has taken important steps toward market economy mechanisms, which in turn have stimulated need for worker incentives, access to consumer goods, and improved respect for human rights. Romania has established, over 20 years, a record of comparative independence from the Soviets on foreign and defense policy issues. The limits Romania places on its Warsaw Pact military participation are unique in Eastern Europe. At times Romania has exercised restraint on hard-line Soviet decisions; its dissents from Soviet foreign policy and arms control positions have stimulated questioning by other countries in Eastern Europe. Alone among the East European countries, Romania has maintained good relations with Israel.

In respect to China, development of strong, stable, and enduring relations has been a foreign policy objective of four consecutive U.S. Administrations. President Reagan has reiterated that "such a relationship is vital to our long-term national security interests and contributes to stability in East Asia." The visit to Washington this week of PRC President Li Ziannian underscores the importance of this relationship and reciprocates President Reagan's April 1984 visit to China.

I would like to make clear what Most Favored Nation status is not. First, it is not a subsidy or foreign aid program. It does provide for admission of a country's products to the U.S. market on a competitive tariff basis, and over 140 of the world's countries have MFN. Second, extension or continuation of Most Favored Nation status to certain countries does *not* constitute U.S. endorsement of internal development or satisfaction with the internal situation in those countries. On the contrary, extension and continuation of MFN status, with annual review, creates important opportunities for us to work successfully for improvements in the countries' emigration and human rights performance.

ROMANIA

The Administration is aware of the considerable public and Congressional concern over the human rights situation in Romania. We share the concern. We believe that continuance of MFN status gives the U.S. effective influence to seek improvements in Romania's respect for human rights, and to secure further improvements in Romania's emigration performance. MFN was originally accorded to Romania on the understanding that there would be significant improvements in that country's emigration performance. Over the years, there has been very considerable improvement both in overall emigration numbers and alleviation of some of the adverse effects of Romanian emigration procedures.

Mr. Chairman, we have energetically used the leverage which Romania's MFN status affords us and we are getting results. Last year more than 21,000 Romanians departed legally for the U.S., West Germany, and Israel, accounting for more than half of the legal emigration from all the countries of Eastern Europe. Ten times more Romanians went to the U.S. last year than in 1974, before Romania had MFN. Romanian emigration to the FRG declined in the first quarter of this year, but returned to earlier high levels in the second quarter. Emigration to the U.S. remains high, although monthly statistics have in recent years been distorted by the seasonal availability of U.S. refugee processing numbers for Romanian passport-holders qualified for our Romanian program. There have been recent important positive developments in respect to procedures for Romanian emigration to the U.S.

On the other hand, denial of MFN to Romania would severely limit our influence, and inevitably hold back family reunifications involving Romanians with relatives in the U.S., ethnic Germans seeking to leave for West Germany, and Romanian Jews seeking to go to Israel.

Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel in 1984 was the highest since 1976. There has been a substantial falloff during the first six months of this year: 543 Romanian Jews arrived in Israel during January–June, as opposed to 1,000 visas issued by the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest in the first half of last year. The President said in his report that we will continue closely to monitor Romanian Jewish emigration to Israel, and we hope that the current unsatisfactory trend will be reversed. Based on its anticipation that Romanian Jewish emigration will increase, the Israeli Government has assured us that it favors continuation of Romanian MFN status from the United States, and has authorized us to disclose that view.

I would like to speak for a moment about the hardships experienced by some Romanians during the emigration process. These have long been of concern to us. We are close to finalizing with the Romanian authorities details of an agreement which will make the process of Romanian emigration to the U.S. considerably smoother and less burdensome for the emigrants. Up to now, Romanian citizens have forfeited jobs, access to social services, and sometimes housing after receiving their emigration passports. Some of these individuals obtained emigration passports before ascertaining whether they were even eligible for admission to the U.S., or, if eligible, whether they could be accommodated under statutory quotas and admission ceilings in the near future. If we could not accommodate them, would-be emigrants became "trapped" between Romanian emigration law and procedures and U.S. immigration and refugee law. As I said, their situation has been of great humanitarian concern to us.

During my visit to Bucharest June 17–18, we informally worked out the basic elements of a procedure which will prevent this from happening in the future. The Romanian authorities agreed, in future, to limit the issuance of passports with exit visas for the U.S. to those individuals whom we are promptly able to accept for U.S. immigration processing. We will identify those people through issuance of letters of eligibility sent by the American Embassy in Bucharest. The Romanian authorities will in turn issue certificates to individuals stating that their passport applications have been approved, and that the individuals may obtain their passports on producing a letter of eligibility from our Embassy.

Once concluded, this agreement will be one of the most important and positive developments in the area of Romanian emigration procedures in many years. Receipt of a certificate of passport approval will not involve loss of citizenship, jobs, access to social services, or other hardships hitherto experienced by passport holders awaiting U.S. visas. The new agreement should also help to raise the passport approval rate for individuals in whom we are most directly interested.

In these hearings last year, concern was expressed about the situation of Romanian passport-holders qualified for our Romanian refugee processing program, but whom we could not process for want of numbers. Following consultation with Congress, we have made available 750 additional FY 85 refugee numbers available for Romanians, and all Romanian passport-holders who are currently eligible for our Romanian refugee program will shortly be able to depart.

During my visit to Bucharest, we presented to the Romanian Government a list of 23 emigration and marriage cases, and cases of dual nationals seeking to leave Romania, many of which had been pending for years, in which substantial Congressional interested was evident. The Romanian Government is considering this list sympathetically: up to now, 11 of the 23 cases have been approved, and more approvals are expected shortly.

With regard to specific human rights cases of interest to the U.S., I was advised by Romanian officials last month and can now publicly confirm that Father Gheorghe Calciu and his family will shortly depart for the West.

Dorin Tudoran, a dissident literary critic whose situation was also a focus of U.S. concern at the Ottawa Human Rights Experts meeting this spring, has received his passport and will leave Romania tomorrow.

Mr. Chairman, we remain greatly concerned by the suppression of religious expression in Romania. We consider access to Bibles and other religious materials, the right to practice religion freely, and free flow of information among co-religionists to be among the most fundamental of human rights. Events such as the reported conviction this week of Constantin Sfatcu are deeply troubling to all of us who share that belief. We have made clear to the Romanian Government that we seek to maintain and enhance the dialogue that exists between religious groups in Romania and their American counterparts, as well as an undertaking from the Romanian Government to allow legal importation and distribution of Bibles and religious materials.

We also actively encourage direct contacts between American and Romanian religious communities. For example, we welcome as a positive development the Romanian Government's agreement on arrangements for the Reverend Billy Graham to hold a crusade in Romania in September. The Reverend Graham will address church audiences of several denominations in Bucharest and six other major centers. His meetings will be transmitted to other church audiences in the respective cities by closed-circuit television or sound relays; the Romanian Government has given assurances that there will be no interference with the Reverend Graham's audiences.

Mr. Chairman, the resolutions of the Calciu and Tudoran cases and the Romanian Government's undertakings to Reverend Graham are welcome and we believe they are significant. Like the current level of Romanian emigration, they would not have been possible without the continuation of MFN. Some have suggested that suspension of MFN this year might induce more rapid improvement in the Romanian human rights situation. We do not agree. Whatever other steps Romanian government might take in reaction to such a move by us, the immediate effect would almost certainly be a precipitous decline in emigration, and the people most affected would be those least able to defend themselves—the emigrants themselves. The Administration remains deeply concerned about the human rights situation in Romania, which we have described in the Department's most recent report on human rights and in remarks by the Head of the U.S. Delegation to the CSCE Human Rights Expert Meeting in Ottawa. We will continue to bring our concerns to the attention of the Romanian Government on a regular basis. The recent improvements I have described, however, demonstrate that annual consideration of MFN renewal for Romania has created an effective framework in which our concerns are addressed.

HUNGARY

Despite differences in national interests and international responsibilities, we continue to enjoy a frank yet cordial and useful bilateral dialogue with Hungary.

Hungary has continued to take a relatively positive and constructive approach to emigration matters. Hungarian law permits departure rights only to individuals over 55 years of age. However, in general practice, the government has granted the majority of the applications to emigrate from people under that age ceiling. The number of Hungarian citizens who apply to leave Hungary remains small. No sanctions are imposed on those who seek to emigrate, nor do emigration procedures appear excessive. Although two new emigration cases involving divided families were recorded during the past year, both of them are on the way to being resolved.

Trade is an integral part of our relations with Hungary and has yielded mutual benefits. MFN treatment was first extended to Hungary in 1978 and has been an important factor in the growth of trade between the United States and Hungary. By the end of 1984, Hungary had eliminated the import restrictions on products from hard currency countries imposed in 1982 in response to balance of payments constraints.

On April 29 of this year, Hungary joined two of the World Bank affiliates: The International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association. Membership in such international organizations, as well as the extension of MFN treatment, further the important objective of bringing Hungary more fully into the world trading and financial system. Hungary continues to adhere to the rules and responsibilities of that system.

MFN has served the economic and political interests of the United States as well as Hungary. We believe that the continuation of MFN treatment toward Hungary is fully justified by our national interest and by Hungary's performance under the criteria relevant to this procedure.

CHINA

Economic development has become China's top priority, and China has improved the environment for foreign trade and investment. Accordingly, our bilateral economic relationship has moved to the forefront of our developing ties with China. As this relationship has grown, disagreements have naturally arisen in some areas. We can expect other problems will come up in a trading relationship which is dynamic and which involves two very different trade and legal systems. Nevertheless, we believe the prospects are good for further growth of our economic ties.

Bilateral trade has increased dramatically in recent years. Overall, China is our 19th largest trading partner, while we rank as China's third largest trading partner. Last year, two-way trade reached a record $6.4 billion, a six-fold increase over 1978, the year before relations were normalized. We ran a small trade deficit with China last year ($377 million), only the second deficit since 1977. Since 1982, the share of agricultural products in our exports to China has declined from more than 50% to just 20% last year, as China's growing domestic production has dampened import demand. The decline in agricultural sales, however, has been more than offset by the growing volume of manufactured products exported to China. Sales of non-sensitive "high-tech" products—especially computers and scientific instruments—have been especially fast-paced. Last year, the dollar value of export licenses approved for high-technology goods reached a record $2 billion, while the value of actual shipments of high-tech products probably exceeded $300 million.

American business has not hesitated to take advantage of the opportunities for investment in China. US direct equity investment now exceeds $150 million, distributed among some 60 joint ventures. Twelve US oil companies have spent about $600 million on oil exploration off China's coast. The prospects are excellent that investment and trade opportunities for US firms will continue to expand as China seeks foreign help in modernizing existing industries and in developing new ones, in a wide variety of fields such as telecommunications, electronics, transportation, and electric power generation.

Government-to-government economic agreements that we have concluded and will conclude with China are enhancing the opportunities for trade and investment with the People's Republic. Agreements on trade, civil aviation, textiles, and claims and assets, among others, provide a framework for our economic relationship. Work programs under our Science and Technology Agreement and our Industrial and Technological Cooperation Accord contribute to China's development and create opportunities for American business. We hope that a tax treaty signed during the President's visit to China last year will be acted on by the Senate during this session.

China's decision to speed up the pace of development by greater reliance on foreign goods and technology has been accompanied by some liberalization in the area of emigration. Travel restrictions have been relaxed and simplified for both immigrants and short-term travelers. There are approximately 15,000 Chinese students and scholars in this country. In addition, last year over 11,500 business visas were issued to Chinese citizens. At the some time, our China posts issued over 12,500 immigrant visas. There are over 60,000 Chinese with approved visa petitions waiting for their turn to immigrate to the US, most of whom have close family members already living here.

China's commitment to more liberal emigration practices is reflected in the bilateral U.S.-China Consular Convention, which has been in effect for three years. In diplomatic notes accompanying the Convention, both sides agreed to facilitate travel for the purpose of family reunification and, also, to facilitate travel between the two countries of persons with simultaneous claims to the nationality of the US and of China.

In tune with its increasing openness to the outside world, China has liberalized regulations governing foreign study by Chinese university students. Until early this year Chinese authorities required that students complete their education and work for two years prior to studying abroad. The Chinese also discouraged independent overseas travel by students not supported by the government. The authorities recently dropped these restrictions in favor of a new, more lenient policy that allows any student with an assured scholarship or private support from abroad to apply for permission to study abroad. Such students may travel abroad regardless of school record, age, or length of employment.

This is not to say that emigration from China is entirely problem-free. Local work units may be slow to approve departure, and officials are sometimes reluctant to issue passports and exit permits to persons whose emigration might create gaps in modernization efforts. The principal obstacle to emigration from China remains the limited ability or willingness of other countries to receive the large numbers of people able and willing to emigrate. In the case of the US, our numerical limitations on immigrants from each country cannot keep up with the Chinese demand. For example, applications for fifth preference immigration (siblings of U.S. citizens) stretch back to 1979, implying at least a five year wait for applicants in this category. There is no evidence, however, of any policy aimed at inhibiting the emigration of those with legitimate ties abroad, although many encounter bureaucratic delays in obtaining passports and exit permits.

Trade is a fundamental component of China's modernization effort and an avenue for China's further integration into the community of nations. China's advancement toward greater modernization and integration is clearly in the American interest, and MFN treatment contributes to this. The Administration strongly believes that the continuation of MFN status for China is vital to our foreign policy interests.

AFGHANISTAN

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make clear our view that maintaining MFN treatment for Afghanistan is inconsistent with our policy toward that country, and that it sends the wrong signals to our adversaries as well as our friends. We have expressed our support for legislation that would authorize, but not mandate, the President to discontinue MFN treatment for Afghanistan. We stand ready to assist in any way to facilitate the passage of such legislation.

Senator **Danforth**. What is the status of the Fodor family, and what is the administration doing about the case?

Mr. **Derwinski**. Let's see. The Fodor family is one of the families that we are hoping to reunite. Mr. Fodor was the Romanian commercial counselor. He defected in 1982. We are trying now to obtain the Romanians' permission for his wife and son to join him. This matter has been raised, Mr. Chairman, by every high-ranking official who has visited Romania in recent years. It was on the list that I presented. Secretary Baldrige raised it personally with the Romanian Minister of Trade. Ken Dam, who was until recently Deputy Secretary of State, raised the issue. And we are hoping, although I can't give you any concrete information yet, that this matter will be resolved. I have to tell you quite frankly that that is one of our tougher cases.

Senator **Danforth**. Now, to the backlog of cases. I understand that U.S. immigration quotas have not kept pace with Romanian emigration approvals. What is the cause of that, and what is being done to resolve that at this time?

Mr. **Derwinski**. That has been completely resolved. As a matter of fact, just last week we worked out the final procedures with the Government of Romania. What happened in many cases was that individuals applied for Romanian passports to emigrate to the United States without first finding out whether they were eligible for early admission to the United States under our laws and regulations. Under Romanian law, certain of these persons, when they received their emigration passports, at that point had their employment terminated and in many ways were restricted from social services. These people then, in a legal and personal way, were in limbo, if I may use that term. What we have tried to do for years is to get a balance between our legal ability to absorb not just refugees but normal immigrants from Romania and the rate of issuance of passports to Romanians who wanted to leave the country. And that is the agreement that we worked out with the Romanians just last month when I was there. Mr. Nicholas Lang of the Department of State, who is here with me, was also with me in Romania when we hammered out that agreement. Basically what that does—and let me make the point once more—is that, pending a prospective Romanian emigrant's departure for the United States he will no longer face the possibility of losing his citizenship rights, including employment and access to social services, or encounter any of the other hardships he might have previously.

Senator DANFORTH. That has been agreed to by the Government of Romania?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Totally.

Senator DANFORTH. Totally?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes; and as far as I know, it is now standard procedure. As I say, just a couple of weeks ago it became official. We reached agreement with them about 6 weeks ago.

Senator DANFORTH. And you have no doubt that that is being implemented?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I have no doubt, no doubt about it. And also, I have no doubt that when we hammered out the agreement that they understood that it was something that they couldn't renege on. We think within a short time it will clear up the backlog.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you. Senator Heinz.

Senator HEINZ. Mr. Chairman, thank you. Is it your view, Mr. Derwinski, that the Romanian Government is, with respect to human rights, skating on very thin ice?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes.

Senator HEINZ. And do you believe that there is a risk to them that unless they do still more than you have successfully negotiated with them, that there is a very real risk that either you will recommend or we will, on our own initiative, cause them to fall through the ice?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think they understand that there is a direct relationship between their human rights practices and the problems the administration will have justifying MFN to the Congress. They understand that very clearly; and to the degree their system allows it, I believe they are trying to adjust to the facts of life in that area.

Senator HEINZ. Did the administration have a difficult time in coming to the conclusion that MFN should continue for 1 more year, to be extended to Romania? Would you say it was a fairly close call?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I wouldn't call it a difficult time in the sense that what we were looking at primarily was the issue of trade and emigration; and on overall emigration, in recent years, we think that they have met the goals that we hoped they would. Where they have fallen down is in the areas that really aren't covered by the act, which is their handling of individual churchmen and churches within Romania. The statistics on Romanian emigration not just to the United States but to Germany and Israel as well, hold up very well under review. So, in that sense, they have been complying with Jackson-Vanik.

Senator HEINZ. Senator Symms, when he was here, indicated that he had concerns about Romania's transfer of technology to the Soviet Union, about arms exports, and support of terrorism. And he also wanted to have quantified in some way what kind of benefit Romania was getting from the MFN, and also whether there was any evidence of the dumping of Romanian products in the United States market. Could you address those issues?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes; I can. The Commerce, Treasury, and the Trade Representative's testimony go into more detail on specific trade issues, but to my knowledge, there are no pending dumping or dumping-related charges against Romania. I am not aware—and I stand to be corrected by my State Department associates—that Romania has been linked to any terrorist activities. All of the countries of Eastern Europe have products that show up in unusual places in the world—Nicaragua, for example, and a few other countries—and I am not here to tell you that we are dealing with a bunch of angels. What I am saying, though, is that by comparison with the other countries of Eastern Europe, Romania has been uniquely independent in foreign policy. And they have been uniquely independent in the way that they have selected to cooperate or not cooperate with Warsaw Pact activities. We recognize that as very positive and constructive.

Senator HEINZ. Is there any evidence of Romania's transferring U.S. technology illegally or violating the provisions of section 5 of the Export Administration Act?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I don't believe there is any such evidence. I am not aware that there have been any substantiated charges of their participating in illicit technology transfers.

Senator HEINZ. Have there been serious allegations in that regard?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Not that I am aware of. However, for the record, Senator, Under Secretary of State Bill Schneider is the man with specific authority in that area. I would be pleased to get additional information on that from Secretary Schneider.

Senator HEINZ. Thank you very much, Counselor.

Senator DANFORTH. Senator Armstrong.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Derwinski, you mentioned that the violations of rights which occurred in Romania tended to be those which were not covered by the act. If I understood you correctly, you pointed out that violations of the rights of persons with respect to their religious observances are not covered by the act. A natural question to ask, it seems to me, is: Wouldn't it be a good idea to amend the act to cover those? And that is, in fact, as I understand it, what the Siljander bill does. It has been introduced in the House. I haven't heard that it has been introduced in the Senate. In fact, I am thinking of doing so. But from what you said earlier, I judge that that would be a good idea.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I don't believe so, Senator. First of all, I think it would be almost impossible to administer. And if you had a strict application, I imagine you would get to the point where very few countries in the world, outside of perhaps Western Europe and a few countries in this hemisphere, might qualify. For example, a country that is a part Islamic may be in violation of such an act. That comes to mind. The point that I was making is that Jackson-Vanik, as Senator Jackson and Congressman Vanik originally proposed it—if I can recall from my participation in the debate, was aimed primarily at the abuses the Soviets were then perpetrating against the emigration of Russian Jews. It was clearly aimed at emigration. Logically, then, it was applied to the other countries of Eastern Europe. Our statistics do show that there has been a substantial improvement in the number of Romanians emigrating to the United States and other countries since Romania was granted MFN. The Government of Israel, for example, is very satisfied.

Senator **Armstrong**. Are these countries concerned about losing their MFN status? In other words, you are saying that it has worked?

Mr. **Derwinski**. It has worked. Yes.

Senator **Armstrong**. It might be equally logical to suppose that if we were to put a similar structure in the law with respect to religious observance that it would have the same effect.

Mr. **Derwinski**. When you are talking about religious observance, remember that it could cut many ways. You are talking, for example, about religious observance where certain countries have applied Islamic law. I presume the application of such a law may deny their citizens of non-Islamic faith some of their fundamental religious freedoms, making the point that you would be moving into an area where many, many other countries could therefore be in violation if that law was passed.

Senator **Armstrong**. Then, are you saying, in other words, that in Islamic countries they are tearing down places of non-Islamic worship? They are turning religious publications into toilet paper?

Mr. **Derwinski**. I am talking about the application of the law which, for example——

Senator **Armstrong**. How about narrowing it down to Romania since that it is the focus of our discussion? Would it be a good idea then to apply this standard to Romania, as Congressman Siljander's bill seeks to do?

Mr. **Derwinski**. No; I don't think so. I think that the leverage we are now able to exert can best contribute to improvements in Romania's human rights practices.

Senator **Armstrong**. If the principle works, why wouldn't it work equally well to encourage the Government of Romania to permit freer excercise of religious practices?

Mr. **Derwinski**. I believe there is only so much you can legislate and then attempt to apply to foreign policy situations. That would be very, very difficult.

Senator **Armstrong**. Mr. Derwinski, may I ask you about a related matter? Are you familiar with the provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930 that forbid the importation of goods into this country by forced labor?

Mr. **Derwinski**. Yes.

Senator **Armstrong**. Did the State Department participate in the recent administration decision not to enforce the provisions of that act with respect to the Soviet Union?

Mr. **Derwinski**. The State Department was consulted, I am sure. Yes.

Senator **Armstrong**. Could you furnish us, either now or in writing, with some discussion of the nature and the extent of the participation by the State Department, particularly the persons and occasions of State Department participation and what the advice of the State Department was?

Mr. **Derwinski**. I will be pleased to do so, subject only to what might at this point be under some restrictions. I will be pleased to do it.

Senator ARMSTRONG. What do you mean—under some restrictions?

Mr. DERWINSKI. As you know, Senator, some of this information may be classified. To the degree that that might impose an immediate problem—I am not hiding anything. I will do the best I can to give you the fullest possible information in answer to your question.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Mr. Chairman, if I could have perhaps one additional minute? Let me just say to Mr. Derwinski, who is a friend of long standing, that the administration's record on such issues isn't very good. I am not referring to my friend from Illinois, but in general, the attitude of the administration has been one of indifference; and it has been at best an attitude of indifference. On some occasions that have come to my attention, it gives every appearance of deliberately avoiding the intent of statutes on the books. So, I would be very grateful if you would look into that. I would be glad to have a response for the committee; and if you find that there are aspects of it that for some reason are under seal, I would be grateful if you would just pick up the phone and call me, and I will see if I can help get them unsealed.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes.

Senator ARMSTRONG. I would just like to ask, Mr. Chairman, a question of Mr. Derwinski on an entirely different matter. Are you familiar with a book called "The Diplomats" by Martin Mayer?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Offhand, no.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DANFORTH. Senator Moynihan.

Senator MOYNIHAN. Now, you are talking about a constituent.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Mr. Derwinski?

Senator MOYNIHAN. No; Mr. Derwinski is a friend. Mr. Mayer is a constituent and a friend.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that when I mentioned this book, I meant it in a very complimentary way.

Senator MOYNIHAN. Well, I am familiar with his book on banks. May I say to Counselor Derwinski that we take this question of forced labor seriously. Senator Armstrong and I are perhaps particularly interested in it. And we are not comfortable with what we have learned. We will look forward to whatever information you can furnish the committee.

Mr. DERWINSKI. We will do the best we can for you.

Senator MOYNIHAN. I know you will. On the other matter, I do not comprehend the wishes to extend the Jackson-Vanik waiver over the years with respect to Romania. I am not going to protest the President's judgment because it is his judgment, but I have to say that it would not be mine.

Mr. DERWINSKI. If I may comment on one thing, Senator, for the record? Since you were in your younger days an Ambassador to the United Nations, I am sure you appreciate the fact that we, of necessity, have found ourselves frustrated with the beating we take there. We have recent——

Senator MOYNIHAN. We took some of it together, if you remember, when you and I were on the 1971 Delegation to the General Assembly?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Right. That was a banner year. [Laughter.]

As you recall, Senator, under prodding from the Congress, we have kept many records of the voting pattern of the members at the United Nations, specifically the issue has often been used to debate the legitimacy of aid recipients. Also, we have looked at the countries of Eastern Europe. This is a breakdown of 10 key votes of special interest to the United States during the 1984 U.N. General Assembly. In these 10 votes, Romania voted with us once; they did not vote against us; and 9 times refrained from voting. I mention that only because that is the best record in all of Eastern Europe.

Senator **Moynihan**. Let me say to you that I am glad you raised that. I am glad you introduced that in evidence for your case. I think that it is very important that those votes be noted in committees and that we record that. To vote with us once and abstain nine times, that is a fact. And if you were trying to get a majority in the General Assembly, you would know that fact. And I thank you.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Thank you.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you. Senator Bradley.

Senator **Bradley**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Can you tell me what you think has changed between today and the last time that renewal was up for most-favored-nation status?

Mr. **Derwinski**. I think it would be accurate to say, Senator Bradley, that we have been able to obtain cooperation from the Romanian Government on a number of cases that have been of special interest. I mentioned, I believe before you entered the room, Father Calciu, who will very soon be leaving the country. His has long been a case of special interest. I personally submitted to the Romanian Government 23 cases for their consideration, 11 of which have been favorably acted upon. May I add that we have worked out a very good procedure whereby our Embassy at specific intervals raises current lists of individual cases. I think overall we have been coming along slowly but surely. The Romanian Government has been more responsive on such cases in recent years.

Senator **Bradley**. Do they still charge education fees and emigration?

Mr. **Derwinski**. Not to my knowledge. I believe that issue was last raised about 3 years ago——

Senator **Bradley**. 1983.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Right. They enacted a law which, as I understand it, they do not enforce.

Senator **Bradley**. Can you tell me why there has been a rather dramatic drop in their amount of emigration in the first 6 months of 1985?

Mr. **Derwinski**. Part of that results from bureaucratic decisions on our side with regard to the quarterly allocation of refugee admission numbers. We expect the numbers, by the end of the year, to be where they have been for the last few years. We keep records for the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Israel, and the patterns have always varied from month to month. I believe by the end of the year they will pretty well be where they have been historically.

Senator **Bradley**. We have documents that show that in the last 5 years the total emigration to the United States from the Republic of Israel has been up; but that in the first 6 months of 1985, compared to the first 6 months of 1984, it has dropped almost 40 percent. So, my question to you is: Why? Why would the Government of Romania intentionally cut back on the amount of emigration, when they know the count is being considered in determining the most-favored-nation status?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I don't believe that that is actually what happened, Senator.

Senator BRADLEY. Would you dispute the numbers?

Mr. DERWINSKI. No. Just let me give you a couple of statistics. If you look at the statistics which I have here for emigration from Romania to the United States since 1975—prior to 1975, the Romanian numbers were running in the 400's per year, in all programs. In 1975, they reached 890. Last year, the total to the United States was 4,545—a record number from Romania. This is roughly the same as emigrated to Israel—1,908. That is the third largest number that have emigrated to Israel in the last 10 years. To the Federal Republic of Germany, there were 14,831—the largest——

Senator BRADLEY. No one disputes those numbers, and we each have the same table, but it has dropped off dramatically in the first 6 months of 1985.

Mr. DERWINSKI. There is also a table we have here which shows the pattern by month. For example, in October and November you get the greatest number year after year. In October and November, early in our fiscal year, you get, owing to our bureaucratic decisions, the greatest number of Romanians processed for admission to the United States. And that will likely be the case this year also. As I indicated to the committee, we are cleaning up the backlog of Romanians with passports for emigration to the United States. The agreement we worked out is now being implemented.

Senator BRADLEY. Mr. Chairman, I know you want to move along with the hearing, but may I ask just one more question?

Senator DANFORTH. Yes.

Senator BRADLEY. What can you tell me about the Romanian Government's treatment of the Hungarian minority in the country? This has been a concern for many of us and it is one that I am very concerned about. I see in your testimony where you make a one-sentence reference to it. It surely warrants more than a sentence.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think it would be accurate to say that the Hungarian minority in Romania is suffering primarily because the Romanian economy is suffering. We have no hard evidence to show that Hungarian Romanians are suffering any hardship that the entire population of the country is not suffering given the economic problems the country has faced in recent years. Now, I am very well aware, Senator, as I know you are, of the long-standing problems between Romania and Hungary—the wars they have fought, the differences in their cultures——

Senator BRADLEY. What about minority newspapers, or radio, or what about the limits on theater? Those are signficant things. And I would say, as one Senator that before you begin to come up and ask for an extension of this, I would have to see some improvement. I am not saying that it can't be done, but I am saying that I would like to see some improvement in these areas because there are real concerns related to human rights, related to issues that are important to this country. And from my perspective—unless someone can make a more accurate case on the drop-off—it troubles me greatly.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I am confident that we will have figures in a few months that will show you a definite improvement in the flow. That is one of the reasons we worked out this specific agreement. That will balance our available numbers with the flow of Romanians. I think it will result in the backlog being cleaned up and a steadier flow of Romanians to the United States.

Senator BRADLEY. This kind of extension is not automatic. It is related to what happens within the country in question.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think it is also related to their willingness to cooperate with us because of their MFN status.

Senator DANFORTH. Mr. Derwinski, thank you very much for being with us.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you, Senator.

Senator DANFORTH. Next, we have a panel consisting of the Honorable Rudolph Aggrey, former United States Ambassador to Romania; Milton Rosenthal, former chairman and CEO at Engelhard Minerals & Chemical Corp., and United States section chairman of the Romanian-United States Economic Council; Jack J. Spitzer, honorary president, B'nai B'rith International, on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; Rev. Don Kyer, director of Frontline Fellowship; and John Crossley, Christian Rescue Effort for Emancipation of Dissidents. Gentlemen, if it is all right with you, we will proceed in the order in which your names appear on the witness list. Ambassador Aggrey.

STATEMENT OF HON. O. RUDOLPH AGGREY, FORMER UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA

Ambassador AGGREY. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, I appear before the subcommittee today to offer some observations on the desirability of continuing most-favored-nation tariff treatment for Romania. I am a former Foreign Service officer who retired last year, with 34 years credit. My perspective on the MFN question comes from 44 months as the American Ambassador to Romania. I served in Bucharest from November 1977 until July 1981. While my direct experience in Romania ended 4 years ago, my mission in Bucharest was followed by 2 years as a State Department senior fellow at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

My last regular State Department assignment was in the Office of Research and Analysis for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In both positions and subsequently, I expanded my consultations and exchanges with East European specialists in the academic community. As American Ambassador to Romania, I traveled widely, visiting every section of the country. Each year under my direction, the Embassy in Bucharest coordinated several visits by senior United States officials from the executive branch and by ranking Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The character of our relations made possible the frequent discussions I had with a variety of Romanians: senior national, county, and local government and party officials; educators, journalists, authors, fine artists, scientists, military officers, and leaders of religious and ethnic communities, among others. Other Embassy officers expanded our relations with official and nonofficial Romanians at other levels. In my experience, the business of furthering United States objectives in our relations with Romania is highly complex and always challenging. When effectual, it engages a range of often interlocking elements. These include maintaining a broad and often productive dialog—in which Romania's particular geopolitical situation is a major factor. This dialog spans East-West, North-South, Middle Eastern, U.N., European security, and other major international issues. Our mutual interests are also pursued through trade and investment, through exchanges of persons and ideas between our cultural and scientific communities, through military to military contacts, through consular relations that protect U.S. citizen rights and interests, and notably through a continuing dialog on bilateral humanitarian issues in which our specific human rights concerns are conveyed.

Other elements come into play in response to Romanian actions and initiatives on critical issues, especially in trade, finance, and multilateral diplomacy. Our relations are conditioned by the fundamental differences in the history, present nature, and performance of our respective political and economic systems. They are also affected by the fact that we are members of opposing military alliances. A key question running through our consideration is that of the potential for extending the limits of Romania's relatively independent foreign and defense policies. I believe that if we approach our relations with Romania strictly on an issue-by-issue basis, we limit our possibilities for protecting and expanding the considerable United States interests in that country.

I can cite from my tenure as Ambassador increases in emigration, the resolution of highly sensitive human rights and divided family cases, Romanian consent for the first time to allow our Embassy officers to attend court trials as observers, and the convening in Bucharest of the first roundtable meeting on human rights between the United States and an East European country. Our access to Romanian society was good in comparison to situations prevailing in the Soviet Union and some of the other East European countries. Recently, it has been asserted that because Romania is a member of the Warsaw Pact——

Senator DANFORTH. Could you summarize your conclusion, because you have already extended your comments beyond your allotted time?

Ambassador AGGREY. Yes; I will summarize. My feeling is that, if MFN were to be withdrawn, our relations would be considerably less productive. I understand that, in 1984, the United States was Romania's second largest trading partner, after the Soviet Union. Denial of MFN status would forfeit the political and other benefits of that situation. In dealing with our real concern about human rights violations and humanitarian problems in Romania, a number of courses are open to us. I do not believe, at this point, that we would act wisely or in our national interest by denying continued MFN status to Romania, and I urge its continuation.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. Mr. Rosenthal.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Aggrey follows:]

STATEMENT BY HON. O. RUDOLPH AGGREY, FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA

Mr. Chairman, I appear before the Subcommittee today to offer some observations on the desirability of continuing Most Favored Nation tariff treatment for Romania. I am a former Senior Foreign Service Officer who retired last year with nearly 34 years' credit. My perspective on the MFN question comes from 44 months as American Ambassador to Romania. I served in Bucharest from November 1977 until July 1981. While my direct experience in Romania ended four years ago, my mission to Bucharest was followed by two years as a State Department Senior Fellow at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. My last regular State Department assignment was in the Office of Research and Analysis for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In both positions and subsequently I expanded my consultations and exchanges with East European specialists in the academic community.

As American Ambassador to Romania I traveled widely, visiting every section of the country. Each year under my direction the Embassy in Bucharest coordinated several visits by senior U.S. officials from the Executive Branch and by ranking members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The character of our relations made possible the frequent discussions I had with a variety of Romanians: senior national, county, and local government and party officials; educators, journalists, authors, fine artists, scientists, military officers, and leaders of religious and ethnic communities, among others. Other Embassy officers expanded our relations with official and non-official Romanians at other levels.

In my experience, the business of furthering U.S. objectives in our relations with Romania is highly complex and always challenging. When effectual, it engages a range of often interlocking elements. These include maintaining a broad and often productive dialogue—in which Romania's particular geopolitical situation is a major factor. This dialogue spans East-West, North-South, Middle Eastern, UN, European Security and other major international issues. Our mutual interests are also pursued through trade and investment; through exchanges of persons and ideas between our cultural and scientific communities; through military to military contacts; through consular relations that protect U.S. citizen rights and interests; and notably through a continuing dialogue on bilateral humanitarian issues in which our specific human rights concerns are conveyed. Other elements come into play in response to Romanian actions and initiatives on critical issues, especially in trade, finance and multilateral diplomacy.

Our relations are conditioned by the fundamental differences in the history, present nature, and performance of our respective political and economic systems. They are also affected by the fact that we are members of opposing military alliances. A key question running through our consideration is that of the potential for extending the limits of Romania's relatively independent foreign and defense policies. I believe that if we approach our relations with Romania strictly on an issue-by-issue basis, we limit our possibilities for protecting and expanding the considerable U.S. interests in that country. Certainly, we must continue to express our concerns about Romanian human rights violations and utilize the dialogue fostered by our complex of bilateral relations to stimulate substantial change. A mutually beneficial and productive bilateral relationship makes it possible—despite the strictures of the Romanian internal system—to obtain positive responses on human rights concerns and other humanitarian objectives.

As evidence that this process works, I can cite, from my tenure as Ambassador, increases in emigration, the resolution of highly sensitive human rights and divided families cases, Romanian consent for the first time to allow our Embassy officers to attend court trials as observers, and the convening in Bucharest of the first roundtable meeting on human rights between the U.S. and an East European country. Our access to Romanian society was good in comparison with situations prevailing in the Soviet Union and some of the other East European countries.

A key element in our dealings with Romania comes from the Romanian side in the form of relative independence from the Soviet Union. Recently it has been asserted that because Romania is a member of the Warsaw Pact and because Romanian society has repressive aspects, Romania's relative independence in international relations is a myth. From my observation as Ambassador to Bucharest and since, Romania demonstrates more independence of the Soviet Union in foreign and defense policy issues than other East European Warsaw Pact countries. In terms of UN votes, Romania has sometimes been further from the Soviet position than much of the non-aligned movement. We need to continue to encourage Romania's independent course, especially now at a time of potential pressure from a younger and more vigorous Soviet leadership.

From the U.S. side, Most Favored Nation status is a key element in the structure of our extensive relations with Romania. Were MFN to be withdrawn, our relations would be considerably less productive. Two-way trade—having been built up from nominal levels before the extension of MFN status to $1.2 billion last year—would fall off. I understand that in 1984, the United States was Romania's second largest trading partner after the Soviet Union. Denial of MFN status would forfeit the political and other benefits of that situation. In dealing with our real concern about human rights violations and humanitarian problems in Romania a number of courses are open to us. I do not believe, at this point, that we would act wisely or in our national interest by denying continued MFN status to Romania and I urge its continuation

STATEMENT OF MILTON F. ROSENTHAL, FORMER CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, ENGELHARD MINERALS & CHEMICALS CORP., NEW YORK, NY; AND UNITED STATES SECTION CHAIRMAN OF THE ROMANIAN-UNITED STATES ECONOMIC COUNCIL, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Thank you, Senator. I am the retired chairman and chief executive officer of Engelhard Minerals & Chemicals Corp. I have served as the United States Chairman of the Romanian-United States Economic Council since 1975. It is in that latter capacity that I am appearing before you this afternoon.

Now, in the interest of brevity, my statement has been submitted for the record, and there is no need for me to reiterate the comments there, but I would like to make a few additional oral comments if I may.

I, personally, believe that it is highly important to the interests of the United States and of the American business community to encourage independence of nations throughout the world. And I cannot see how that objective could be achieved by withdrawing most-favored-nation status from Romania. The fact is that Romania has deliberately directed its foreign trade largely toward Western countries and deliberately reduced its commitment to trade with Eastern European countries. I have seen evidence of their independent actions in trade and in political matters. And I think it is in the interest of our country and our citizens and of our business community to encourage that to persist. I know, as the result of personal conversations with President Ceausescu, what his attitudes are toward trade with the Western nations and toward trade with the United States. It represents a very important element of his total trade policy.

He is also fiercely determined, he told me, to maintain the independence of his country, from any threat, from any source. And I think I might repeat to you what he told me on an occasion when I visited him in connection with the education tax, which his country was imposing; and which as a result of my visit, was no longer implemented by his country, and which resulted in the maintenance of most-favored-nation status by our country vis-a-vis Romania. He mentioned to me that, to demonstrate his independence and because he believed in it, he had persuaded President Sadat to make his trip to Jerusalem. He mentioned to me that he had been instrumental in persuading Chao-en-Li and Mao-Tse-Tung to invite Dr. Henry Kissinger to Beizhing. He mentioned that he had maintained diplomatic relations with Israel, even though it resulted in the immediate cessation of deliveries of oil by the Soviet Union to his country, throwing his country into the arms of the free market with the tremendous adverse consequences to them of having to buy oil in the open market at much higher prices than they could have purchased those quantities from the Soviet Union. And he told me that he did not regret any of those decisions because he believed it was consistent with the independent attitude that he believed was necessary for his country to maintain. I give credence to these statements, and I believe that it is in the interest of our country to weigh those carefully when considering whether or not to terminate relations with a country, when the consequence of that will be bound to limit its future independence by forcing it to rely upon others as support for its economic well being. That concludes my statement.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Rosenthal follows:]

STATEMENT BY MILTON F. ROSENTHAL, U.S. CHAIRMAN, ROMANIAN-UNITED STATES ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Mr. Chairman, I am Milton F. Rosenthal, retired Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corporation. I have served as the U.S. Chairman of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council since 1975. It is in this latter capacity that I am appearing this afternoon.

The Economic Council is one of the many bilateral or multilateral business councils administered by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Since its inception in 1973, the Economic Council has sought to improve the conditions under which U.S. companies do business in Romania. The Council was an early proponent of normalizing trade relations with Romania and gave its support to the negotiations that resulted in the 1975 signing of the Agreement on Trade Relations between the United States and Romania.

The 1975 agreement provides U.S. companies with important protections in such areas as property rights, copyrights, business representations and financial transfers. In a number of instances, these protections have provided U.S. companies with the additional leverage needed to resolve commercial problems that confronted them.

A central provision in that trade agreement provides for the mutual extension of most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff treatment. MFN continues to be of critical importance to our members and to other U.S. companies with business involvement in Romania. We support fully the President's decision to extend for an additional twelve months MFN status to Romania.

MFN status is regarded by some as a special privilege accorded by one nation to another. Critics of MFN renewal for Romania argue that we should revoke this privilege. In reality, however, MFN is merely a reciprocal commitment by two trading nations to extend to each other the same non-discriminatory tariff treatment that they provide to practically all of their trading partners. A revocation by this country of MFN status from another country, such as Romania, would mean that we were subjecting that country to discriminatory and therefore, punitive tariff treatment.

MFN status is a two-way street. It is inconceivable that this country could revoke MFN treatment from another country and expect the latter to continue to confer that status upon the United States. The enjoyment by American business interests of MFN status in Romania is the lynch pin for the conduct of American business in that country. Its revocation would drastically curtail trade between the two countries.

When assessing the relations between the United States and Romania, I think it important to bear in mind that Romania is avowedly a Communist country, being a member of both the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The grant or denial by the United States to Romania of MFN status cannot logically be expected to alter those facts.

We tend to expect other countries to live up to the same democratic ideals and standards we practice. If we intend to withdraw MFN status from every country that does not adhere to such ideals and standards, there would be a drastic change in our trade relations with a substantial part of the world, with materially adverse consequences for our own economy.

If one of the political objectives of our country is to encourage the independence of nations throughout the world, it is hard to see how that objective could be achieved by withdrawing MFN status from Romania. Such action would be bound to encourage a reversal in Romania's policy of directing a substantial part of its world trade to Western countries and induce it to question the value of an independent foreign policy. So also it would tend to eliminate whatever influence the United States might have in that country.

I have been involved in international trade for some forty years. My observation has always been that most American businessmen operating abroad carry with them the same democratic principles to which they adhere when conducting their business in this country. I would not want that to change, because I believe it is one of the best ways of influencing other countries, of whatever political and social persuasion, to look with favor on American ideals. Often there are developments in other countries which are very painful for Americans to behold. However, if we permit ourselves to terminate our business relations with countries whose practices do not coincide with our own, we will lose the precious example of democracy in action which our continued trade with such countries provides.

Since I assumed the Chairmanship of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council, I have appeared before Committees of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives almost every year in support of continued reciprocal MFN status between the two countries. While the volume of trade has not followed a steady course, being influenced by recessions and monetary imbalances, I believe that the Romanian market has conistently been open to American business on a competitive basis. Extensive business relationships between the two business communities have developed and there is good reason to hope that as the Romanian external debt comes under better control, there will be more opportunities for increased American business in that country.

I would like to thank you for this opportunity to express my views on behalf of the Romanian-U.S. Ecnomic Council in support of MFN renewal for Romania.

STATEMENT OF JACK J. SPITZER, HONORARY PRESIDENT, B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL, WASHINGTON, DC, ON BEHALF OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. SPITZER. Mr. Chairman, since I understand my statement will be in the record, I will attempt to summarize it in the most significant points. Since January 1980, when at Congressman Vanik's invitation, I joined a group of a dozen Congressmen to visit Romania, I have been in Romania five times, meeting again with President Ceausescu, meeting with religious leaders, members of their government, seeing religion in action, seeing difficult problems of emigration resolved, noting that the emigration problems that have come up are concerns of that government in a constructive fashion. I think it is worth noting that the 800,000 Jews that lived in Romania before the Holocaust—400,000 survived. Today, almost 350,000 of those Jews are in Israel, the largest Western national minority group in Israel. Family reunification has meant emigration to Israel, and we have been able to find a completely cooperative position and posture on the part of the government in resolving difficult problems and expediting that emigration.

It needs to be understood that that remaining population is an aging population. Approximately, 26,000 Jews now live in Romania. Of that group, over 60 percent are over 60 years of age. Therefore, only some 10,000 from the youngest children to mature persons might be logically construed to be subject to emigration. With the cooperation and the support, I think, in many economic ways, the Jewish community of Romania is encouraged by chief Rabbi Rosen and his adherents to encourage emigration to Israel. And it continues in what are generally satisfactory numbers. We would like to see the backup eliminated, and we are assured by the government that that backup, which does exist, will be eliminated.

I think it is important to point out, Mr. Chairman, that I am here speaking not only as the former international president of B'nai B'rith, having served 4 years as a volunteer in that capacity, but now as honorary president, I am representing the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, a body of 33 national Jewish organizations, the responsible leadership of the Jewish community of America. And in that position and in that capacity, I am speaking for them; I urge this committee and our Government to reinforce and to renew most-favored-nation trade status for the Government of Romania and the people of Romania. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **DANFORTH**. Thank you, Mr. Spitzer.

Reverend Kyer.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Spitzer follows:]

STATEMENT OF JACK J. SPITZER, ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Chairman: I am grateful for this opportunity to state the position of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations regarding a continuation of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania.

My own organization, B'nai B'rith, has been deeply involved in the welfare of Romanian Jewry since 1870. Both as president and now as the immediate past president of B'nai B'rith International, I have been personally active on the question of Romanian Jewry and have held a number of constructive exchanges with key Romanian leaders, including five conferences with President Ceausescu, during respective visits to Romania.

The Conference of Presidents is made up of 33 constituent Jewish organizations, including B'nai B'rith. It has had a sustained interest in the condition of the Jewish community of Romania both as to freedom of worship and the right of Romanian Jews to emigrate to Israel or to achieve family reunification in other countries.

The Conference of Presidents' involvement in the question of Romanian Jewish emigration heightened following the signing in 1975 of the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement calling for each nation to grant the other Most-Favored-Nation treatment with regard to customs, duties, and charges. In waiving the application of subsections (a) and (b) of Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 for Romania, President Ford notified the Congress that he had received assurances that the emigration practices of Romania will henceforth lead substantially to the achievement of the objectives of Section 402. In this regard, President Ford cited the Declaration of the Presidents of the United States and Romania, signed in 1973, wherein it was stated, "they will contribute to the solution of humanitarian problems on the basis of mutal confidence and good will."

Although the Conference of Presidents has consistently supported a renewal of Most-Favored-Nation status with Romania each year since 1975, we have also indicated great concern with the numbers of Romanian Jews allowed to go to Israel. In past testimony to the subcommittee, we have noted that emigration to Israel has gone from 3,729 in 1974—the last full year before MFN—to 2,372 in 1975, 1,982 in 1976, 1,347 in 1977, 1,141 in 1978, 991 in 1979, 1,043 in 1980 and 973 in 1981. In 1982, however, emigration climbed to 1,512, but fell back to 1,283 in 1983. In 1984, on the other hand, one of the best years since MFN was granted, 1,951 emigrated to Israel. But so far this year, Jewish emigration has been a disappointment. In the first six months, only 543 Jews have left for Israel, a rate that, if continued, could make 1985 the lowest year of Jewish emigration since 1981. This, despite our understanding of a backlog of approximately 1,500 applicants and our agreement with Romanian authorities that the passport process would not extend beyond six months.

We recognize—as we have recognized in previous years—that the number of Jews seeking to emigrate must inevitably decline because Romanian Jewry, an aging community, is itself diminishing, and today is estimated at 26,000.

Despite our disappointment with the current emigration picture, however, we strongly believe that Romania's MFN status is important to preserve. For one thing, MFN provides a significant framework for discussing emigration and for dealing with specific emigration cases. Over the years, we have found the Romanian government to be especially responsive on specific cases. It is leverage that we would not have were MFN to be terminated.

MFN is also justified by the Romanian government's posture in the Eastern bloc. Rather than bringing its foreign policy in line with that of the Soviet Union, Romania has tended to make its foreign policy decisions on the basis of its own national interests and its perspectives on the world. Among the examples is the fact that Romania alone among Warsaw Pact countries maintains formal diplomatic and commercial ties with Israel. These ties, along with its ties with the Arab world, have enabled Romania to play a special role in advancing the cause of peace in the Middle East.

From time to time, we have been deeply concerned about manifestations of anti-Semitism in Romania, particularly in published writings. However, we note with gratification that President Ceausescu, in an address to the Romanian Party Congress last November and in two other public occasions since, has resolved to combat anti-Semitism, and "other forms of humiliation to man." We welcome these public statements and hope that it will serve to discourage manifestations of anti-Semitic expressions in the future.

It is our hope that the rate of Jewish emigration will accelerate in the second half of the year and that 1985 will close out with a figure more closely reflecting the number of Jews who want to leave. Over the years, we have found the Romanian government to be cooperative when we have expressed concern about the level of Jewish emigration and we have every expectation that Romania will now move to facilitate emigration for the remainder of the year.

We therefore endorse another one-year extension of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to present the views of the Conference of Presidents.

STATEMENT OF REV. DON KYER, DIRECTOR, FRONTLINE FELLOWSHIP, FREDERICKSBURG, VA

Reverend KYER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have been involved in Christian missionary work in Eastern Europe since January 1971. During the course of this ministry, I have traveled all the Eastern European countries and preached in them, with the exception of Albania. My work has been mainly with individual pastors and local churches, rather than with the official church leadership which controls the church groups, although I am personally acquainted with many of those leaders. By working directly with the local churches and the pastors, I feel like I have a good grass-roots view of the situation in Romania as it affects human rights and religious freedoms, including the right to emigrate and the right to worship God, according to the dictates of personal conscience. I come here this afternoon rather embarrassed and more than a little angry. It had been my intention, up to the events of yesterday, to speak in behalf of the extension of MFN for Romania. However, I find that today I cannot, after yesterday's activities in Romania, in good conscience support that extension. I have in my testimony, which was altered and then arrived only this morning, pictures of piles of rubble that vividly demonstrate religious freedom in Romania. I testified before this group—this committee—in 1982, being here with others to ask you, on the basis of commitments and promises made by the Government of Romania through its Ambassador here, to extend MFN for Romania. I feel like we have turned the other cheek to the place now that we have no more cheeks to turn and that we no longer have any confidence whatsoever in the willingness of the Romanians to do anything other than make commitments, not to keep them. Concerning the right to emigrate, Romania became very liberal in issuing passports to its citizens who had applied for emigration when the Romanian Government became aware that those receiving passports would not be able, in fact, to receive visas. The passport then became a weapon of discipline. Those receiving passports would be denied their jobs and be forced out of housing. I have little confidence that the agreement that was recently hammered out by the State Department and the Romanian Government will be honored any further than the next few weeks following this review. The flow of information and literature has been atrocious. The well-known story of the Bibles converted to toilet paper is an example. Mr. Ioan Rosianu, the head of the Romanian Department of Cults, promised me that he would place in my hands a Bible printed in Romania, after declining our offer to ship Bibles there for free distribution. Not only has that Bible never been forthcoming, but the Baptist Union last year acknowledged that they did not have enough Bibles to give one-third of their new converts a Bible. It is interesting that in the Baptist Union Report concerning 34 new constructions over the past 8 years, the churches in Negreni and Girbau were listed. The church at Negreni was under constant threat of destruction and paid several thousand dollars in fines while under construction. The church at Girbau, the oldest Baptist church in Transylvania, was renovated only after a letter signed by approximately 25 United States Senators was sent to the Romanian authorities. I am in favor of MFN for Romania. However, until the Romanian promises and their results come up equal, I urge this committee to deny MFN extension. The Ceausescu regime has to realize that when you promise the moon, there is a delivery date.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Crossley.

[The prepared statement of Reverend Kyer follows:]

TESTIMONY BY REV. DON KYER, FOUNDER/DIRECTOR, FRONTLINE FELLOWSHIP, FREDERICKSBURG, VA

SUMMARY

Testimony of Rev. Don Kyer, Executive Director, Frontline Fellowship, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

INTRODUCTION

Previous Testimony, August 10, 1982. Personal Interest in Romania.

THE BASIC RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION

The Romania Government attempts to control every area of church life. Pastor Ioan Stef, another audit began yesterday.

The Romanian Government has destroyed several churches: Arad-Bujac, Bistrica, Giulesti

THE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND LITERATURE

Department of Cults declined offer of free Bibles, saying they would print their own. Baptist report says that the number of converts was over three times the number of Bibles they were allowed to import. Still no Bibles printed within the country.

CONCLUSION

I want MFN for Romania but I urge you to deny the extension of MFN for Romania until their results match their promises.

My name is Donald F. Kyer. I am a natural born citizen of the United States, residing at 4594 Jackson Road, Fredericksburg, Virginia. I am a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ of Baptist persuasion and now serve as executive director of Frontline Fellowship, a Christian mission serving local churches and national pastors in eastern Europe.

I have been involved in Christian missionary work in eastern Europe since January 1971. During the course of this ministry, I have traveled in all the eastern European countries except Albania. My work has been mainly with individual pastors and their churches rather than the officially recognized and controlled church groups although I am personally acquainted with many of the leaders in the official groups. By working directly with the local pastors and churches at the grass roots level, I feel I am in a better position to get an unbiased view of the true situation as it affects religious freedoms and human rights including the right to emigrate and the right to worship God according to the dictates of personal conscience.

In testimony before this committee on August 10, 1982 I covered three basic areas:

1. THE BASIC RIGHT OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

2. THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE.

3. THE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND LITERATURE.

In my testimony today, I will cover the same basic information, bringing the committee up to date on what has transpired since my last testimony.

THE BASIC RIGHT OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

Like most other eastern European countries, Romania's constitution guarantees "freedom of religion" and "separation of church and state." In reality, these terms are more accurately interpreted as "freedom FROM religion" and "separation of church and SOCIETY."

The government attempts to exercise stringent control over every area of church life. Through strict licensing requirements, the government can control, not only where a church can meet but, when it can worship and who can be the pastor. Unofficial guidelines restrict who can be baptized. Pastors who violate these restrictions soon find themselves the subject of extreme pressure. On Monday, July 22, 1985 Pastor Ioan Stef of the Baptist church in Medias in central Romania found himself under investigation for alleged mis-handling of church funds in spite of the fact that he has already been subjected to numerous audits over the past 24 months, three by the Baptist Union and two by the police, and no evidence of wrong doing has been found. Most pastors do not handle the church finances in any way, but the government uses this ploy to keep pressure on the pastor and congregation and to plant the seeds of doubt and suspicion in the minds of the members concerning their pastor.

In spite of these controls, the neo-protestant churches (Baptist, Brethren and Pentecostal) have been growing at a phenomenal rate. Consequently, many of the churches have long since outgrown their existing buildings and this has resulted in extremely crowded conditions. After waiting, many of them for years, for permission to enlarge their existing facilities or to build new buildings, several churches have proceeded without official permission and enlarged their buildings and now stand in real danger of being destroyed.

Over the past two or three years the Romanian government has destroyed several churches because the buildings were built or enlarged without official permission. With that precedent having been set, literally hundreds of churches today are in very real danger of being bulldozed to the ground.

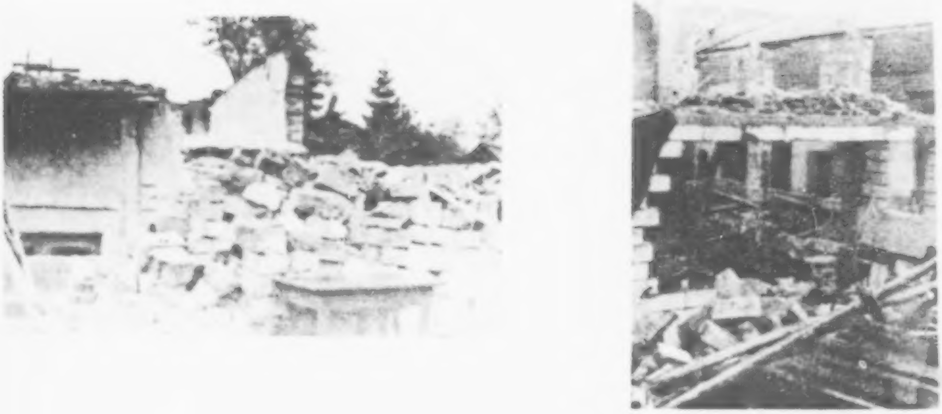
The Baptist church of Arad-Bujac was confiscated by the Romanian government and converted into a seldom used medical clinic. No effort was made to find another place of worship for the members nor was any compensation ever made to the church to reimburse over $100,000 in church funds and members labor (Which is the only thing with value, according to Karl Marx.) which went into construction of the building.

In the picture above, taken several Sundays after the building was locked and sealed by the government, a number of church members have met outside their church for prayer. At the first, all the windows were removed but later the front windows were returned, supposedly so the building could be used as a clinic.

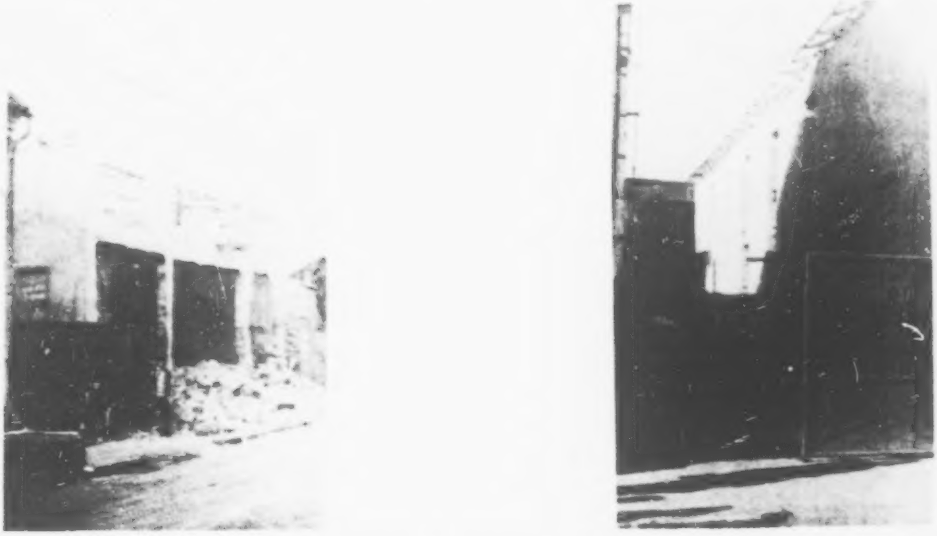
The Baptist Church at Resita has been trying for over twenty five years to get permission to renovate or replace their small building which was built in 1928. At one time a house was purchased and used by the congregation as a second church because their existing building was too small. That house was confiscated by the government. The church has been able, through the years, to get permission from the various levels of government but there is always someone who will deny permission for some vague reason. Meeting the requirements for approval at that level will cause someone who had previously given approval to change their mind. Thus, through cooperative effort between agencies, the government can put a church off indefinitely. Finally, in desperation, the church expanded their building and the Romanian government rewarded them by bulldozing down the end of the church. I have preached in this church on several occasions and there are usually as many people standing outside, listening over loudspeakers, as there are inside the building.

The Pentecostal church at Cimpia Turzi was destroyed through a cooperative effort of the pentecostal leadership and the government. Generally speaking, it can be said that the official church leadership is a tool of the government to be used in their efforts to control the churches and local pastors.

The Baptist church at Bistrita was destroyed because they extended their inadequate building ten meters.



The Pentecostal Church at Cimpia Turzi



The Baptist Church at Bistrita

Any church that has done anything in the way of renovation or remodeling without official permission stands in danger of being destroyed and most remodeling has been without permission

The stock answer of the Romanian authorities is that the church broke the law and therefore it must be destroyed. They further say that we have such laws requiring permission for renovation in America also and this is true. There are some differences , however. First, I know of no church waiting for over twenty-five years for an answer to their renovation request and, second, I know of no church that has been bulldozed to the ground for remodeling without permission, The excuse used by the Romanian government for their action is simply unacceptable.

THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE

On the surface, it would appear that Romania has shown an increased willingness to allow it's citizens the right to emigrate. However, on closer examination, it is apparent that that is not the case at all.

Romania became very liberal in issuing passports to its citizens who had applied for emigration when the Romanian government became aware that those receiving passports would have difficulty obtaining an American visa. Thus, the passport became an instrument for punishment. Recipients of passports lost their jobs, lost their homes, and became "citizens without a country" within their own homeland. The only hope for many of these helpless victims was to renounce their decision to leave and surrender the passport for which many of them had waited many years. There is no way to describe the heartache and despair inflicted upon these helpless victims who, in one moment, get the slightest breath of the air of freedom only to see it slip away. One of the most difficult times I have ever had in my travels in Romania was on my last visit in 1982 when I was approached by over one hundred people with their passports in hand, begging me to help them get the visa to go with the passport they had sacrificed everything to obtain.

The United States Congress must assume the blame for much of this misery for reducing the quotas for emigrants from the countries of eastern Europe. We are the ones who held out the glimmer of hope and then abruptly shut it off. It is my hope that this problem will be addressed from a humanitarian view and will be corrected. One way to make this plot of the Romanian government backfire would be to grant refugee status to every Romanian with a passport. It would be interesting to see how quickly passports would be issued in the future.

THE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND LITERATURE

The shortage of Bibles and other religious literature in Romania makes a sham of the whole idea of freedom religion. How any government could say they allow religious freedom for their people and then deny them the literature that goes with their religion defies comprehension.

In the fall of 1982, after testifying before this committee, I met with Mr. Ioan Rosianu, the head of the Romanian Department of Cults, the cabinet level arm of the national government responsible for controlling the churches. Among the promises he made that day, Mr. Rosianu said he hoped to personally place in my hand a copy of a Bible printed in Romania for Romanian Christians. Not only have there been no Bibles printed in Romania but, according to the report released by the Romanian Baptist Union last year, they did not allow enough Bibles to be imported to give one to each three new converts. It's interesting that in the same report, among the 34 "new" constructions over the past eight years, were the churches at Negreni and Girbau. The church at Negreni was under constant threat of destruction and paid fines equal to several thousand dollars while it was being built and the church at Girbau, the oldest Baptist Church in Transylvania, was given permission to renovate only after a letter was sent to the local inspector of the Department of Cults and signed by twenty-five United States Senators.

CONCLUSION

In the days immediately preceeding the 1982 review of MFN for Romania by this committee the Romanian government made several promises and comittments concerning religious freedom and human rights. Based on those comittments, I and several others came and asked this committee to extend MFN for another year. In my meetings in Bucharest in October 1982, Mr. Rosianu and other officials of the Department of Cults made additional promises and comittments concerning the resolution of various problems. The only comittments and promises kept were those fulfilled before the review actually took place! Rather than keep their promises and continue the dialogue which we had begun, the Romanian government decided it was simpler to declare me "persona non grata" in Romania and ignore their comittments.

Romania's dismal human rights record ranks them right along side the USSR and Bulgaria. They cannot be relied upon to abide by the comittments they make to ease the restrictions and hardships they place on their own people. The benefits of MFN do not reach down to the level of the average citizen in Romania. The profits realized by the Romanian government from MFN are used to tighten their strangle hold on the Romanian people. The

American people should not be financing the repression of Romanian citizens and especially the American people should not be contributing to the persecution of Romanian Christians.

The Romanian government has, by their insincerity and lack of character and good faith, made fools of me and other Christian leaders who wanted to trust them and take them at the word. They continue now to make fools of this administration and congress by flaunting their disregard and disdain for the values and principles which we in America hold dear. Their actions as late as the day before this hearing are evidence of that disdain.

I urge you to deny the extension of MFN for Romania and I call upon American citizens to boycott not only Romanian goods brought into this country but also to boycott those companies which bring Romanian goods into this country.

The Ceausescu regime must be made to realize that when they promise the moon, they'll be held to the delivery date.

STATEMENT OF JOHN CROSSLEY, CHRISTIAN RESCUE EFFORT FOR EMANCIPATION OF DISSIDENTS [CREED], ALEXANDRIA, VA; AND DIRECTOR, EAST WATCH INTERNATIONAL

Mr. CROSSLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am director of East Watch and chairman of the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emanicipation of Dissidents. I would like to offer the views of our organizations concerning the extension of MFN to Romania.

In past years, both CREED and East Watch have gone on record in opposition to the extension of MFN to Romania, largely due to long emigration backlogs and seemingly unsolvable specific human rights cases, particularly in the sphere of religious persecution. We have found, however, that the Romanian Government through the office of former Ambassador Mircea Malitza was willing to enter into very fruitfull discussions on specific cases, and we are pleased to say that a number of these have been resolved.

On two occasions, Dr. Ernest Gordon, the president and founder of CREED and myself traveled to Romania for meetings with directors of the department of religion. During our visits, we were cordially received. We had complete freedom of movement, including the ability to visit and participate in services in the churches of Baptist pastors Beni Cocar and Buni Cocar, both of whom are presently having difficulty with the state. On our most recent visit this past Easter, we met with the Orthodox Metropolitan, Antonie Plamadeala from Sibiu, and we discussed with him the situation in the Orthodox Church, which represents the largest religious body in Romania. And that is an important point.

The latitude granted to the Orthodox Church by the state is impressive, and it touches the lives of all Romanians with its contributions in art, history, and education. Especially noteworth is the fact that at present the Orthodox Church produces on its own printing presses its own volumes for study and worship, as well as Telegraful Roman, the Orthodox newspaper. It is important at this point to note that, in a country where religion is controlled by the state, any dissent within the religious community is often construed as being antistate. In many ways, the long ordeal of my friend, the Orthodox priest Father Gheorghi Calciu, was a product of this, and his release from prison on August 20, 1984 was a most signficant event. I am now delighted to state that Father Calciu has indeed been granted a passport, and that he and his family will be emigrating as soon as the visas have been processed.

We have also reviewed the emigration numbers from the years 1983 and 1984, which show a fairly large number being processed for Israel, the United States, and especially West Germany. In both 1983 and 1984, the total numbers approached 20,000 per year. In general, it is our position that so long as there exists opportunity for dialog with the Romanian Government, the continued nondiscriminatory trade status for Romania is not only useful, but is in itself an expression of our good intent toward the Romanian people. I have never spoken with any Romanian citizen who, despite their own personal and sociological problems, felt that MFN status should be revoked. Indeed, the American visitor to Romania will soon realize the great appreciation the average citizen has for communication between our two states. We have every indication that Ambassador Gavrilescu and his staff intend to continue in this spirit of mutual respect and understanding, and it is through this type of exchange that we will best be able to promote a genuine environment of hope. Thank you.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you very much, sir.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Crossley follows:]

2

EASTWATCH

Informing the West . . .

STATEMENT OF JOHN W. CROSSLEY ON BEHALF OF THE
CHRISTIAN RESCUE EFFORT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF DISSIDENTS
AND
EAST WATCH INTERNATIONAL

As Director of East Watch International and Chairman of C.R.E.E.D., I would like to offer the views of our organizations concerning the extension of MFN to Romania. In past years both CREED and East Watch International have gone on record in opposition to the extension of MFN to Romania largely due to long emigration case backlogs and seemingly unsolvable specific Human Rights cases, particularly in the sphere of religious persecution. We have found, however, that the Romanian Government through the office of former Ambassador Mircea Malitza was willing to enter into very candid and fruitfall discussions on specific cases and we are pleased to say that a number of these have been resolved.

On two occassions Dr. Ernest Gordon, the President and founder of the Christian Rescue Effort and myself travelled to Romania for meetings with the Directors of the Department of Religion and various leaders of the clergy. During our visits, we were very cordially received and we had complete freedom of movement including the ability to visit and participate in services in the churches of Baptist pastors Beni Cocar and Buni Cocar both of whom are presently having difficulty with the State. On our most recent visit of this past Easter we met with The Orthodox Metropolitan, Antonie Plamadeala from Sibiu and discussed with him the situation of the Orthodox Church, which represents the largest religious body in Romania.

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We have also reviewed the emmigration numbers for the years 1983-1984 which show a fairly stable number being processed for Isreal, the United States, and especially West Germany. In both 1983 and 1984, the total numbers approached 20,000 people per year.

In general it is our position that so long as there exists an opportunity for such dialogue with the Romanian government that continued non discriminatory trade status for Romania is not only useful, but is in itself an expression of our good intent towards the Romanian people. I have never spoken with any Romanian citizen who, despite their own personal or sociological problems, felt that MFN status to Romania should be revoked. Indeed, any American visitor to Romania will soon realize the great appreciation the average citizen has for communication between our two States. We have every indication that Ambassador Gavrilescu and his staff intend to continue in this spirit of mutual respect and understanding and that it is in this type of exchange that we will be best able to promote a genuine environment of hope.

BOX 2A, HEADQUARTERS RD
ERWINNA, PA 18920

Senator DANFORTH. Senator Bradley.

Senator BRADLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Is it the panel's general view that trade with Romania is positive because it encourages Romania to allow more of its citizens to leave the country? Is that the main reason why our trade with them is important?

Mr. SPITZER. Senator Bradley, may I respond? I think that trade is clearly positive in terms of its maintaining communications, the independence of the country, and a capacity to negotiate and resolve problems. I think that there is important cooperation developed through the trade process.

Senator BRADLEY. If you were going to point to the three things that have happened since the last time this issue came before the committee—that you could say were really important for the United States—and therefore justified granting it most-favored-nation status, what would you say? Let's go right down the panel.

Ambassador AGGREY. Senator, I would cite the——

Senator BRADLEY. You may pick one—you don't have to pick three.

Ambassador AGGREY. I would cite the credible record on emigration.

Senator BRADLEY. The emigration is up. All right.

Mr. Rosenthal.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I support a completely open door on the part of the Romanians for American business to penetrate their market, on the same basis that they allow anybody else to come in and sell goods and services in that country. I think also there is a very warm feeling on the part of the people in Romania, both individual citizens and the hierarchy in Romania, toward America and American citizens. I think that that is at the basis of some of their willingness to permit emigration from their country, even though they feel that emigration truthfully takes the form of a brain drain. These people who have been highly trained have left their country. And also, I think that it is highly important that the American presence continue in Romania because, by the presence of the American businessman and the American tourist practicing our principles of democracy—which we don't leave at home when we go abroad—we are a precious influence on what takes place in the minds of the Romanians with respect to American ideals and the virtue of those ideals. I do not want that to terminate.

Senator BRADLEY. Is it your argument, then, that this trade leads to Romania becoming a less totalitarian society?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I am a realist. I have seen and I have visited Communist countries over a very long period of time. I have been in international trade for exactly 40 years, and I don't believe that there is anything that we can do effectively in this country regardless of withdrawal or grant of privileges to other countries that are going to result in a change of the basic practices of certain countries. The Communists will remain Communists. The non-Communists will remain non-Communists. On the other hand, I believe that what we have done with respect to trade has been a trigger that has been important in the emigration of people. I do believe, Senator, that the reverse experience in the Soviet Union in the early 1970's—there was an annual emigration of about 50,000 Jews per year from the Soviet Union. Last year there were 900. And I am convinced in my own mind that the hostility both on a political level and on the trade level between the two countries is a direct contributor to that result.

Senator **Bradley**. So, you agree with Mr. Aggrey, which is that the trade essentially produces the result that Romanian citizens are allowed to leave?

Mr. **Rosenthal**. I do not think it will take place automatically merely because of trade. I believe it is something that has to be watched. It has to be discussed, and that is something that I believe every administration has done that I know, with whom I have had contact.

Senator **Bradley**. Later today, we will have testimony from the former Ambassador to Romania, David B. Funderburk.

Mr. **Rosenthal**. I know you will.

Senator **Bradley**. And he says in his testimony that the Romanian Government has transferred sensitive technology from the United States and the West to the Soviets when asked to do so by the Soviets, which is after all consistent with Romania's treaty obligations. The State Department, for some unknown reason, has refused to accept the evidence from defectors and other sources. And he goes on to say that Romania receives significant military aid from Nicaragua, Syria, Libya, Angola, and Iran. What do you have to say to that kind of statement from a former Ambassador?

Mr. **Rosenthal**. I have no knowledge personally, nor could I have, with respect to transfers or nontransfers of technology by Romania to the Soviet Union. I do know that our Department of Commerce and our Department of State and our national security offices have been very careful with respect to disclosure of technology to Romania because of that danger. And one of the consistent complaints that the Romanians have made to me over many years is that they do not have access to American high technology. A very important demonstration of that is a joint venture between Control Data and the Romanians. The Romanians complained that the technology which Control Data is permitted to place in its jointly owned subsidiary in Romania is on the rudimentary level and that high tech is not permitted to be introduced into that country. Now, with respect to terrorism, I have never personally heard of Romania supporting terrorism in any other country.

Senator **Bradley**. If that could be confirmed, would that change your opinion on MFN?

Mr. **Rosenthal**. If that could be confirmed, it would certainly result in my taking a different attitude that I have and the conversations that I have from time to time with Romanian officials. In fact, I might mention that in September, I will lead a delegation of American businessmen to Romania to conduct one of the annual sessions of the Romanian-United States Economic Council.

Senator **Bradley**. Those might be some items on your agenda.

Mr. **Rosenthal**. Yes, indeed.

Senator **Danforth**. I think two of you didn't have a chance to answer Senator Bradley's question.

Mr. **Spitzer**. I would like to answer Senator Bradley's question, too, if I might?

Senator **Danforth**. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPITZER. You asked what has happened since the last granting of MFN? I speak as a member of the executive committee of a nonpolitical organization, one that would not be represented here or not be testifying, but one that is worldwide known for its philanthropy, and I am speaking of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, whose former head is a constituent of yours, Senator Bradley. This organization gives relief, gives food, gives aid, gives comfort to the aged and the ill. The fact is that within the last 2 months, when the Romanian Government found it necessary through eminent domain to take over a 117-bed facility for ambulatory patients being served and being in part financed by this philanthropic agency. The Romanian Government, in turn, has given to the agency an apartment house with 180 apartments to more than compensate for this, and has offered to contribute $150,000 toward building some auxiliary facilities to amplify and extend and expand the services to that 60 percent of the Jewish population of a community which is aged. And that has happened within the last 60 days.

Senator DANFORTH. Bearing in mind that there is a rollcall vote on the floor of the Senate, Mr. Kyer and Mr. Crossley, what would your abbreviated answers be to the question? Do you think things are going in the wrong direction?

Mr. SPITZER. Obviously, since I am the odd man in this consensus panel here, by changing because of some activities that took place yesterday. The only thing I can see that has happened is that we have continuing dialog. The continuing dialog just results in continuing dialog. It is pretty worthless. So, I can't really find anything that the Romanians have done that they have not really been pressured into doing.

Senator DANFORTH. Mr. Crossley.

Mr. CROSSLEY. Certainly, the release of the orthodox priest, Father Calciu, on August 20 at a time when there wasn't really any quid pro quo that they could assume in such a release. It was an unexpected time. It was something that had been set for years, and indeed, most of us feel he should never have been in prison, in fact, but we were indeed relieved by that—by his release. And now, the fact that he has been granted permission to emigrate is certainly a great significant event. We believe it is one that is, from a human rights perspective, that we have to say the dialog is important. I could also say to Senator Bradley that if conditions would get worse, we would want to have more opportunities for dialog. You don't have to look at it purely from a positive perspective.

Senator DANFORTH. Gentlemen, let me thank each of you for very helpful testimony. You have done very well, each one of you. Thank you very much. There is a vote now on the floor of the Senate. I am going to go over and vote. It is possible that someone else might be appearing before I get back. My guess is that I will be back in about 15 minutes, at which time we will continue. In the meantime, the committee will be in recess for about 10 or 15 minutes.

[Whereupon, at 3:54 p.m., the hearing was recessed.]

AFTER RECESS

Senator DANFORTH. Next, we have a panel of the Honorable David B. Funderburk, Graham Barden, professor of Government and former United States Ambassador to Romania; Rev. Jeffrey A. Collins, executive director of Christian Response International; Rev. Alexander Havadtoy, minister of Calvin Reformed Church; and Dr. Juliana Pilon, senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation. If you have no objection, you may proceed in the same order that the names appear on the witness list. Ambassador Funderburk, would you like to begin?

STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID B. FUNDERBURK, GRAHAM BARDEN, PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT AND CHAIRMAN, DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, CAMPBELL UNIVERSITY, BUIES CREEK, NC, AND FORMER UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA

Ambassador FUNDERBURK. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Thank you. If men of the cloth, Members of Congress, and the U.S. Government can sit idly by in the face of firsthand evidence of Romania's complicity in the killing of clergymen and extensive collaboration of the Romanians with the Soviets in all areas, the evidence and the Romanian people will hold us accountable for letting this pass without response. There is documentary evidence, and I will be glad to cite it to you in closed session which shows that we have been granting favored status and aid to a country which was the fifth arms military exporter in the world, mainly to Arab States and Marxist-Leninist guerrillas, which has 20,000 plus radical Arab students—many training in terrorism, which has transferred technology from the United States and the West to the Soviets, which has sent millions in aid to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, which closely collaborates with the Soviets military, economically, and in security, which continually engages in antisemitic activities and has made life very difficult for all ethnic minorities, linguistically, culturally, and religiously. It has also dumped textiles, rolled steel, canned foods, and gas and oil products on the U.S. markets. It has made about $600 million directly from MFN GSP benefits out of over $1 billion in total annual trade, with more than a $400 million trade balance in Romania's favor. A country that pays thousands of dollars per head for letting some Jews and some Germans out, which kills priests, demolishes churches, and turns Bibles into toilet paper—that is what our leverage and Ceausescu's friendship has brought. The first United States Government and State Department argument is always that Romania has taken independent stands from Moscow, including protesting the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, to having relations with Israel and China, to attending the Olympics, thus irritating the Soviets. In fact, the Romanian Government has done nothing which has threatened the essential interest of the Soviets or which has in fact worried the Soviets. They check with them, and they have common aims and they have common membership in the Warsaw Pact, which Romania just rejoined. Romania just rejoined the Warsaw Pact without protest. The independence is image and show, but it is not reality. The second state argument is always that because Romania is independent in foreign policy, therefore, it must of necessity be more repressive internally in order to keep the Soviets from invading Romania. No one who knows Romania can really believe this. In fact, our long-term United States policy objectives have been to foster internal reform, including improved human rights and emigration, and to support and encourage Romanian steps in foreign policy which diverge from those of the Soviets. Unfortunately, during the past 15 years, including a decade of MFN, the internal human rights situation has gotten worse; and in five areas, Romania is less independent than ever due to closer economic, energy, military and political cooperation. Our policy therefore has not produced the desired results. Instead, we are being used for aid, trade, and technology and political support which helps the government repress the people. It is time to put the interests of the United States Government and its people and principles, as well as those of the long-suffering Romanian people, first. Only by withdrawing MFN and ensuring that the Romanian Government makes commitments and lives up to them before giving it back can we help U.S. national interests and the Romanian people. In closing, Mr. Chairman, I spent over 2,000 days of my life—not five trips and not 5 days—dating back to 1971 as a Fulbrighter, USIA employee, and Ambassador. As I left Romania 2 months ago after 4 years in that country, hundreds of Romanians told me to carry their cause of freedom and democracy and spiritual belief of all the people in Romania, including Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and Jews—carry this to the United States and to the world to let anyone know the truth of what is really going on there. So, in good conscience, I can do no less than take this stand for freedom and for what is right. I strongly recommend withdrawal of MFN from Romania. Thank you.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

Reverend Collins.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Funderburk follows:]

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF FORMER AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA (1981-85) DAVID B. FUNDERBURK

I. FOREIGN POLICY

The country which is the greatest symbol of freedom and democracy in the world has been carrying out for at least a decade and a half a policy which benefits the communist government of Romanian and the Soviet Union much more than the U.S. Current U.S. policy is not based on the reality of what is going on inside Romania or what Romania does in foreign policy. U.S. national security interests and overall national interests, and the best interests of the Romanian people as opposed to the ruling Communist Party elite, are not being well served by U.S. policy.

U.S. policy is based on the assumptions that Romania carries out a relatively independent foreign policy as a maverick in the Warsaw Pact and thus is an irritant for the Soviets; and that because of the special MFN relationship with Romania, the U.S. has strong leverage in getting the Romanian Government to improve conditions of life and general human rights. U.S. foreign policy objectives regarding Romania have been for over fifteen years: (1) to support Romania's foreign policy stances which diverge from those of the Soviets; and (2) to help foster improved conditions of life for the Romanian people including better human rights and emigration situations. In part because of a U.S. misreading of the reality in Romania, Romania has not become more independent of Moscow due to our policy but less so. Similarly, the human rights situation and general standard of living in Romania have declined rather than improved. In fact the only significant gains for U.S. policy (and not necessarily because of U.S. policy) have been the emigration of some 2500 Romanians to the U.S. annually and the resolution of several individual human rights cases immediately prior to MFN hearings or visits to Romania by high level U.S. officials. The emigration of ethnic Jews and Germans from Romania has been the result of large monetary and trade payments by the governments of Israel and West Germany, respectively.

The Romanian Government knows very well what U.S. policy is. So does the Soviet Union. It is easy to profess and project independent sounding noises to hyper receptive U.S. officials, while in fact carrying out a policy which is in the best interests of the Soviet Union and its empire. Also, knowing that Romania's special MFN status is almost guaranteed because of millionaire businessmen who make big bucks off the hides of enslaved Romanians and State Department officials who (following Henry Kissinger's lead) view Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu as a virtual liberal maverick! The Kissinger-Nixon thesis about Ceausescu and Romania is based on wishful thinking, big game playing centered on personal head of state type diplomacy, and the few steps taken by Romania in the last twenty years to project an image of foreign policy independence which has been greatly exaggerated in importance by U.S. policymakers. The Romanian aspect of differentiation according to U.S. policymakers is that Romania and Ceausescu deserve a special status and treatment because of the courage supposedly shown in taking positions different from Moscow's. Similarly the thesis holds that because Romania shows such courage in its foreign policy, it is necessary for Romania to run a more repressive society internally so that the Soviets will not be tempted to remove Ceausescu or invade Romania. Thus the State Department officials maintain a cozy, congratulatory relationship with Romanian Government officials treating them with great deference, and go even farther by virtually letting the Bucharest regime off the hook on human rights violations so as not to offend Ceausescu. Therefore the current relationship excuses Romania's disastrous human rights record in order to preserve the so-called foreign policy independence and not upset the sensibilities of our "good communist" friends in Bucharest. Unfortunately those who designed and have carried out U.S. policy toward Romania, have not been knowledgeable about Romania's history, culture, language or system of government.

The U.S. position should be based on the fact that a hard line Stalinist regime rules Romania and looks out for its own interests as well as the interests of its chief alliance partner, the Soviet Union. The Romanian Communist Party was created and maintained in power by the Soviet Communist Party. Its current leader, Ceausescu, spent some years training in the Soviet Union (partly with the KGB), and runs a tight fisted regime which keeps the communist party firmly in control with little threat of opposition. This situation is made to order for the Soviet Union, which appreciates the fact that its next door neighbor presents no problem in terms of the maintenance of C.P. power in Bucharest and the Romanian government's loyalty and adherence to the Warsaw Pact. Also the Romanian Government loyally supports Moscow at the UN and other international fora; and collaborates with Moscow militarily, in technology acquisitions, in fostering international terrorism, and in military arms shipments to radical Arabs and Marxist-Leninist guerillas in Africa and elsewhere.

The U.S. Government now has evidence, but does not factor it into policy formulations, that the Soviets have a large personnel presence in Bucharest, hundreds of Soviet advisers at most large Romanian factories, allows Soviet troop transit through Romania, builds and exports military arms and equipment for the Soviets, constructs energy projects jointly with the Soviets, and acts on many occasions as a stalking horse for the Soviets testing the waters for the limits in negotiations on strategic arms and relations with Israel, among other things. The Romanian Government has transferred sensitive technology from the U.S. and West to the Soviets when asked to do so by the Soviets, which is after all consistent with Romania's treaty obligations. The State Department for some unknown reason has refused to accept the evidence from defectors (except selectively for their purposes) and other sources.

In foreign affairs it has not been appreciated or publicized that Romania sends significant military and other aid to Nicaragua (the Sandinistas), Syria, Libya, Angola, Iran and other such countries. Top Romanian Securitate defector Ion Pacepa has reported on the cooperative endeavors of the KGB and Securitate. Romania builds military weapons for the Soviets and is tasked by the Soviets to carry out other duties of military, security and subversive character around the world. When the U.S. Government is interested in focusing on Romanian collaboration with the Soviets militarily, extensive joint naval, air and other activities will be seen.

The Romanian Government permits thousands of radical Arab "students" to "study" in Romania, that is to train in the art of terrorism. Prominent international terrorists have used Romania as a safe haven. The Romanian President has maintained the closest of ties with some of the most radical and extremist Arabs. The Romanian Government sent one of its airplanes to the Beirut airport (the first) after the U.S. announced an airport boycott.

While evidence verifies the above, the Romanian Government consistently denies any of it and the State Department tends to take the word of the Bucharest regime when it fits the misconceived policy line. Above all the Romanian Communist Government shares with the Soviets total commitment to communist ideology, aims, strategies and practices, which run contrary to almost everything the U.S. stands for. The Bucharest regime is a member of the Warsaw Pact, despite disinformation and wishful thinking to the contrary. The Romanian Government is no friend of freedom or democracy anywhere in the world.

II. INTERNAL SITUATION

Internally, Romania professes to be open, to have religious and other freedoms and to have a high standard of living for its people. At the same time, the reality is that Romania's record is among the worst in Europe. Almost anyone who looks beneath the surface or who knows Romania, its communism and history, can see this. The government has beaten down the heart and soul of the people and left most without spirit, hope or real life. The atmosphere and environment in Romania is filled with fear, intimidation and paranoia. Secret police and security officers are more prevalent than in other communist countries. Life for the average Romanian is miserable. There is no political freedom, of trial, speech, government/elections, publications, literature, travel or emigration. Economically, there is no freedom to get meat, sugar, cooking oil, cheese/milk products, coffee and flour; or to have heat, electricity or hot water; to get gasoline at less than $3.50 a gallon if available; or to move, travel or get the job of one's own choosing. There is no freedom to participate in religious activities and be a member of the communist party; to hold a good job while openly being a Christian; to attend a church freely without adverse consequences; to get a Bible; to attend a seminary; to protect one's church from destruction and to rebuild or build a church; or to speak freely in church.

Specifically the Romanian Government has during my tenure as Ambassador confiscated religious materials as a matter of policy; demolished churches including Baptist churches in Bistrita, Ponorel-Cimpeni and Bucharest, as well as Pentecostal and other churches; kept Romanian Orthodox priest Father Gheorghe Dumitreasa-Calciu first in jail and more recently under house arrest unable to emigrate or practice his faith; been responsible for the death of Roman Catholic priest Father Geza Palfi in the spring of 1984 as well as the disappearances of several pastors and lay leaders including Traian Bogdan; withheld permission for many church groups to build a church building (churches at Sighetul-Maramatei, Resita, Tiganesti, for examples); prevented the printing and distribution of Bibles and other religious materials; turned Bibles (approved for importation) into toilet paper; prevented the licensing of many pastors, the building of many churches and extensions, the entry of many students into seminaries, and prevented several U.S. pastors from visiting Romania.

The Romanian Government makes extraordinary efforts to prevent visitors from seeing the reality and from contacting dissidents. U.S. officials and other important visitors are wined and dined and generally kept from seeing the active persecution and destruction which is so prevalent in the country.

In view of the running evidence of Romanian deception, disinformation and lying, the Romanian officials cannot be trusted to tell the truth. Former Ambassador to Washington, Mircea Malitza, Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and other top officials told various U.S. officials and members of Congress that Father Calciu would be allowed to leave jail, be free and emigrate. Although these promises were made years ago, he is still under house arrest unable to emigrate. Similarly, the Romanian Government through its Ambassador and Foreign Ministry officials disseminated the story of Father Geza Palfi dying from liver cancer, being hospitalized when in fact he gave a Christmas sermon attended by hundreds, and not being beaten, tortured or apprehended. In fact he was beaten to the point of death by security officials because he gave a Christmas sermon mentioning that Christmas Day should not be a work day but a holiday, and left to die in a hospital without adequate care. Also, the top Romanian officials including President Ceausescu assured the U.S. on repeated occasions that Romania does not allow Soviet troop transit through Romania (when in fact it takes place); that Romania has religious freedom when the opposite is the truth; that Romania does not and has not transferred technology from the U.S. to the Soviets (when in fact it has); and that Romania does not export military armaments (expressed by the President's brother, General Ilie Ceausescu) when in fact it is one of the world's top exporters (5th in 1982-3, ACDA) sending the arms to radical Arab countries as well as Marxist-Leninist guerillas in Africa and elsewhere.

What Romanian officials say cannot be taken at face value; credibility is the central problem. Thus if the Romanians say that they have an independent foreign policy and are creating problems for the Soviets, and on every occasion leak information (or rather disinformation) to U.S. embassies around the world purporting to show Romanian differences with the Soviets on renewal of the Warsaw Pact, INF strategies, and the question of Cuba and Nicaragua in Central America, for examples, the truth is likely to be somewhere else.

Other examples of Romania's violations of basic human rights include: the typewriter decree; the banning of private autos from the highways during the winter of 1985; the extensive gulag of prison labor for building the Danube-Black Sea canal and for other projects throughout the country; the placing of political and religious dissidents in psychiatric wards/hospitals where they are tortured and crushed; the destruction on a massive scale of individual peasant dwellings; the official printing of anti-Semitic materials and desecration of Jewish grave sites; and the promotion of women having four or more children in order not to face penalties and including the obligatory checking of women of child-bearing age for pregnancy on a regular basis.

The Romanian Government has an announced anti-emigration policy. In fact, it carefully controls the emigration of some people including several thousand Romanians mainly to the U.S. and 1-2,000 Jews to Israel for substantial sums of money and 10-14,000 Germans to West Germany for substantial sums of money per head. Many Romanians who want to emigrate are not allowed to do so, including a large number of doctors, engineers and other skilled workers. Similarly, many Germans, Jews and other ethnic group members are not allowed to emigrate. For most of those who do emigrate, including many pensioners and unskilled workers Romania does not mind getting rid of, loss of apartment, job and citizenship status in society (to say nothing of personal belongings of any value) is the rule. Most of those who apply to emigrate become virtual non-persons while forced to wait 1½-2 years on average before getting final approvals and being allowed to depart. Families of those who emigrate and thus become traitors in the mind of the government are subject to harassment, discrimination and closer scrutiny. Bribery and monetary and other payments are often required in order to get the proper documents for emigration. Romania's cynical approach to individual human lives was clearly shown by the recent dumping of hundreds of Romanians in West Germany (including one on my sister's doorstep in Manassas, Virginia) without any means of survival or approvals for immigration into the U.S. or West Germany. Many family reunification and severe illness cases are kept unresolved.

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATION

The U.S. will have to come to grips with the reality going on in Romania sooner or later. U.S. policy during the past fifteen years has not led to a more independent Romania in foreign policy but the evidence shows the opposite, and has not resulted in an improved human rights situation or quality of life for the Romanian people, but rather a deterioration in the past several years. Our policy of favoring the Ceausescu government for its supposed courageous steps in the past, has helped result in his consolidation of power and repression over the people. The Romanian people are worse off and Romania is less independent from Moscow. The objectives and goals of U.S. policy were to help effect the opposite results through leverage, even if limited, on Romanian policymakers. Our granting of MFN and differentiation policy was supposed to lead to influence and concessions on the part of Romanian officials. Knowing how to play the game better than our State Department (after all the Romanian officials dealing with the U.S. have been in place ten to twenty years while U.S. State Department and embassy officers dealing with Romania come and go every few years), the U.S. has wound up giving MFN annually while getting less and less in terms of foreign policy actions and internal improvements. It makes the U.S. appear to the average Romanian as a supporter which props up the Ceausescu regime politically and financially. At the same time, the U.S. is allowing the communists of Burcharest to dump products on the U.S. market via the subsidy of MFN and GSP which have been produced by $1.00 an hour "slave" labor which results in Americans losing jobs. The main items dumped by Romania are textiles (clothes including suits, sweaters, pants and jackets), shoes, rolled steel and canned foods (hams not even available in Romania, for example).

Whether or not the Romanian and Soviet leaders worked jointly on every issue and carried out a strategy developed in the best interests of both, and bottom line of Romanian policy is beneficial to the Soviets and their system, not to the U.S. The Romanian people do not benefit. And the American people and government appear to the Romanians as collaborators with the Ceausescu regime in repression and tyranny. The prestige and good name of the U.S. as the beacon of freedom and democracy is not being projected through our current policy as it is implemented. Since our policy has not been successfully implemented and in fact has backfired, it is time to withdraw MFN from Romania until Romania can make significant progress in improving human rights and in cooperating with the U.S. more often on international questions.

Withdrawal of MFN would not result in the Romanians moving closer to the Soviets, when it has already been doing so and has close ties as its actual policy. Withdrawal of MFN would not necessarily mean greater persecution of religious believers, since the current policy is harsh. The fact of the matter is that after MFN is withdrawn, the U.S. might have more influence to pressure Romania to make significant changes so that Romania could get MFN again. It would be necessary for the regime and its Soviet ally to regain MFN for Romania just for financial reasons (to say nothing of political ones). Over one billion dollars in bilateral U.S.-Romanian trade with three-fourths of that Romanian exports to the U.S. ($600 million+ the result of MFN status) is something the financially strapped regime cannot afford to lose. Especially when it might lead to Western political and financial pressure and enormous monetary and political losses potentially. It would be incumbent upon Romania to make changes (not mere promises as they currently do) in the area of human rights and emigration in order to show good faith and regain MFN. In the unlikely event that Romania would choose to take a harder line internally (difficult to do) and get closer to the Soviets (also hard to do), the truest colors of the Ceausescu regime would shine for all the world to see. At the same time the Romanian people would at least know that the U.S. stands for free people and for the real future survival of a distinctive Romanian spirit and culture.

As the recently returned Ambassador who has spent 5½ years in several capacities in Romania and who has a love for the real Romania and its people, I feel that we owe it to the U.S. and the Romanians to do what is right and withdraw MFN.

A SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL POINTS

Withdrawal of most-favored nation status for Romania is recommended.

1. The Socialist Republic of Romania does not deserve Most-Favored Nation Status on the basis of a so-called "relatively independent foreign policy." As a loyal member of the Warsaw Pact, which closely collaborates with the Soviets militarily (by allowing Soviet troop transit, exporting massive amounts of armaments to radical Arab states and Marxist-Leninist guerrillas, transferring sensitive technology from the West to the Soviets, for examples), economically and politically, Romania may advertise but can not in fact carry out an independent foreign policy detrimental to the essential interests or aims of the Soviets.

2. Romania does not deserve MFN because it has one of the worst human rights records in Europe as well as an anti-emigration policy which plays games with individual lives as a matter of course. Despite its propaganda to the contrary, the Romanian Government is responsible for the killing of Roman Catholic priest Father Geza Palfi and several Protestant pastors and lay leaders; for turning Bibles into toilet paper in a cynical display of its true attitude toward religion; and for demolishing numerous churches, and jailing religious, political and ethnic dissidents usually on trumped up charges. While allowing the emigration of ethnic Germans and Jews in certain numbers when purchased by the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel, respectively, only a few thousand Romanians are permitted to leave annually. The Romanians are harassed and persecuted following application for emigration, by loss of jobs and real citizenship (as well as apartments in many cases). Most Romanians who wish to emigrate are not permitted to do so, including many who are qualified for immigration to the U.S., whereas recently the Romanian Government cynically dumped hundreds of Romanians who were unqualified for entry on the U.S. Embassy and in West Germany.

Summary

As the recently returned U.S. Ambassador, I can attest to the fact that Romanian disinformation has kept the reality of Romanian foreign policy collaboration with the Soviets and internal repression from the world; while a misconceived U.S. policy has neither led to an independent Romanian foreign policy nor an improved human rights situation. MFN benefits the Bucharest regime but not the U.S. or Romanian people.

STATEMENT OF REV. JEFFREY A. COLLINS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHRISTIAN RESPONSE INTERNATIONAL, ROCKVILLE, MD

Reverend COLLINS. As executive director of Christian Response International, the United States affiliate of Christian Solidarity International in Zurich, Switzerland, we have conducted six fact-finding trips to the Socialist Republic of Romania. These six trips have been with State legislators, congressional aides, and two of the later trips have been with U.S. Congressmen. The latest trip was just 3 weeks ago with Representative Frank Wolf from Virginia, a Republican, Representative Chris Smith, a Republican from New Jersey, and Representative Tony Hall, a Democrat from Ohio.

The issue of human rights in Romania is a bipartisan issue because it deals with the lives of people. When we talk about emigration, I sometimes become a little discouraged that U.S. policy in the area of trade and economic assistance for nations is to encourage emigration. While emigration is certainly beneficial and should be encouraged in the area of family reunification, the United States would not be able to encourage emigration from any nation in the world to our shores. If you talk to China about emigraton today, they ask you how many do we want. Our foreign policy should not be geared solely toward emigration, but it should be geared toward creating such a political and human rights climate in foreign nations that their people don't want to emigrate, and the refugees living in the United States would have the opportunity to return to their own countries and live there in peace and liberty and freedom.

At this point in the Socialist Republic of Romania, the facts that we have gathered on each of the six trips have only led us to believe that the reports of human rights violations in that country are outstanding. In the area of the mysterious deaths and murders of Christian leaders, Father Geza Palfy on December 25, 1983, simply requested his Christmas Day sermon—that Christmas Day be made a legal holiday. The Romanian Government's response to this was to arrest Father Geza Palfy on the next day, where he died 3 months later in the hospital from severe beatings he had received at the hands of the secret police. The Baptist leader Sabin Theodosiu died under mysterious circumstances after interrogation by the secret police. The neo-Protestant leader, an evangelical Christian leader, Petru Clippa, died after police interrogation. He was found hanged. Christian leaders are imprisoned for many years without just cause. Father Gheorghr Calciu being accused as a fascist—he was about 14 or 15 years of age at the end of World War II. He has spent 22 years in Romanian prisons. We rejoiced to hear that he is about to leave the country. But just yesterday, the Baptist leader, Constantin Sfatcu, was sentenced to 7½ years in prison, falsely accused of attempted murder of a secret police agent. Sfatcu is said, even by the leaders of the Baptist union, to be a man of excellent testimony and character. Dorel Catarama has remained 3 years in Romanian prisons, unjustly accused. Even after—he was accused of embezzlement even after his former employee signed an affadavit saying that he was an outstanding citizen and an excellent worker. In closing, let me mention that this Thursday, on July 25, Petru Dugulescu, another Baptist minister will be put on trial for trumped-up charges, but the crimes don't end here. They continue with the demolition of Baptist churches and Pentecostal churches and Seventh-Day Adventist churches at the whim of the Government, and I have sitting before you today a piece of a Baptist church in Bucharest, Romania where Frank Wolf, Tony Hall, and Chris Smith spoke just 3 weeks ago. This church was 50 percent demolished on June 3. We plead with the Senate of the United States and with the House of Representatives to end the most-favored-nation trade status with Romania. We feel that the bargaining for this with this Government in the area of human rights would be greatly served and greatly strengthened if we could deal with suspension of MFN and use that as strategy for renewal of most-favored-nation trade status.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Havadtoy.

[The prepared statement of the Reverend Collins follows:]

STATEMENT OF REV. JEFFREY A. COLLINS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHRISTIAN RESPONSE INTERNATIONAL

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Senate Subcommittee on Trade and International Organizations:

Christian Response International (CRI) has organized six fact-finding trips to the Socialist Republic of Romania during the past five years. Participants in these trips have been religious leaders of various denominations, state legislators, congressional aides and U.S. congressmen. The Christian politicians who have travelled for CRI to Romania have been from both the Democratic and Republican parties. The issue is a bi-partisan one in respect to human rights.

The findings from these trips is always the same. While the government of Romania has sometimes directly interferred with our fact-finding missions by arresting interpreters and warning Romanian citizens to stay away from the participants, on our most recent trip Romanian officials acted with courtesy and were very gracious. The CRI delegation including Rep. Chris Smith (R/NJ), Rep, Tony Hall (D/OH) and Rep. Frank Wolf (R/VA) was given official status. CRI became the first human rights organization to be received officially by any government in Eastern Europe. While the Romanian government attempted to fill our schedule with only official visits and the CRI delegation insisted on maintaining appointments with persecuted Romanian Christians and visiting churches that were having legal problems with the government. The observations from this trip were no different from past visits in respect to the human rights violations being committed by the Ceausescu government.

OBSERVATIONS

(1) More evidence was obtained to support the fact that Romanian Christian leaders are being tortured and murdered by the Romanian security police. Father Geza Palfy who on December 25, 1983, in his Christmas Day sermon requested that Christmas Day be made an official holiday, was arrested on December 26 and severely beaten. Evidence indicates he died in a hospital in March, 1984, from injuries sustained in that beating. Other Christian leaders have died mysteriously while undergoing similar interrogation: the Baptist Sabin Theodosiu and the neo-Protestant Petru Clippa.

(2) Christian leaders are imprisoned without just cause and incarcerated at the whim of local and national communist leaders. Father Gheorghe Calciu spent more than 22 years in Romanian prisons because of his Christian activity which was branded "facist" by the government. He is now under strict control by the police in Bucharest and is not permitted to be visited by fellow Christians and human rights organizations. In December, 1984, a CRI congressional delegation was threatened with deportation when we requested that the Romanian Department of Foreign Affairs permit us to legally visit Calciu.

Constantin Sfatcu was arrested on April 19, 1985, when found to be driving a car which contained 600 Bibles and Christian children's books. Christian books were confiscated from the home of Sfatcu's brother Teodor and his mother. When the police decided that it would be too controversial to charge Sfatcu with smuggling Bibles, another charge was fabricated—"the malicious attempt to commit violence against a police officer." Yesterday, July 22, 1985, Sfatcu was sentenced to seven and a half years imprisonment.

Dorel Catarama, a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, has been imprisoned for more than three years on the false charge of embezzlement from the factory where he worked. This was done by Romanian authorities even when Catarama's former employer signed an affidavit stating that Catarama had been a good and faithful employee who was beyond reproach. Today Catarama remains in prison for a crime he did not commit.

On Thurdsay, July 25, 1985, Petru Dugulescu, a Baptist minister from Baptist Church in Hateg will be put on trial for a crime which he did not commit. Last year Dugulescu sold a car to resident of Hateg. The sale of the car was legal. The secret police ordered the man to whom the car was sold to say that Dugulescu promised him two cars! Now another Baptist minister of a large and fast-growing church goes to trial. His reputation is marred by false accusations dreamed up by Romanian officials to discredit him. And he possibly faces a prison sentence.

(3) Churches are demolished regularly by the government. Some of the latest churches to fall victim to government demolition crews are Bistrita Baptist Church on November 3, 1984 and Giulesti Baptist Church on June 3, 1985. Usually the churches are accused of violating building codes. After years of attempting to get building permits (some churches have been waiting for as long as 20 years), congregations finally build without proper authorization—but this is done only after all possible legal attempts to remodel, build or rebuild have failed. What happened to Bistrita Baptist Church and Giulesti Baptist Church is unconscionable in a civilized world.

The question remains: Why should the government of the United States, through economic trade, continue to support financially a government that refuses to respect the human rights of its own citizens? All that we ask is that Romania treat its own citizens with dignity, honor and justice.

Christian Response International, especially because of the latest developments in the trails now taking place in Romania, pleads with both the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States to end trade with Romania until such a time as that nation has a proven record and a visible change of attitude regarding human rights and religious freedom.

I submit for the record the following items:

(1) a letter to Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei from Rep. Chris Smith, Rep. Frank Wolf and Rep. Tony Hall. The letter outlines serious human rights concerns.

(2) a list of major changes that we believe western leaders should request in the way the Romanian government treats religious groups.

MAJOR CHANGES FOR WHICH WESTERN LEADERS SHOULD ASK

(1) Denominations should be free to elect their leaders without State interference; the denominations should be free to conduct business without State interference.

(2) Denominations should be given back the right to open new churches without prior approval from the government.

(3) Denominations should be free to determine for themselves how many priests, pastors and other employees they should have. This would require the abolition of the State-imposed personnel structure and salary scale.

(4) Denominations should be free to determine how many seminary students they need. The State should have no part in this decision.

(5) Churches should be free to ordain and employ pastors and other personnel as they consider necessary.

(6) Denominations should be free to print and import Bibles and other Christian literature for all age groups.

(7) No one should be penalized for distributing Bibles and Christian literature.

(8) All churches should be free to repair and enlarge their buildings and to build new ones according to their needs.

(9) All discrimination in jobs and education on the basis of church attendance or religious belief and activity should be stopped.

If the Romanian government accepts these principles and includes them in its instructions to lower level officials, most religious repression in Romania would come to an end.

INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES NEEDING ASSISTANCE

(1) Freedom for Father Gheorghe Calciu to leave Romania as he desires. (letter sent to Wolf)

(2) Unconditional amnesty for Dorel Catarama of Brasov, Emil Mocanu of Bacau and Constantine Sfatcu of Iasi.

(3) Stop the demolition of Orthodox Churches in Bucharest.

(4) Authorization for the following churches to build new sanctuaries: The Second Baptist Church of Oradea, Tiganesti Baptist Church, Bistrita Baptist Church, Hateg Baptist Church, Resita Baptist Church. The Pentecostal Church of Medias, Tirgu-Mures Pentecostal Church and Cimpia Turzii Pentecostal Church.

(5) Licenses to the following pastors: Ioan Stef and Benjamin Cocar and Medias, Daniel Cedean and Stancu Dragomir of Deva, Ilie Tundrea of Bucharest, Daniel Chivoiu of Bacau, and Viorel Codreanu of Ipotesti-Suceava.

(6) License of the right to settle in Bucharest of Rev. Buni Cocar and the authorization to rebuild their sanctuary in Julesti-Bucharest.

(7) Authorization for the following churches to function legally: The Second Baptist Church of Brasov, Bethany Baptist in Timisoara, Voluntari-Bucharest Baptist Church.

(8) Restoration of the house built by Mr. Petre Popescu to be the sanctuary of the Baptist Church in the village of Gaujani-Rimnicu Vilcea. (One year ago taken from him for state kindergarten. He was sentenced two months ago on April 26 on charges of "hooliganism" because of his demand to have his house restored into the Baptist church sanctuary.)

STATEMENT OF REV. ALEXANDER HAVADTOY, MINISTER, CALVIN REFORMED CHURCH, FAIRFIELD, CT

Reverend HAVADTOY. Mr. Chairman, one of the greatest grievances of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania is that it cannot obtain Bibles and hymnals. The church officials could not obtain permission for their reprint from the Ministry of Cults, the political arm of the Communist regime, which supervises the life of the churches. Under Western pressure, the Ceausescu regime gave permission to the World Reform Alliance, which represents 46 million Reformed and Presbyterian church people, to send 20,000 Bibles to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania, which according to official statistics, still has 1 million church members. The last batch of the 10,000 Bibles was delivered by the alliance's representation in Poyana Brashold in September 1980. The leadership of the alliance considered this a triumph for patient and persistent church diplomacy. The Romanian Ambassador in his talks with United States Senators and Congressmen, especially before and during the debates concerning the renewal of the most-favored-nation status of this country, often pointed to the acceptance of the 20,000 Hugarian Bibles as a sign of his regime's magnanimity toward the large Hungarian minority in Romania. However, the fate of the 20,000 Bibles was shrouded in a mystery. The leadership of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania, which was appointed by the Communist administration and is completely subservient to it, could never give a proper account of their distribution. The so-called Bishop Pap, who was here 2 weeks ago, was sent here to visit our Congressmen and Senators before the decision, could not give an account of the distribution of the Bibles either. But after a long silence, the Bibles reappeared in Romania in the form of toilet papers. It was observed in regions with large Hungarian populations that the toilet papers which were extremely scarce on the market and for which people were standing in line for long hours contained certain letters and even words, such as "Esau" and "Jeremiah" and "God" and "Israel." I have here one of the toilet papers, which will substantiate what I am saying. The 20,000 Hungarian Bibles sent by the World Alliance were obviously sent to the paper mill in Braila to be recycled for the manufacture of toilet papers. But as it often happens in Communist Romania, the pulp mill did a rather shoddy job. The excellent quality of the Western bibliophile paper and print could not be recycled by the crude pulp mill. So, fragments of the Bibles and letters are still on the toilet paper. Let me finish, please. From the rolls of the toilet paper brought to the West, it could be established that they were manufactured in Braila and that they are from the Bibles sent by the alliance, which were published by the United Bible Society in London and printed in The Netherlands. From one single toilet paper roll, we were able to establish 18 exact locations in the original Bible. The action of the Ceausescu regime clearly reflects its contempt of religious life in general and of the Hungarian Reform minority in particular and of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian language also in particular. They want to eradicate even the language from the most intimate family life of the people and the language with which they converse with their God. Mr. Chairman, in view of these terrible facts, that is, barbaric acts, we urge the committee to immediately withdraw the MFN status of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Senator **DANFORTH**. Thank you, sir.

Dr. Pilon.

[The prepared statement of Reverend Havadtoy follows:]

STATEMENT

on

RUMANIA'S MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS

before the

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

of the

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

of the

UNITED STATES SENATE

on behalf of

THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE WORLD REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN ALLIANCE,
NORTH AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN AREA

and

THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

and

THE HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF CONNECTICUT

by

REV. DR. ALEXANDER HAVADTOY

July 23, 1985

TOILET PAPER FROM BIBLES

One of the greatest grievances of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania is that it cannot obtain Bibles and Hymnals. These two most important tools of religious life have been simply out of print for decades. The church officials could not obtain permission for their reprint from the Ministry of Cults, the political arm of the Communist Regime, which supervises the life of the churches. Foreign visitors are thoroughly searched at the borders. The customary question of the border guards and custom officers is: "Do you have guns, drugs or Bibles?" The Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of the West through diplomatic channels have made it known to the Ceausescu Regime that according to the peace treaties after the Second World War, and according to the Helsinki Accords, it is under obligation to permit the reprint of Bibles and Hymnals. They made it clear also that if such reprints would be impossible due to lack of modern printing technology or lack of paper, they would be prepared to supply their Protestant brethren with Bibles and Hymnals.

Under Western pressure, the Ceaușescu Regime gave permission to the World Reformed Alliance to send 20,000 Bibles to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania. The last batch of 10,000 Bibles was delivered by the Alliance's representatives in Poiana Brasov in September, 1980. The leadership of the Alliance considered this a triumph of patient and persistent church diplomacy. The Rumanian Ambassador in his talks with United States Senators and Congressmen, especially before and during the debates concerning the renewal of the "most favored nation" status of his country, often pointed to the acceptance of 20,000 Hungarian Bibles as a sign of his regimes magnanimity toward the large Hungarian minority in Rumania.

However, the fate of the 20,000 Bibles was shrouded in mystery. The leadership of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania, which was appointed by the Communist Administration and is completely subservient to it, could never give a proper account of their distribution. The congregations themselves never heard anything about their existence. Even if the Bibles had been completely distributed among the approximately 1,000,000 Hungarian Reformed Church members, only one out of 50 would have received a Bible. The great need for Bibles would not have been ameliorated.

After a long silence, the Bibles reappeared in Rumania in the form of toilet papers. The mystery of the Hungarian Bibles was finally revealed. It was observed in the regions with large Hungarian populations that the toilet papers, which were extremely scarce on the market, and for which people were standing in line for long hours, contained certain letters and even words. After careful examination, they noticed that the words and characters were strictly of Hungarian origin, and there were practically no Rumanian words or letters among them. It was also observed that such words as "Esau," "Jeremiah," "God," "vers," reappeared with frequency, from which it was not difficult to see, that the toilet papers were produced out of Bibles.

The 20,000 Hungarian Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance were obviously sent to the paper-mill in Braila to be recycled for the manufacture of toilet papers. But, as it often happens in Communist Rumania, the pulp-mill did a rather shoddy job. The excellent quality of western bibliophile paper and print could not be recycled by the crude pulp-mill. Shreds of paper, with original words and letters, remained almost intact on the final toilet paper products.

From the rolls of toilet paper brought out of the West, it can be established that they were manufactured in the "Bistrita Prundul Birgaului" factory, located in "C.I.C.H. Braila 1.H" industrial zone, under the series "ICA TIP 11. Stas 9202/72", carrying the name "HIRTIE IGIENICA Tip. 11" that means No. 11 type toilet paper, which was put on the market for 2.02 Lei. The rolls carry from one end to the other only Hungarian letters and characters, which, according to paper manufacturing experts, indicate that large volumes of Hungarian Bibles had to be used for this purpose. This was the way in which the fate of the 20,000 Hungarian Reformed Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance came to light.

From words and letters appearing on the toilet papers, it could be established that the Bibles used for their manufacture were from the 1957 Edition of the United Bible Societies published in London and in the Netherlands. On one roll of toilet paper for example there were 16 Biblical fragments of which the exact original location of 8 words and numbers could be accurately established. They are the following:

1. TER	PETER		The First Letter of Peter
2. EI	LEVELEI		Opposite page
3. Sere	Seregeknek Ura	(Lord of hosts)	Psalm 84:3
4. magato nnetek	magatokat bennetek	(yourselves) (yourselves)	11 Corinthians 13:5
5. 14. En		(14. I will...)	11 Samuel 7:14
6. Itali	Italiaba	(to Italy)	Acts 27:1
7. Izrae-	Izrael	(Izrael)	
8. Sinai			

9. raelt	Izraelt		
10. 6.16		(cross reference)	e.g. Matthew 14:1
11. erot		(power)	Acts 1:8
12. poko	pokol	(hell)	
13. Ur	Uram	(My Lord)	Matthew 25:27
14. resz		(chapter)	small print, reference
15. Ezsau	Ezsau	(Esau)	
16. v. Iste	v. Isten	(God)	

The action of the Ceausescu Regime clearly reflects its contempt of religious life in general, and of the Hungarian Reformed minority in particular. There were many book burnings in history. However, such deliberately barbarian and cynical a deed which would use the Holy Scripture for the making of toilet papers is unique in human history.

Ceausescu's appetite for Hungarian Bibles must be on the increase. We received information from reliable sources that he ordered the confiscation of all Hungarian Bibles and religious literature from the homes of the Hungarian population in the district of Moldavia, in which, even according to Rumanian statistics, there are still 120,000 Hungarian speaking individuals. One can assume that these Bibles and Prayer Books will also end up in the pulping-mill of Braila in order that they may reappear on the market place in the form of toilet papers.

In view of the Rumanian Government's brutal oppression of religious observance and practice, we have no alternative, Mr. Chairman, but to urge you in the strongest terms to terminate the 1975 United States - Rumanian trade agreement and the most-favored-nation status of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

STATEMENT OF DR. JULIANA PILON, SENIOR POLICY ANALYST, THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, WASHINGTON, DC

Dr. PILON. Thank you, Senator Danforth. Before I begin my testimony, academic scruples require that I refute and set straight the record on one statement that Mr. Derwinski made regarding Romanian behavior in the United Nations. Mr. Derwinski said that Romania votes alongside the United States on 10 issues more than any other Eastern European country. If one looks at the entire record and all the statistics regarding the voting record of Romania in the General Assembly, we find that in 1984 Moscow voted with the United States 13.2 percent of the time. Romania, on the other hand, voted alongside the United States only 10.1 percent of the time. I remember a book we read in college called "How to Lie with Statistics." [Laughter.]

At one time, it might have made sense for the United States to grant favors to Romania in the hopes of getting something in return. It was thought, for example, that in exchange for United States favors, Romania would ease its human rights repression and pursue a foreign policy independent of Moscow. This has not been the case. We are being cheated by Romania. For a decade, Romania has become probably Eastern Europe's most repressive nation, and its so-called independent role in foreign affairs is a charade. The Reagan administration should reverse a policy that has failed and should deny Romania most-favored-nation privileges. The regime persecutes religious believers; it uses psychiatric hospitals for political purposes. Censorship is ubiquitous. Free labor unions are forbidden. Bibles that are sent from the West are turned into toilet paper. Its emigration record is deceptive. Among those allowed to leave, many are criminals dumped on the United States and other Western nations, agents instructed to infiltrate the immigrant community, or dissidents forcibly exiled. It bothers me when the State Department just gives us numbers and ignores these facts. Moreover, since 1972, hundreds of millions of dollars have been received for bothering Romanian Jews and Germans to be deposited in a personal account of President Ceausescu. Even the tax on prospective emigrants, presumably rescinded in 1983, is back in the form of bribes—thousands of dollars expected from people who wish to leave. The State Department tells us Romania has passed a law.

In foreign affairs, Romania's actions often benefit Moscow, including transfer of high technology obtained from the United States. Romania's Secret Service—the CIE—is totally integrated within the Soviet KGB. It has also been estimated that some 70 percent of all Romanian trade personnel abroad are intelligence officers used to infiltrate the West for the purpose of illegally obtaining Western technology. And the Romanian Secret Service has coordinated with the Hungarian, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian Secret Service to smuggle high technology, commercial, and military equipment to Romania as well as drugs and arms abroad. Romania has not shied away from terrorism. Its assassination attempts against critics abroad—notably the writer, Paul Goma in Paris—have been well publicized. Parcel bombs have been sent to the homes of exiles in Paris while a Radio Free Europe employee was stabbed 22 times.

Finally, in conclusion, to continue enhancing the Ceausescu regime by giving it the gift of most-favored-nation status is morally wrong and politically inexpedient. To deny that gift would signal to the Romanian Government that the United States no longer is fooled and will no longer encourage Bucharest's oppressive internal policies and subversive foreign policy moves. Thank you.

Senator GRASSLEY. I want to thank this panel for the chairman, Senator Danforth. He is momentarily out, and he asked if I would call the next panel to testify. Neither Senator Danforth nor I have any questions of you, but we surely want to thank you for your fine testimony. I will call the next panel. Nina Shea, program director for the International League for Human Rights; Jacob Birnbaum, Laszlo Hamos, and Dr. Z. Michael Szaz.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Pilon follows:]

STATEMENT OF JULIANA GERAN PILON, PH.D., SENIOR POLICY ANALYST, THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, WASHINGTON, DC

INTRODUCTION

"We were outfoxed." This is how David Funderburk, the recent United States Ambassador to Romania, describes U.S. relations with that Soviet bloc country. Funderburk's charges are very serious. Bucharest has enjoyed special treatment from Washington for decades, ostensibly as a reward for improving the human rights condition of Romanians and for pursuing a foreign policy independent of the line that Moscow imposes on the rest of Eastern Europe. It is now, however, the judgment of Funderburk and an increasing number of experts that while the U.S. has lived up to its part of the deal and granted Bucharest generous credit and trade benefits, Bucharest has reneged on its part. The past decade, for instance, has seen steady deterioration rather than improvement of Romanian human rights. Emigration remains carefully controlled and very restricted. And Romania's claim of following an independent foreign policy is an elaborate charade.

In short, for two decades the U.S has been swindled in its bargain with Romania. It thus is time to rethink this deal. The place to start is with the Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status, which Romania has enjoyed with the U.S. since 1975, something of enormous economic and symbolic benefit to Bucharest. The Reagan Administration should reverse a policy that has failed to improve the lot of Romanians or to help the U.S. diplomatically. The Administration should ask Congress to deny Romania Most Favored Nation privileges now that MFN is up for its annual review.

ROMANIA'S RECORD

Romania's human rights record is among the worst in the Soviet bloc, surpassed perhaps only by the USSR itself. The regime persecutes religious believers; it uses psychiatric hospitals for political purposes; censorship is ubiquitous; free labor unions are totally forbidden. The situation has deteriorated seriously since MFN was granted in 1975. Jeri Laber, Executive Director of the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, for instance, told the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations in 1982 that his Committee's "reports are becoming increasingly difficult to compile because reliable information about events in Romania is becoming increasingly scarce. Romania is a closed society."

To be sure, since 1962 when Romania first resisted pressure to integrate with the Communist bloc economies completely under Soviet control, Bucharest has appeared to be something of a maverick in foreign affairs. It has made overtures to China; it maintains relations with Israel; it sent its team to the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. These gestures of seeming independence from the USSR, however, must be balanced against such other factors as: Romania is believed to reexport to the USSR American goods whose sale to Moscow is banned; Romania has been campaigning for increased Soviet presence in the Middle East negotiations; and the Romanian secret service, the CIE, is totally integrated within the Soviet KGB.

In fact, according to former CIE Deputy Director and special advisor to President Nicolae Ceausescu, General Ion Mihai Pacepa, who defected to the U.S. in 1978, all significant information gathered by the CIE is offered directly to the KGB. Pacepa also estimates that "of the Romanian trade personnel abroad (in 1978), 70 percent were intelligence officers....Every cooperative or joint venture with Western companies is intensively used to infiltrate to the West numerous intelligence officers and agents, for the purpose of illegally obtaining Western technology."[1]

The Soviet presence in Romania, meanwhile, is much more extensive than some State Department officials are willing to admit. U.S. Ambassador Funderburk, for example, has testified that by checking schools, registries, and license plates the U.S. Embassy in Romania found "an ungodly number" of Soviets--including Soviet agents in factories monitoring Romanian exports to the Soviet Union.[2]

And now comes the revelation that some 20,000 Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania were turned into toilet paper. This is one more insult to Romanian citizens who are virtually forbidden to practice their various religions.

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1. I. M. Pacepa and Michael Ledeen, "Romania Reaps Rewards of Hi-Tech Thefts," Human Events, March 16, 1985.

2. The Washington Post, May 15, 1985.

WHY MFN STATUS FOR ROMANIA?

In 1962, Romania surprised the international community by refusing to become fully integrated with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) of the Soviet bloc. Because of its domestic energy resources, Romania apparently felt that it could develop a policy somewhat different from Moscow's. The leadership hoped to gain some support from a population not only deeply anti-Russian but basically anti-communist.[3]

During the 1960s, Ceausescu came to realize that nationalism was a powerful means of gaining popular support. He thus developed a foreign policy with nationalist overtones that deviated on occasion from the Soviet line. This policy was aided at the beginning by a growing economy. But since the 1970s, Romania's energy supplies have been shrinking, and the country now must import oil. In 1983, Romanian oil imports were 12,395,000 tons, and in 1984, 10 million tons, mostly from the Middle East. Prior to 1975 Romania exported to the Soviet Union as much as 4 million tons of oil annually, but now it is seeking to import about 6 million tons from the USSR.[4] As such, Bucharest no longer is so economically independent of Moscow.

Interpreting Romania's foreign policy moves to be a sign of liberalization, the U.S. in 1975 waived for Romania the section of the 1974 Trade Act known as the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. This amendment prohibits granting MFN treatment, government credits or investment guarantees, or the negotiation of commercial agreements to a communist country that fails to promote human rights, particularly the right to emigrate.[5] The President may waive the prohibition annually, subject to congressional approval, and extend MFN status to a communist country. Presidents and Congresses have waived the ban on Romania since 1975 and on Hungary since 1978.

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[3] Robert King, in his History of the Romanian Communist Party (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1980), states that the Party's membership in August 1944 was a negligible 1,000.

[4] See RFE/RL, Situation Report 5, March 13, 1985, pp. 7-10.

[5] A careful reading of the amendment indicates that it was intended to cover more than one particular human right, freedom of emigration. Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act states its objectives to be "to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights." It then defines the means for achieving these objectives, citing emigration as a condition for the extension of trade benefits. On May 23, 1985, Congressman Mark Siljander (R-MI) introduced H.R. 2596, which would deny MFN status to countries that discriminate on ethnic, cultural, or religious grounds.

The waiver originally was granted to Romania in an effort "to create a viable framework and favorable atmosphere for the development of trade and economic cooperation."[6] And more recently, another aspect was clarified by Gary Matthews, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs: "This administration and the three preceding it have looked to Romania's relatively independent foreign policy as a significant factor in the evolution of Eastern European relations with the Soviets."[7] As examples, Matthews lists Romania's dissent from the Soviet line on such Warsaw Pact and COMECON issues as: Romania's Warsaw Pact military participation is more limited than that of other members; it sent a team to the 1984 Olympics; it has maintained diplomatic relations with Israel since 1967; it hosted Israeli Prime Minister Perez in February 1985; its votes in the U.S. General Assembly have diverged more from Soviet positions than those of other Eastern European countries; and it has allowed considerable Jewish emigration.

For such actions, Romania has benefited from U.S. extension of MFN status. Politically, MFN bolsters the image of Ceausescu, one of the Eastern bloc's most ruthless dictators and the only true Stalinist left in power. Economically, total two-way trade between the U.S. and Romania increased from about $450 million in 1976 to over $1.21 billion in 1984, though U.S. exports to Romania have held virtually steady from $249 million in 1976 to $246 million in 1984. Romania has received U.S. government Export-Import Bank and Commodity Credit Corporation credits to purchase U.S. exports, and is eligible for political risk insurance from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. U.S. imports provide Romania with products needed to help its disastrous economic situation. These include grains and seeds, coal, electric machinery, chemicals, and cattle hides.

Western economic concessions, however, provide no incentives to Ceausescu to decentralize Romania's economy or to pay heed to the human rights of its citizens. Instead, MFN and other concessions allow him to continue his harsh, repressive policies.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

"Romania is generally considered to be one of the most egregious human rights offenders in Eastern Europe. Nor has the situation improved over the past few years. A severely deteriorating economy, a corrupt bureaucracy, an omnipresent secret police network, and the 'cult of personality' surrounding the Ceausescu family have resulted in increasing misery for Romanian citizens." So says the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, a nongovernmental organization that monitors human rights, in a May 14, 1985, report to Congress. In every area, Romania disregards international human rights standards and even its own laws. In its 1984 *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, the State Department emphasized that "in the area of human rights major discrepancies persist between Romania's Constitution, law, public pronouncements and international commitments on the one hand, and the civil liberties and human rights actually allowed by the regime on the other."[8]

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[6] Hearings before the Subcommittee on Trade of the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, June 22 and July 9, 1979, p. 43.

[7] Hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, May 14, 1985.

To stifle dissent, for example, Ceausescu's regime employs such tactics as: beatings, jailing, incarceration in psychiatric hospitals, torture, even political murder. In April 1984, for example, Father Geza Palfi was beaten to death by security police for suggesting that Christmas should not be a workday. Amnesty International continues to receive reports of people who are imprisoned or harassed for the nonviolent exercise of their right to freedom of expression.[9]

Religious Persecution

The State Department knows of many cases of Romanians forbidden from traveling to attend religious gatherings and funerals. The International League for Human Rights cites cases of religious leaders singled out for repression by administrative action.[10] Among them:

- Father Calciu-Dumitreasa, a Romanian Orthodox priest and professor of theology, was released from prison in August 1984, after serving a ten-year sentence for nonviolent human rights activity. Since then he has been placed under virtual house arrest. He is unemployed, deprived of outside contacts, denied a passport, and subject to strict surveillance.

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[8] *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, Department of State, February 1984, p. 1077. It may be argued, however, that Romanian law does not guarantee any human rights, once the provisos are read in the proper context. See Juliana Geran Pilon, "The Romanian Distinction between Negative and Positive Liberty," *Studies in Soviet Thought* 23 (1982), pp. 131-140.

[9] See the prepared statement of Amnesty International, USA, on Amnesty International's Concerns in Romania, to the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, May 14, 1985.

[10] Cited in the Testimony of the International League for Human Rights before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations by Nina Shea, Program Director, on May 14, 1985, p. 6.

- Reverend Istvan Tokes, an internationally respected theologian and a senior official of the Hungarian Reformed Church, after strong official pressure, was fired in November 1983 as professor at the Protestant Theological Seminary, and in May 1984 was dismissed from his post as Assistant Bishop. He is under continuing surveillance.

- Felicia Russo has been harassed repeatedly by authorities since she converted to the Pentecostal Church. She was expelled from the university and denied a passport. She now can get only menial jobs for which, church sources report, she is paid approximately $4 a month.

The League also reports that on April 26, 1985, Reverend Petru Popescu, known for his criticisms of the state's anti-religious policies, disappeared from a train station platform; his whereabouts are unknown. On April 19, Constantin Sfatcu, a Baptist lay leader was imprisoned for distributing ; Radu Filipescu, a Romanian engineer, is currently in prison for distributing leaflets critical of the regime. These are but a few examples of the routine repression of Romanians attempting to practice their religion.

The latest and perhaps most dramatic example of Romania's blatant disregard for religious liberty is the revelation that some 20,000 Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania never reached the approximately 1 million church members. Instead the Bibles were sent to the paper mill in Braila to be recycled into toilet paper. Since many original words and letters remained intact, the fate of the Bibles became known in the West.[11] Meanwhile, religious believers in Romania are deprived of Bibles in violation of the Helsinki Accords and the peace treaties after World War II.

Nor is the situation likely to improve. For at the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party last November, Ceausescu vowed to "take firm measures against various mystical and obscurantist manifestations." Indeed, the Romanian administrative body dealing with religious matters is known as "the Department of Cults."

Repression of Minorities

The New York-based Committee for Human Rights in Romania has been monitored effectively the increasingly desperate situation of the

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[11] Further information on Romania's religious persecution may be obtained from Rev. Dr. Alexander Havadtoy, minister at the Calvin Church in Fairfield, Connecticut, and Professor at the Yale University Divinity School.

2.5 million Hungarian nationals in Romania (out of a total population of 20 million).[12] In the past year, all television broadcasting in Hungarian has been stopped. Hungarian schools are being closed. The government routinely assigns Hungarian graduates of universities and trade schools to jobs outside the community, creating an acute shortage of Hungarian teachers and language experts in the Hungarian areas. The persecuted dissident Karol Kiraly summarized the situation of the Hungarian minority in an interview in October 1984:

> The atmosphere of terror is beyond description. It permeates every aspect of everyday life. The most arbitrary and extreme measures are taken with respect to education, housing, cultural and religious activities, in total disregard of established laws and regulations. The fear which the secret police has managed to instill in every citizen makes even the simplest act become incredibly risky and complicated. Making a long distance telephone call to Hungary, for example, is itself already considered a suspicious activity....Distrust is so prevalent that no one dares communicate to anyone. Those who dare to trust someone risk their jobs, their homes or anything they might hold dear.[13]

Emigration: The Dark Story

"Illegal" emigration is forbidden. To attempt it and fail is an offense punishable with up to three years in jail.

Legal emigration has many facets. Since the early 1960s, according to General Pacepa, Ceausescu has been engaged in what amounts to "selling Romanians" as an export commodity.[14] That is, in exchange for emigrants Romania has received from the governments of Israel and West Germany thousands of dollars in cash along with low interest credits issued through the CIE for increased emigration quotas. Since 1972, charges Pacepa, hundreds of millions of dollars have been received for bartering Romanian Jews and Germans behind political scenes and have been deposited in a personal account of Ceausescu, some in the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, some in Switzerland.

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[12] See, for example, the extensive testimony of Laszlo Hamos, Chairman of the Committee for Human Rights in Romania, in Hearing of the International Trade Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Finance, August 8, 1984, pp. 159-239.

[13] Shea, op. cit., p. 12.

[14] Human Events, p. 225.

The number of Romanians allowed to emigrate to the U.S. is not an accurate indicator of the situation. The figure has grown from 980 in 1975 to 4,545 last year. But many of those allowed to leave reportedly are criminals "dumped" on the U.S., agents instructed to infiltrate the emigre community, or dissidents forcibly exiled. Bona fide emigrants, by contrast, are encountering increased harassment. Inordinate delays are standard. Applicants for permission to emigrate often are fired from their jobs, demoted to lower paying jobs, evicted from their homes or given inadequate housing, or denied medical care and other benefits.[15] Their children, meanwhile, are not allowed to enroll in schools.

The U.S. was ready to deny MFN status in 1983 after Ceausescu announced in November 1982 the possible imposition of an education tax on prospective emigrants to reimburse the state for the cost of educating those seeking to leave. Ronald Reagan announced that MFN status would end if the policy were not canceled. Only days before the deadline, the tax was rescinded. In retrospect, many observers agree with Jeri Laber of the U.S. Helsinki Committee that the controversial tax was likely a ploy. Explains Laber: "By first imposing the education tax and then lifting it, the Romanian government is distracting attention from other impediments to freedom of emigration and from its worsening human rights record in general, things which endangered MFN long before the education tax became an issue."

What is worse, the tax seems to have returned through the back door in the form of bribes. The International League for Human Rights has documented reports of government agents demanding bribes of up to $3,200 from individuals before they are permitted to emigrate. This is confirmed by Western diplomatic sources. These payments, charges League Program Director Nina Shea, "are a substitute for the Education Tax."

Repression of Workers

The Ceausescu regime tolerates virtually no expression of worker dissatisfaction. In August 1977, a large-scale strike by 35,000 coal miners in the Jiu valley in southwest Romania was swiftly, brutally suppressed. Thousands of workers were fired or sent back to their native villages; the leaders were arrested.[16] An attempt in 1979 to form a Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers was also quickly quashed. According to Amnesty International, two leaders of the movement, Iona Cana and Gheorghe Brasoveanu, were confined to psychiatric institutions, while a third was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment.[17]

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[15] Over the years, Rabbi Jacob Birnbaum, head of the Center for Russian and East European Jewry in New York, has documented the harassment of Jewish prospective emigrants in particular. He also notes that 1983-1984 saw the resurgence of the rash of anti-Semitic writings in 1980. A long, insidious article in the Communist Youth League newspaper Scinteia Tineretului in April 1983, for example, discusses a Jewish "plot against the specificity of the Romanian spirit." See Senate Hearing, op. cit., August 8, 1984, pp. 153-159 and 476-489.

A new decree now places those entering the labor force in what amounts to indentured servitude. All are forced to remain at their first assigned jobs for at least five years or forfeit half of the wages. Students are forced to work. Last summer, three million young people were sent into the countryside to help with the harvesting.[18]

Censorship

Censorship has been intensified in recent years from its already high level. Because all publications are controlled by the government, Romania may be the only East European country without a *samizdat* or underground literature. Citizens are required to register their typewriters. These can be confiscated if that is deemed "in the interest of the state." The author of a book critical of the Ceausescu regime, *Adevarul* (*The Truth*), was arrested in June 1984. He has not been heard from since.

Assassinations

A critic of the Romanian regime does not escape the long arm of Ceausescu's ire even by exile or emigration. Paul Goma, the dissident writer expelled to France in 1977, was targeted for assassination in 1982. His would-be assassin, Matei Haiducu, revealed to the French secret service the details of his mission. This is not the only such case. In 1980, West Germany arrested a man who spied on Romanian emigrants for Romanian intelligence; in February 1981, parcel bombs were sent to the homes of prominent Romanian exiles in Paris and Cologne, injuring two of them and a police bomb expert; in July 1981, Emil Georgescu, an outspoken Romanian program editor at Radio Free Europe in Munich was stabbed 22 times. Other Radio Free Europe personnel who have been beaten or targeted for assassination include Monica Lovinescu and Sergiu Manoliu.[19]

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[16] Vladf Georgescu, *Istoria Romanilor* (The History of the Romanians) (Los Angeles, American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences), p. 336. See pp. 310-345 for an excellent summary of Romania's current situation and policies.

[17] AI Annual Report 1981 (London), p. 314.

[18] RFE/RL *Situation Report* 7, April 9, 1985, p. 14.

In July 1978 General Ion Pacepa was instructed personally by Ceausescu to conduct secret assassinations by mailing plastic explosives to exiles critical of the Ceausescu regime. Pacepa refused and defected. Since his 1978 defection, he has been the target of at least seven assassination attempts.

The repression of Romanian citizens, even beyond Romania's borders, makes it seem especially inappropriate for the U.S. to bestow preferential MFN status on the Ceausescu regime.

HOW INDEPENDENT OF THE USSR IS ROMANIA?

Romania's political behavior is surely motivated mainly by a need to compensate for domestic economic and human rights shortcomings and to rally some popular support for the ruling Communist Party. Romania's ruthless internal repression, in fact, is a key reason for Moscow's tolerance of Romania's occasional gestures defying the Soviet foreign policy line. According to Romanian-born political science professor Aurel Braun, now of the University of Toronto, Moscow is willing to condone some dissent, provided that the country is governed with an iron, Leninist fist and that the USSR can reap other benefits.[20]

More important, some of Romania's seemingly independent moves actually may support Moscow's policies. While it is true, for instance, that Ceausescu appeared to have upset Moscow by asserting that no state has the right to intervene in Poland, he also strongly condemned the activities of the Solidarity trade union movement in language echoing Moscow's. And though it has received little attention, Romania approved the imposition of martial law in Poland.

In Middle East matters, Romania also hardly displeases Moscow. Romania supports an international conference organized by the U.N., in which the Soviet Union and the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate. Earlier this year, Ceausescu told The Jerusalem Post that he favored increased Soviet involvement in the Middle East.

Though Romania has yet to exchange ambassadors with Nicaragua, Bucharest was one of the first to recognize Nicaragua's communist regime. According to a Czechoslovak report, Romania has joined other Warsaw pact countries in sending 28 tons of food and medicine to Nicaragua aboard a Soviet Aeroflot plane.[21] It is believed that Romania also has sent military aid to Nicaragua.

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[19] See Ion Pacepa's comments on these acts in Le Matin, February 4, 1985.

[20] Aurel Braun, Romanian Foreign Policy Since 1970: The Political and Military Limits of Autonomy (New York: Praeger, 1978).

Romania generally has backed, with political and material aid, Marxist and other radical leftist movements throughout the world.[22] This policy, probably motivated by Ceausescu's attempts to become a world leader, suits Moscow very well.

Most dangerous to the U.S. and the West is the integration of the Romanian secret service within the Soviet bloc intelligence services. To be sure, the Romanian CIE no longer technically reports to Moscow. But General Pacepa reports that the CIE has extensive ties to the Soviet KGB. Experts believe that the CIE is a very important ally in the KGB's espionage network, including inside the U.S. In addition, the CIE has secret agreements with the Hungarian, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian secret services for smuggling high technological commercial and military equipment into Romania and for sending drugs and arms abroad. In 1977 and 1978 alone, the Romanians sold Western smugglers more than 200 pounds of narcotics.[23]

Romania's voting record at the U.N. is cited by some State Department officials as an example of Bucharest's independence from Moscow. In 1983, for example, while the U.S. and Soviet Union voted together 13.8 percent of the time in the General Assembly, Romania voted with the U.S. 16.3 percent of the time. But in 1984, Moscow actually voted with the U.S. 13.2 percent of the time compared to 10.1 percent for Romania.

In view of its growing economic dependence on the Soviet Union, Romania can be expected to toe the Moscow line even more carefully. Ceausescu has been seeking increased fuel supplies from the Soviet Union. Radio Free Europe researcher Paul Gafton notes that Moscow "seems to be maintaining a deliberate gap between its oil exports and Romania's expectations in this domain, an obvious economic lever aimed at influencing Romania's political behavior."[24]

The Soviet presence in Romania, meanwhile, apparently is mounting. Reports Ambassador Funderburk:

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[21] Cetka, August 6, 1979; cited in RFE/RL Situation Report 3, February 8, 1985, p. 7.

[22] RFE/RL Situation Report 3, February 8, 1985.

[23] Human Events, p. 230.

[24] RFE/RL Situation Report 5, March 13, 1985.

> Our guys observed a large Soviet presence in Romania that was not welcome news to some officials in Washington. On our own initiative, we looked in registries, checked schools, traced license plates and came up with an ungodly number of resident Soviets, including Soviet agents in factories monitoring Romanian exports to the Soviet Union.[25]

Funderburk also cites evidence that Romania has transferred to the Soviet Union technology obtained from the U.S. This is confirmed by Commerce Department officials.

CONCLUSION

At one time, it might have made sense for the U.S. to grant favors to Romania in the hopes of getting something in return. For a decade, however, the U.S has waited patiently for Bucharest to live up to its end of the deal. Instead, Romania remains probably Eastern Europe's most repressive nation--except for the USSR. Romanian human rights are systematically abused, and emigration is rigidly restricted. Routinely in Romania there are psychiatric incarcerations and torture of political dissidents, harassment of would-be emigrants and religious believers, assassinations, and a fraudulent emigration record that includes a large number of forced exiles, criminals, and agents of the secret police.

Romania's much-touted "independent" road in foreign affairs, meanwhile, is a charade. The Romanian secret service, its high technology espionage efforts, its illegal drug trafficking efforts, are all closely integrated with the KGB. Many of Romania's actions, moreover, directly benefit Moscow, including its attempts to involve the Soviet Union in Middle East negotiations and the reported transfer to the Soviet Union of high technology obtained from the U.S.

As such, the U.S. should start treating Romania as the hard-line Stalinist state that it is. Washington should not enhance the Ceausescu regime by giving it the gift of Most Favored Nation trade status. To deny MFN to Romania would signal to the Romanian government that the U.S. no longer is fooled and no longer will encourage Bucharest's repressive internal policies and foreign policy deceptions.

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[25] The Washington Post, May 15, 1985.

Senator GRASSLEY. Would you each come to the table? While you are coming to the table, I want to state that I am going to put in the record a statement, and I would note—beyond my statement—that I have received in my office the names of 120 families who desire to leave Romania and who have been denied that right to this point. And I hope that they will receive more favorable consideration than they have had so far from the Government of Romania. I would ask that you testify in the order that you are listed. Ms. Shea, would you begin?

STATEMENT OF NINA SHEA, ESQ., PROGRAM DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, NEW YORK, NY

Ms. SHEA. Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Each year the International League has testified at these hearings on cases of Romanians denied emigration permission. Each year, close to the hearings, emigration restrictions in Romania are eased slightly and some of our right-to-leave cases are resolved. That the Romanian Government responds in some degree to the pressure of U.S. congressional scrutiny is itself testament to the importance of today's hearings.

While having a seemingly independent foreign policy, Romania is internally one of the most Stalinistic nations in Eastern Europe. No dissent is allowed. The Government ruling by decree controls virtually all segments of life, intruding into even the most intimate matters of family and religion.

To stifle dissent and maintain absolute control, the Government does not hesitate to employ brutal tactics, such as disappearances, detention, and even extrajudicial killing. Examples of such have been given by other panelists and are included in my written submission.

More regularly, the Government, using its absolute and pervasive control, turns to more subtle but no less efficient administrative sanctions to silence its critics and deny other basic human rights. It is able to punish, coerce, and coop its citizenry through diverse measures without even a pretext of an independent investigation or trial. Such measures imposed simply upon administrative order include external exile, internal banishment, house arrest, so-called corrective labor without deprivation of liberty, job demotion, transfer or even dismissal, wage reduction or denial, denials of food rations and medical care, eviction from home or forcible resettlement to remote areas, and fines or taxes.

Administrative sanctions commonly do not affect the observer as do the more brutal methods of repression. They fail to shock or horrify. All too often, they are overlooked by the international community. Yet, in Romania their cumulative effect on human rights is devastating. I wish to take this opportunity to publicize some of these pervasive administrative sanctions that so thoroughly undermine human rights, including the individual's right to emigrate, the very concern of the Jackson-Vanik condition to MFN.

The right to leave has been an area of special concern to the International League for Human Rights and is the focus of our family reunification project which currently contains documentation on more than 1,000 families who wish to leave Romania.

In Romania, the state exercises unharnessed power to determine who may leave, when, and under what circumstances. We have found that in practice travel from Romania is severely and routinely limited, irrespective of the would-be traveler's purpose. Many of the League's cases involve family members who wish to emigrate to rejoin relatives abroad. As a result of travel denials, husbands are separated from wives and children from parents. Even in the most compelling circumstances, denials are common. Particularly cruel is the denial of the right to leave in those cases involving elderly and often ill applicants whose children are already in the West. There can be no justification for withholding emigration permission in these cases. The individuals concerned are pensioned, and it has been many years since they were members of the work force. The League has documented 68 such cases in the past year. They include individuals in their sixties, seventies, and even eighties.

Inordinate delays in Romania's application process continue to be reported. Partly responsible are cumbersome and obscure procedures coupled with bureaucratic indifference of officials, as Mr. Derwinski suggested. However, the length of delay in many cases is so extended that delays seem to be a deliberate strategy by Romanian authorities to deny the right to emigrate. A large number of persons have been denied emigration permission for many years—in some cases, well over two decades. Examples of persons who have been waiting since 1961, 1962, and 1963 are included in my written submission. This is not simple bureaucratic inefficiency.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to conclude by saying that, in addition, Romanian authorities continue to direct economic and other administrative reprisals against the would-be emigrant. These include job dismissal and demotion to lower paying jobs, denying permission for children to enroll in schools. Others have been evicted from their homes or given inadequate housing. Others are deemed ineligible to receive State benefits such as medical and dental care and hospitalization and pensions. But apparently, the Romanian authorities have also in the past year adopted a new administrative sanction—the exacting of large cash payments from the applicants. Numerous League-documented cases report that Government agents requested bribes or unofficial payments of up to 3,000 U.S. dollars as prerequisites to receiving emigration permission. Western diplomatic sources have also reported on this new practice. Such payments seem to have replaced and are a substitute for the 1982 education tax which was abandoned by Romanian authorities after strong United States congressional and administration protests.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my statement. I refer you to my written submission for a detailed discussion of religious persecution, persecution of minorities, labor, expression, and privacy. Thank you very much.

Senator GRASSLEY. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Shea follows:]

HUMAN-RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

Testimony of Nina Shea, Program Director
International League for Human Rights

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, the International League for Human Rights wishes to congratulate the Subcommittees on International Trade for holding hearings today on the status of human rights in Romania.

Each year, the International League has testified at the trade hearings on our ongoing Family Reunification Project concerning Romanian citizens who are seeking to leave their country and who suffer often severe Government reprisals as a consequence. Each year close to the hearings, emigration restrictions in Romania are eased slightly, some of our right-to-leave cases are resolved and, on occasion, political prisoners are released from detention. That the Romanian Government responds in some degree to the pressure of U.S. Congressional scrutiny is itself testament to the importance of today's hearings.

While having a somewhat enlightened foreign policy, Romania is internally a totalitarian dictatorship. It is perhaps the most repressive and Stalinistic of the East European nations. No dissent is allowed. No independent labor unions, farmers' associations, human rights groups, citizens' groups, scientific, legal or other professional associations are permitted to function. The Government, which rules by decree, controls virtually all segments of life, intruding into even the most deeply personal matters of family and religion.

To stifle dissent and maintain absolute control, the Government does not hesitate to employ brutal tactics, such as disappearances, detention, psychiatric abuse, torture and even political killings: In April 1984, the Hungarian Roman Catholic priest Father Geza Palfi was beaten to death by security police for criticizing the State's policy of making Christmas a workday; more recently, on April 26, 1985, the Baptist Minister, Reverend Petru Popescu, also a critic of official anti-religious policies, disappeared from a train station platform -- his whereabouts remain unknown; on April 19, 1985, Constantin Sfatcu, a Baptist lay leader, was imprisoned for distributing Bibles and reportedly sentenced on July 22, 1985 to seven and one half years labor on trumped-up criminal charges;. Radu Filipescu, a Romanian engineer, is currently in prison for distributing leaflets critical of the regime; and Laszlo Buzas, an ethnic Hungarian, is also in jail for smuggling writings in the Hungarian language into Romania.

These are only a few examples. There are numerous others.

Far more regularly, the Government, using its absolute and pervasive control, turns to more subtle but no less efficient pervasive control, turns to more subtle but no less efficient administrative sanctions to silence its critics and deny other basic human rights. It is able to punish, coerce and co-opt its citizenry through diverse measures without even the pretext of an independent investigation, charge, trial, due process, conviction or appeal. Such measures, imposed simply upon administrative order, include external exile; internal banishment; forced labor or so-called "corrective labor without deprivation of liberty"; job demotion, transfer or even dismissal; wage reduction, withholding or complete denial; denials of food rations and medical care; denial of education; eviction from home, or forcible resettlement to remote or undesirable areas; and fines or taxes.

Administrative sanctions commonly do not affect the observer as do the more brutal methods of repression. They fail to shock or horrify. All too often they are overlooked by the international community. Yet, in Romania, their cumulative impact on human rights is devastating.

Karoly Kiraly, the well-known Romanian dissident of Hungarian ethnic background, speaking of the plight of the Hungarian minority, recently stated:

> Those who denounce or protest (human rightsviolations) are not necessarily silenced by violence.For example, a schoolteacher who speaks out may be suddenly transferred to another city where his wife cannot find work. The shattered life of a miserable schoolteacher does not make headlines in Transylvania, nor would it in the West. And what about two and a half million shattered lives? Would that make a headline? I do not think so.

Mr. Chairman, the International League wishes to take this opportunity to publicize some of these pervasive administrative sanctions that so thoroughly undermine human rights in Romania.

RELIGION

The Romanian regime is officially atheistic and prohibits religious education for the young. Through the Ministry of Cults, it controls all the activities of the 14 State-approved religious groups.* It is the sole distributor of Bibles, which are always in short supply. It pays the salaries of religious leaders, some of whom it has managed to co-opt.

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* These include: Romanian Orthodox (the largest), Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, Baptist, Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventist, Jewish, and Muslim.

It is able to discourage religious observance by calling for "patriotic" labor on significant religious holidays, such as Christmas. Those who dare not to work on such days risk losing certain privileges, such as better housing or a job promotion.

Since 1977, but with particular intensity since spring 1984, the Government has been in the process of demolishing many church buildings, including some that are several centuries old and have historical significance. It appears to be a systematic campaign. The situation is especially acute since worshipping in other than officially designated buildings is forbidden. A Protestant leader who held a prayer meeting in his own home after the congregation's church had been torn down was soon afterwards evicted.

A number of religious figures who have become too popular and too critical of the Government have recently been singled out for repression by administrative action, as well as through arrest and imprisonment. In none of the examples that follow has the individual been able to appeal the administrative punishment imposed.

-- Father Calciu-Dumitreasa, a Romanian Orthodox priest and professor of theology, was released from prison in August 1984, after serving five years of a ten-year sentence for non-violent human rights activity. Since then he has been placed under virtual house arrest. He is unemployed, deprived of outside contacts, and subject to strict surveillance. He would like to leave Romania.

-- Reverend Istvan Tokes, an internationally respected theologian and a senior official of the Hungarian Reformed Church, after strong official pressure, was fired in November 1983 from his position as professor at the Protestant Theological Seminary, and in May 1984 was dismissed from his post as Assistant Bishop. He continues to be monitored.

-- Reverend Laszlo Tokes, son of Istvan Tokes and also a minister of the Hungarian Reformed Church, was banished from his congregation in Des to a remote village in May 1984.

-- Felicia Russo, a convert to the Pentecostal Church in Lugoj, has been repeatedly harassed by authorities since her conversion. She was expelled from the university and denied a passport. Currently, she can get only menial jobs for which, church sources report, she is paid approximately $4 (U.S.) a month.

-- Ferenc Wisky, a former pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church, was forcibly retired and banished from his church and home in April 1983.

Reformed Church, was forcibly retired and banished from his church and home in April 1983.

The Romanian regime is not willing to persecute directly the large number of devout in its country. Instead the regime has, through administrative measures, sought to undercut religion by isolating independent-thinking religious leaders and limiting religious exposure for the bulk of the population.

At the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in November 1984, President Ceausescu vowed to "take firm measures against various mystical and obscurantist manifestations," an obvious reference to an official crackdown on religious practice. There is no indication that the situation will improve in the near future.

PRIVACY

Administrative action has also been employed to curtail the right of privacy, particularly with respect to the family.

In a Februrary 24, 1984 decision, the Romanian Communist Party's executive political committee endorsed the regime's directive to raise the nation's birth rate. It decided to continue to ban abortions and oral contraceptives for women under 42. Among the measures adopted aimed at enforcing the ban and promoting the State's birth rate goal is a compulsory monthly gynecological examination for female workers over 20 years of age. The purpose of the check-ups is to ensure that pregnancies are not interrupted. Those who fail to comply are to be denied paychecks, refused other medical services or denied social benefits.

The committee's decision also requires compulsory medical treatment for sterile women. In addition, unmarried adults over 25 and childless couples are subjected to a five per cent income surcharge. One-child families also confront problems; families with two or more children have priority in enrolling in school or for obtaining housing.

There is no opportunity for women or families to appeal or even protest such measures. Those who attempt to do so risk further reprisals.

MINORITIES

At the Romanian Communist Party Congress last November, President Ceausescu declared, "We have resolved the nationality problem for good."* In fact, the persecution and forced Romanization of some minority groups in Romania appears

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* Minority groups in Romania include ethnic Hungarians and Germans, Jews, Serbs, Ukranians, Slovaks, Czechs, Bulgarians, Armenians and Gypsies.

to have intensified in recent years. Since fall 1984, authorities in Hungary and Yugoslavia, as well as the Council of Europe, have voiced official concern to the Romanian Government about its treatment of the minorities and their culture.
The Hungarian minority has been among the hardest hit. In addition to penal and even extra-legal measures, they have faced a relentless barrage of administrative sanctions in a Government attempt to force them to give up their culture and assimilate into the dominant Romanian one.

Hungarians are underrepresented in important local and national political bodies. Transylvania, the center of Hungarian ethnic culture in Romania, no longer holds the semi-autonomous position it had during the 1950s. Romanians are now regularly appointed as mayors of Hungarian districts. Many previously independent Hungarian cultural and educational institutions have been merged with their Romanian counterparts.

Romania has sought to disrupt the flow of Hungarian-speaking individuals to and from Romania. It has denied its own citizens passports or permission to visit Hungary. It has discouraged visits by foreign ethnic Hungarians to Romania by close surveillance and police interrogation and harassment. It has closed the Romanian-Hungarian border on important Hungarian ethnic holidays and has recently decreed that Hungarians are among the foreigners who cannot stay overnight in the homes of Romanians unless they are relatives.

Romanian authorities also make Hungarian cultural exchanges difficult. At the border they routinely confiscate written materials in Hungarian, including those without political content. They have forbidden Romanians of Hungarian ethnicity to accept scholarships in Hungarian universities and professional schools.

Within Romania they have repressed Hungarian culture by limiting opportunities to learn and speak Hungarian and practice Hungarian traditions. In the past year, the Government has stopped all television broadcasting in Hungarian. It has also continued to close Hungarian schools or incorporate them into Romanian ones as mere sections that, in turn, are gradually phased out. Recently, by an order of April 4, 1984, the Ministry of Education abolished the designation of the Babes-Bolyai University as a Hungarian institution.

A quota is set by authorities to limit the number of university students allowed to major in Hungarian; in July 1983, the Ministry of Education reduced the quota at the University of Kolozsvar from 25 to 15 students, according to reports of the "samizdat" Hungarian Press of Transylvania. Students of Hungarian are harassed: The Hungarian Press of Transylvania reported in June 1984 that ten students from the Academy of Fine Arts in Kolozsvar were interrogated by the secret police and two of them were expelled, after the interrogations had determined that they were "maintaining contact with citizens of Hungary...and allowing Western, Hungarian ideals to influence their work."

The Government has also routinely assigned Hungarian graduates of universities and trade schools to jobs outside the Hungarian community. Ethnic Hungarians are sent into Romanian areas, while Romanians are transferred to Hungarian-speaking districts. For example, the 23 graduates who had majored in Hungarian at the University of Kolozsvar in 1983 were all forced to accept teaching positions outside Transylvania. Instead of teaching their native Hungarian to ethnic Hungarians, they must now teach various foreign languages to Romanian speakers. The New York-based Committee for Human Rights in Romania reports that, as a result, there is an acute shortage of Hungarian teachers in Transylvania, and Hungarian language experts are isolated from their native communities.

Other prominent Hungarian cultural figures have been forcibly transferred from the Hungarian region or fired from their positions, merely because they are viewed by authorities as obstructionists to its minority assimilation plans. Certain religious leaders, who have been victims of this practice, have been mentioned above. Others include journalists, writers, broadcasters and actors. For example:

-- In 1984 Zoltan Bartha, an editor of a Hungarian-language children's magazine was reassigned to another job in a remote region.

-- In late 1983, Sandor Huszar, editor of a popular Hungarian-language weekly, and his assistant, Andor Horvath, were summarily fired from their jobs.

-- Arpad Visky, a popular actor with the Hungarian Theatre, after being released in September 1984 from imprisonment on political charges, is now barred from acting on Romanian stages.

The dissident Karoly Kiraly eloquently summarized the situation of the Hungarian minority in an interview in October 1984:

> The atmosphere of terror is beyond description. It permeates every aspect of everyday life. The most arbitrary and extreme measures are taken with respect to education, housing, cultural and religious activities, in total disregard of established laws and regulations. The fear which the secret police has managed to instill in every citizen makes even the simplest act become incredibly risky and complicated. Making a longdistance telephone call to Hungary, for example, is itself already considered a

> suspicious activity. Three phone calls are allowed per month and each call is recorded in one's personal identification card. Distrust is so prevalent that no one dares communicate anything to anyone. Those who do dare to trust someone risk their jobs, their homes or anything they might hold dear.

THE RIGHT TO LEAVE

The individual's right to leave his country has been an area of special concern to the League and is the focus of our Family Reunification Project, which currently contains documentation on more than 1000 families who wish to leave Romania. For these reasons we place particular emphasis on this issue at today's hearing.

Many thousands of persons wish to leave Romania. Because of the Romanian Government's restrictive policies, it is impossible to determine exactly how many persons actually applied for exit permission. According to May 1985 U.S. State Department figures, approximately 150,000 persons have been granted entry visas in the past ten years to three countries alone (U.S., Israel, and Federal Republic of Germany).

Many of our cases, noted in the Appendices to our testimony, reveal instances of particular hardship. Merely for requesting permission to leave, many families have suffered reprisals at the hands of administrative authorities and a number have endured interminable delays in the processing of their exit application, in itself a form of administrative sanction.

The right to leave is not safeguarded in Romanian law: it is not mentioned in the current Romanian Constitution, and there are no specific domestic laws guaranteeing the right to leave. On the contrary, various provisions stipulate lengthy and complex conditions for acquiring exit visas and passports. In the absence of legal guarantees to protect citizens' rights to leave, the State's claim of the right to control the movement of its citizens goes unchallenged. The State exercises unharnessed power to determine who may leave, when, and under what circumstances.

The following examination of Romanian domestic law reveals that the right to leave is severely qualified even on the face of the legislation. A review of the League's extensive caseload demonstrates that these laws are applied in such a way that an alarming curtailment of emigration rights results.

Article 12 of the Romanian Decree on Passports provides for complete Government discretion in the issuance of documents for foreign travel. It empowers Romanian authorities to deny or withdraw a passport when "by going abroad, (a Romanian citizen) could prejudice the interests of the Romanian state or affect the good relationship thereof with other states." The vague wording of this decree permits arbitrary denials of passports and contemplates restrictions on the right to leave far exceeding those permitted under international law, namely "those necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others."

Other legal provisions ensure strict State regulation of movement from the country:

-- One decree governing travel limits the validity of exit visas to only six months from the date of issue.

-- Another stipulates that personal travel is permitted only once very two years, with certain exceptions regarding family reunification or obtaining medical care.

-- Yet another makes State permission for personal travel contingent on "the limits of available foreign currencies as established for this purpose through the annual State Plan and in accordance with the criteria and preferential order established by the Resolution of Council of Ministers."

-- Before being permitted to leave to marry a foreign national, citizens must also seek and receive separate permission to wed from the Romanian Parliament.

As in other areas of State control in Romania, there is no possibility for independent judicial review of State denials of permission to travel.

As noted above, Romanian law exempts travel for purposes of family reunification and for obtaining medical care from certain restrictions applicable in other cases of personal travel. We have found, nevertheless, that in practice travel from Romania is severely and routinely limited irrespective of the would-be traveler's purpose.

Many of the League's cases involve family members who wish to emigrate to rejoin relatives abroad. As a result of travel denials, husbands are separated from wives, and children from parents. Even in the most compelling circumstances denials are common.

Particularly cruel is the denial of the right to leave in those cases involving elderly and often ill applicants whose children are already in the West. There can be no justification for withholding emigration permission in these cases. The individuals concerned are pensioned, and it has been many years since they were members of the work force; in addition, these cases do not involve issues of State security.

The League has documented 68 such cases in the past year. They range in age from 60 years. Some are seriously ill, such as: Borislav Nikolin who is partially paralyzed; Theresia Michelbach, who suffers from hardening of the arteries as well as stomach problems; Michael Weber, 83 years old, suffers from a stomach disease on which he has twice undergone surgery, and his wife Elisabetha, 78 years old, is almost blind; Anna Bieber, 70 years old, suffers from arterial hypertony, arteriosclerosis, and myocardial sclerosis; her husband Jakob Bieber, 80 years old, suffers from myocardialsclerosis and adenoma of the prostate. Many of these individuals need medical treatment available only in the West.

Hardship in some families is particularly acute in view of the very meager pensions on which they must subsist. In several cases, these are as low as $6 or $10 (U.S.) dollars a month.

Inordinate delays in Romania's emigration application process continue to be reported. Partly responsible are cumbersome and obscure procedures coupled with the bureaucratic indifference of officials. Applying to emigrate is a two-level process in which applicants must acquire, submit and receive decisions on both a "short" and "long" application form. A number of individuals have reported to us that even obtaining the forms can be a frustrating and patience-testing process. On more than one occasion it has been reported to us that after filing the applications, one or both of the forms have been "lost" or filled out incorrectly; for example, officials use minor misspelling as an excuse for requiring the entire process to begin anew.

However, the length of delays in many cases is so extended that simple bureaucratic inefficiency cannot be blamed. Delay seems to be a deliberate strategy by Romanian authorities to deny the right to emigrate. A large number of persons have been applying for permission to leave Romania for many years, in some cases well over two decades. A few examples follow:

-- **Since 1961:**
    Elisabetha Haecker (60 years old)
    Mathias and Margareta Wilhelm (77 and 73)
-- **Since 1962:**
    Josef and Barbara Lindemann (both 61)
-- **Since 1963:**
    Ignatz and Katharina Schmidt (81 and 77)
-- **Since 1964:**
    Anton and Elisabeth and Katharina Kilzer (67, 58, and 82)
-- **Since 1965:**
    Josef and Anna Eberle (82 and 76)

In addition, Romanian authorities direct economic and other administrative reprisals against the would-be emigrant. For some, these practices signify a continued campaign of intimidation against them--the same factors that initially prompted their desire to leave; for others this treatment may mark the beginning of a long and torturous ordeal.

In Romania, the unemployed are often treated as second-class citizens and may even be criminally prosecuted for "parasitism." Therefore, dismissal from employment can be a severe sanction for an emigration application and an effective deterrent for others who might wish to apply. A number of individuals in League-documented cases were fired from their jobs soon after requesting permission to emigrate. According to our case files, several persons, apparently blacklisted from employment, have yet to find other work although they are skilled in their professions. (See Appendix: Cases Guni, Orendi, Dengel, Griesel, Gehl, Bondoc, and Georgescu).

In other cases, emigration applicants have been demoted to lower-paying positions far beneath their capabilities: for example, professors are being forced to work as unskilled laborers in factories. (See Appendix: Cases Resch, and Gehl.)

Students in families applying to emigrate have reported discrimination with regard to education. A number of families report that their children have not been permitted by authorities to enroll in school (See Appendix: Cases Dengel, Bondoc, and Georgescu).

Others have been evicted from their homes (See Appendix: Case Galalae); or given inadequate housing (See Appendix: Case Gehl); Many emigation applicants are deemed ineligible to receive State benefits such as medical and dental care, hospitalization and pensions.

Apparently, the Romanian authorities have also in the past year adopted a new administrative sanction: the exacting of large cash payments from the applicants. Numerous League-documented cases report that Government agents requested bribes or unofficial payments of up to $3,200 (U.S.) as a prerequisite to receiving emigration permission. Western diplomatic sources have also reported on this new practice. Such payments seem to have replaced and are a substitute for the Education Tax, which was to be imposed after November 1982 for all emigration applicants who had received education beyond the compulsory level of ten years. The practice of taxing emigrants for their education was abandoned by Romanian authorities after strong U.S. Congressional and Administration protests.

Finally, regarding emigration, the League wishes to draw the Subcommittee's attention to another problem faced by the many Romanians who wish to emigrate to the U.S. to rejoin family members: Hundreds of such applicants have already received Romanian exit visas but have not yet been granted U.S.

immigration permission . These families have applied to leave Romania under the United States State Department's Third Country Processing Program (TCP) that encouraged emigration from Romania but was discontinued in 1982. The Romanian Government, believing that the United States would not be able to take many of the applicants, began a policy of selling passports to those wishing to migrate to the United States and other Western European countries (except the Federal Republic of Germany). These individuals, many of whom were forced to give up their jobs or homes, after applying to emigrate live in particularly distressing circumstances. One example is the Bondoc family, described below:

Nicolae Bondoc in December 1983 applied, together with his wife and daughter, for a passport to join his mother in the United States. His mother, Lise Bondoc-Wendler, is married to an American citizen and is herself a permanent resident of the United States.

He received his passport and permission to leave Romania in December 1984. However, he has not been able to receive a U.S. immigration visa. In fact, the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest, to this date, has not even opened a file on his case. The reason given was that there were already too many such applications to be processed at the Embassy.

As soon as Mr. Bondoc received his Romanian passport he and his wife lost their jobs. He was a construction engineer and she a technical draftswoman. The Romanian Government now forbids them to work, even at menial jobs. Their child cannot attend school unless they pay $200 (U.S.) a month for her schooling. In addition, they must now pay for medical and legal services in U.S. dollars. Since Romanian citizens are not allowed to have foreign currency, Mr. Bondoc's mother must send them large sums of money to help them survive. The Romanian family's only other means of support comes from selling their furniture and other possessions.

Under United States immigration policy, immigration visas are given to those who have first-degree relatives in the U.S. or are themselves citizens or permanent residents of the U.S. The Bondoc family fits this category. It appears that there are no grounds for not granting Mr. Bondoc's application.

Other emigration applicants to the U.S. in the League's caseload face similar hardships and merit attention. (See Appendix: Cases, Georgescu and Galateanu.)

EXPRESSION

Free expression is not tolerated in Romania. All press, broadcasting and publishing are controlled by the Government. Western written materials are rarely allowed into the country. Even underground publications are scarce. The newly-established Hungarian Press of Transylvania is the only underground publication now able to function.

Many of the leading dissidents, such as Paul Goma and Vlad Georgescu, have been exiled, often after imprisonment and/or physical abuse. Others, such as those mentioned above in the "Minorities" section, have been isolated and silenced after being fired from newspaper jobs, internally banished and/or imprisoned.

A few popular or well-known Romanian writers still dare to dissent. They, their publishers and editors are likely to be censored, fired, and eventually exiled rather than imprisoned. A few well-known writers still do manage to have pieces critical of the Government printed. For example, Ana Blondiana, an internationally-acknowledged poet had four dissident poems published in December 1984. It has been reported that she and her publishers have been warned by authorities to stop the criticisms. Augustin Buzura, a novelist, has published a number of dissident pieces, including some critical of totalitarianism in connection with President Ceausescu's birthday celebration in January. This Spring, one of his editors at the Cartea Romanescu publishing house, Georgeta Naidin, was transferred from her job.

In 1984 an essay by Dorin Tudoran, a widely acclaimed Romanian writer, critical of the repression of Romanian writers, was banned in Romania; it was later broadcast by western radio and serialized in a French journal. Mr. Tudoran now lives under continuous police surveillance with his telephone and mail intercepted. He has been dismissed from his job as an editor of the literary magazine Lucenfarul.

In this context, Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts news about Romania within Romania in the native language, is a significant alternative information source. In recent years Radio Free Europe offices and personnel operating in Western Europe have been repeatedly threatened by physical attacks, reportedly backed by Romanian agents. Two French citizens, suspected of being Romanian security agents, were sentenced to prison by a West German court in July 1982 after being convicted of attempting to murder a Romanian exile working for Radio Free Europe in Munich. On November 9, 1984, the West German Government requested the withdrawal of five Romanian diplomats from the Embassy in Bonn for allegedly being linked to a planned bomb attack on Radio Free Europe offices.

During 1984 some banned writers and artists have resigned from the Communist party to protest the "intolerable restrictions" on culture and press in Romania. Others, including

Dorin Tudoran, had done so in previous years. An administrative decree, aimed at monitoring the unofficial press, by requiring private persons to register typewriters, came into force in April 1983. Shortly afterwards, President Ceausescu called on artists in all fields to propagate "the model of the new man." Official control over all forms of expression can be expected to remain tight

LABOR

Romania prohibits independent labor unions and has effectively eliminated any type of labor movement. Administrative sanctions, such as job transfers, demotions, banishment or exile, are used to isolate activists and suppress labor organizing and dissent.

Incipient efforts to organize a union and protect workers' rights arose during the 1970s but were quickly suppressed by authorities. In the early 1970s Vasile Paraschiv, a petrochemical worker in Ploiesti, proposed in a letter to the Romanian Communist Party the formation of independent trade unions. He never received a reply; instead he was forcibly detained in a psychiatric hospital. In 1977, he was permitted to leave Romania.

The next significant attempt to assert workers' rights occurred in 1977 among miners in the Jiu Valley. The miners organized a strike to protest food shortages and working conditions. Despite promises by the Government to address the strikers' grievances, their demands were never met.

Finally in 1979, a group of intellectuals and workers, prompted by the Government's inaction regarding the miners' strike, announced the formation of the Free Trade Union of Romanian Workers (SLOMR) to press for workers' demands. The authorities quickly responded by arresting the union organizers and harassing its members.

There are now no significant movements to start a new union. Some of the original labor activists are in exile, while others are still being punished within Romania. For example, labor leader Carmen Popescu was forced to serve time in prison and is now under house arrest.

Meanwhile, workers' rights continue to deteriorate. Authorities regularly continue to make calls for days of "patriotic" labor, during which workers are not paid for the work rendered. Students, particularly, are expected to "volunteer" their labor during vacation periods. A new decree places those entering the labor force in virtual indentured servitude. They are forced to remain at their first assigned job for five years; otherwise half their wages, which are withheld by the State, are forfeited.

Without any opening to organize or express dissent, Romania's workers face a bleak furture. They can expect further hardships and exploitation as the nation's economy continues to perform poorly.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, Romania systematically violates a wide range of human rights through the extensive use of administrative sanctions, as well as by other tactics. Those who are for political reasons victims of exile, house arrest, eviction, job dismissal or other administrative measures merit U.S. concern.

Romania shares with the U.S. certain trade and foreign policy interests. Precisely for this reason there is a tendency among some American policy makers to minimize or overlook Romania's abyssmal domestic human rights record. However, unlike other Eastern-bloc nations, Romania is sensitive to U.S. Congressional opinion: in the past, it has yielded to American, particularly Congressional, pressure to moderate its actions. The International League urges Congress to make effective use of its leverage and continue such efforts. In Romania, precisely because there is virtually no opening for internal dissent, U.S. and other external pressure becomes all the more critical.

The following are among recommended actions to help maximize the U.S. Government's influence in improving human rights in Romania. They are meant to be illustrative, rather than exhaustive.

1. Enhance information gathering on human rights abuses and its dissemination. Visible initiatives to protect those who speak out in defense of human rights, such as religious and cultural figures, could be undertaken by the U.S. Government.

-- Ensuring that the American Embassy protests or takes other measures when there is harassment of leading relgious, minority or other human rights activists.

-- Urging the new American Ambassador to regularly visit oppressed minority areas, such as Transylvania, or attend prayer meetings and church functions of persecuted denominations; and to invite dissidents and individuals who work and protect human rights often and visibly to the U.S. Embassy.

-- Ensuring the continuation of Radio Free Europe and even the improvement of the quantity and quality of its broadcasting. The U.S. Government should vigorously protest the reported attacks by Romanian agents against Radio Free Europe broadcasters and their facilities.

2. Actively encourage the National Endowment for Democracy to support the projects and exchanges with Romania that would promote respect for human rights and assist pluralistic voices.

3. Protesting repeatedly -- in both Washington and Bucharest -- when human rights abuses occur, particularly when increased repressive administrative sanctions are imposed or when abusive practices are otherwise institutionalized.

4. Continue to link trade preferences, loans or other examples of economic coooperation with human rights. This Subcommittee should continue to hold public hearings to review Romania's elegibility for "Most Favored Nation" status under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment's human rights requirements. The House of Representatives, which abandoned its practice of holding Romanian MFN hearings last year and has not yet scheduled any for this year, should be urged to hold hearings.

5. Urge the U.S. Government to expedite the granting of U.S. visas to Romanians who, through a hard fight, sometimes with the intervention of the Members of this Committee, were able to acquire Romanian emigration permission.

APPENDIX

A compilation of unresolved cases from the Family-Reunification Project of the International League for Human Rights,

July 1985

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME(birthdate)	ADDRES.	FIRST APPLIED
ANHELER	Elisabeth	1938 Periul Nou No. 140 Jud. Timis	1970
BADER	Peter (1/24/01) Ana (12/12/08)	2922 Neudorf No. 82 Jud. Arad	
BARTHOLD	Susanna (4/12/37) Gerhardt (5/3/42) Alfred (6/23/69)	Bom. Peciul-Non No. 441 Jud. Timis	1979
BASTIEN	Jacob (3/24/03) Franciaca (1/1/09)	1974 Tomnatic No. 726 Jud. Timis	1965
BECKER	Hans	Str. Laterala No. 552 2219 Vulcan Jud. Brasov	1979
BENDER	Josef (10/25027) Katharina (7/24/36) Johann (7/12/56) Karen (8/7/69)	Cheglevici No. 70 Jud. Timis	1970
BERENZ	Nicolae (5/21/30) Katharina (1/3/31) Nicolae (7/4/55)	2944 Sampetru German No. 33 Jud. Arad	1966
BIEBER	Jakob (2/5/05) Anna (12/10/14) Ioan (5/23/37) Eva (10/14/48)	1993 Sinandrei No. 341 Jud. Timis	1976
BIEBER	Stefan (9/20/39) Anna (7/15/41) Stefan (1/11/71) Elke (7/4/77)	1938 Peciul Nou No. 331 Jud. Timis	1958
BONDOC	Nicolae (1945) Anca Ioana (1946) Ioana Raluca (1971)	Cetatea Bistria 4 Bld. D2 Apt. 15 Bucharest	*
[illegible]	Erwin (10/17/41) Magdalena (10/12/37) Erwin Jr. (10/12/67) Helmuth (5/1/69)	Arad Aleea Vlaicu Bl.X5 Judetul Arad	1978
BUECHER	Guenther (6/20/53) Christine (8/3/54) Kai-Uwe (5/9/79)	1900 Timisoara Calea Bogdanestilor No.31 Jud. Timis	1980
CHRISTMAN	Mark (10/15/27) Elisabeth (8/26/25) Johann	1952 Iecea Mare 50 Jud. Timis, Banat 1952 Ieca Mare 7	unknown
CSAFTARI	Anna (11/4/07)	1834 Nitchidorf No. 100 Jud. Timis	1965
CZIVAY	Nikolaus, Jr. (4/1/32) Elisabeth (10/18/34) Anna (10/29/61)	1938 Pecuil Nou No. 64 Jud. Timis	1964
DANCI	Margarita	unknown	1980
DECKER	Anton (1/28/38) Katarina (5/9/37)	Timisoara 2, Str. Mures Jud. Timis	1975
DENGEL	unknown	unknown	1981
DIAN	Francisc (7/6/22) Anna (12/12/26)	1938 Peciul Nou No. 140 Jud. Timis	1970
EBERLE	Josef (9/8/03) Anna (4/10/09)	1978 Cheglevici No. 179 Jud. Timis	1965
EICHINGER	Johann (11/11/08) Elisabetha (4/7/12) Johann,Jr. (4/7/32) Valentina (9/18/46) Juliana (12/18/65) Helmuth (12/5/68) Johann (2/1/70)	1981 Giarmata No. 820 Str. Morii Jud. Timis	1962
ERNST	Johann (3/20/44)	Cenad No. 1798 Jud. Timis	1979
FELLER	Sebastian (4/2/33) Eva (10/1/36)	1982 Pischia No. 288	1980
FERCH	Adam (7/21/34 Josefina (11/1/42)	1981 Giarmata No. 28	1972

FERCH (cont'd)	Ewald (6/27/60)	Str. Mona Jud. Timis	
FINSER	Anton (1/18/35) Katharina (5/21/45)	2922 Neudorf No. 82 Jud. Arad	unknown
FORTLER	Valentin (6/14/28) Katherina (3/4/34) Walter (1/18/59) Gerhard (3/23/74)	1936 Sanmihaiul German No. 70 Jud. Timis	1962
FRANZEN	Mathias (1/19/15) Barbara (9/23/17	Str. Lenin 12 R 1953 Jimbolia Banat	1980
GALALAE	Costel (1/1/32)	Rue Soveja Bloc H2 Demecilie Coustauta	1981
GALATEANU	Gabriel (5/29/57) Tabita-Ileana (5/22/52)	Str. C. Caracas 49 Sector 1 Cod. p. 78156, Bucharest	*
GEHL	Maria (8/25/32) Helga (3/7/56) Mehrbrot (8/25/55) Dagmar (1/20/81)	St. Strandului Bloc 14 2400 Sibiu	1974
GEORGESCU	Ion (4/22/29) Ruxandra (9/11/62) Ionut (1/16/68)	Caderea Bastiliei 30, Sect. 1 Bucharest	*
GERHOLD	Jakob (11/9/33) Eva (10/19/35) Peter (10/4/54) Gerlinde (11/2/56) Ramona (3/17/74) Roland (5/25/79)	Birda Jud. Timis	1977
GERING	Josef (9/10/27) Katharina (2/10/27)	1981 Giarmata No. 526 Jud. Timis	1969
GHERGHISAN	Gheorghe (8/18/55)	unknown	1984 **
GRIESEL	Peter (1/18/20) Iosefa (12/11/22)	1956 Bulgania No. 246 Jud. Timis	1965
GRIESEL	Ewald (9/5/42) Margaret (3/5/44) Gernot-Uwe (11/27/67)	1900 Timisoara No. 3 Str. Lidia	1965

GRIESEL (cont'd)	Artur-Sven (9/20/69)	Jud. Timi	
GRIPPATON	Josif (9/7/27) Ecaterina (3/3/29)	1974 Tomnatic No. 724 Jud. Timis	1965
GRUBER	Zorie (1/5/32) Hermina (11/6/36) Gunter (10/10/62)	1900 Timisoara No. 10A Spl. N. Titulescu Jud. Timis	1976
HACKER	Elisabetha (5/14/25)	1981 Giarmata No. 91 Jud. Timis	1967
HANSINGER	Ioan (2/9/40) Elisabeth (2/17/42) Elvine (11/10/68)	Gottlob No. 107 Jud. Temeschburg	1978
HASSENTEUFEL	Ioan (2/11/09) Maria (12/2/19)	Lovrin No. 855 Jud. Temeschburg	1978
HEIDENFELDER	Michael (1/27/11) Elisabeth (3/17/15)	1947 Johanniesfeld No. 301 Jud. Timis	1970
HEIDENFELDER	Theresia Ana (2/18/42) Michael (12/12/37) Artur (12/14/630	Calea Sagului No. 24 Timisoara Jud. Timis	1970
HESS	Helene (1/24/40) Joan (11/29/37) Manuella (1/23/69)	Jimbolia No. 7 Str. Aradului Jud. Timis	1978
HUBER	Elisabeta (3/17/30) Hans (5/7/28) Horst (1/9/54)	1900 Timisoara No. 10 Str. Ion Slavici	1973
HUGEL	Elisabetha (12/26/03)	1981 Giarmata Str. Garii Jud. Timis	1978
HUMMEL	Barbara (12/7/11)	1948 Sacalaz No. 73 Jud. Timis	1963
HUMMEL	Ioan (10/10/56) Hedwig (11/7/58)	Sacalaz No. 196 Jud. Timis	unknown
JAEGER	Franciac (12/22/38)	2875 Lipova	1975

JAEGER (cont'd)	Eva (8/8/41) Inge (11/27/61) Franciac,Jr. (6/26/65)	No. 1 Str. 6 Martie Jud. Arad	
JUNGINGER	Barbara (3/18/10) Franciac (1/18/33)	1981 Giarmata No. 424	1975
JUNGINGER(cont'd)	Ecaterina (11/2/37) Franciac,Jr. (7/18/61)	Str. Principala Jud. Timis	
JUNKERT	Mathias (4/17/37) Magdalena (8/9/41) Edmar (6/21/62) Engelhardt (7/3/64)	Pischia No. 4 Jud. Timis	1965
KARL	Rosemarie (3/2/62)	P-ta Vasile Roaita No. 9-11 2900 Arad	1983
KASNEL	Johan (12/23/28) Elisabeth (11/12/28) Josef (4/4/51)	Str. Pareului No. 123 Giarmata-VII, God. Jud. Timis	unknown
KELLER	Anton (1/17/18) Elisabetha (2/8/27)	Str. Paroseni No. 23 Timisoara V. Mehala Jud. Timis	1964
KILZER	Katharina (3/10/03)	Str. Paroseni No. 23 Timisoara V. Mehala	1964
KILZER	Nikolaus (7/6/08) Magdalena (6/16/12)	1981 Giarmata No. 66 Str. Noua Jud. Timis	1970
KUECHLER	Ioan (8/7/26) Margareta (2/7/30) Elisabeta (11/21/53)	1981 Giarmata No. 500 Jud. Timis	1961
KUMAUS	Margareta (12/29/06) Petru (7/24/10)	1981 Principala No. 474	1975
LEGO	Nicolae (10/11/35) Ana (11/3/38) Rosemarie (3/1/60)	1981 Giarmata No. 267 Jud. Timis	1961
LEIN	Anton (9/11/34) Katharina (9/10/36) Anton (11/4/03)	Str.Imprietaritilor No. 15 2915 Vladimirescu	1983
LESSL	Varvara (12/15/28) Ioan (2/5/27) Petru (4/25/1899)	1978 Cheglevici No. 179 Jud. Timis	1965
LINDEMANN	Josef (2/8/24) Barbara (12/24/26) Franz (1/1/52) Katharina (4/5/56) Alwin (6/6/77) Melita (8/2/80)	Str. Viilor No. 550 Giarmata Jud. Timis	1962
LORIS	Mathias (8/15/27) Anna (4/28/27)	1981 Giarmata No. 846 Jud. Timis	1963
LOSER	Gertrude 99/26/19)	1981 Giarmata No. 267 Jud. Timis	1961
MARX	Erna (12/19/61) Roland (5/14/62)	1981 Giarmata No. 287 Str. Batrina Jud. Timis	1970
MAUER	Maria (4/19/21)	Com. Biled No. 112 Jud. Timis	1973
MIHAILESCU	Florin (1959)	Caderea Bastille 30, Sect. 1 Bucharest	*
NIKOLIN	Borislav (3/7/20) Maria (1/24/30)	1938 Peciul Nou No. 244 Jud. Timis	1975
OBERKIRSCH	Johann (7/21/06)	Dolati No. 195 Jud. Timis	1980
OBERTIN	Elisabeta (7/11/28) Nikolaus (12/21/17)	1974 Tomnatec No. 434 Jud. Timis	1968
ORENDI	Rudolf (12/23/39) Maria (2/28/36) Hans (6/5/62) Heinz (11/28/68)	116 Str. 7 Noembrie 3194 Balcaciu Jud. Alba	1981
PALIMARIU	Angela (01/22/55) Viorel (o3/17/54) Robert (12/24/79) Caludia (12/03/82)	6600 Iasi No. 37 Strada Rufeni	1983
POKINYI	Martin (4/7/24) Therezia (3/26/21) Stefan (2/16/1900)	1947 Ionel No. 241 Jud. Timis	1979

PROBST	Peter (9/15/59 Rosemarie (7/5/62) Christian-Holger	1981 Giarmata No. 267 Jud. Timis	1961
RAUCH	Franz (8/28/37)	Str. Balcescu No. 2 Tudor Vladimirescu Jud. Arad	1983
RAUCH(cont'd)			
RAUCH	Magdalena (4/13/10)	Str. Progresului No. 126 Tudor Vladimirescu Jud. Arad	1983
REIS	Elisabeth (2/26/15) Nikolaus (9/11/12) Anna (11/20/37)	1981 Giarmata No. 898 Jud. Timis	unknown
RENOTH	Hilde (3/5/61) Mathias (12/16/58)	1981 Giarmata No. 429 Jud. Timis	1961
RESCH	Friederich (5/11/30) Anna-Maria (1/10/40) Manfred (7/31/66)	Str. Cezar Boliac No. 19A Timisoara	1960
RIESER	Nikolaus (8/9/40) Annemarie (7/3/51) Brigitte (3/3/72) Karin (9/17/73)	1937 Peciul Nou No. 471 Jud. Timis	1974
RITTINGER	Elisabeth (6/14/24)	Progresului No. 4 Temeschburg	1981
ROSENAUER	Barbara (10/22/36) Ioan (12/3/36) Christina (6/28/61) Karin (6/22/64)	1900 Timisoara No. 12 Str. Stelelor	1963
ROTH	Johann (1929) Eva (1936) Josef (1968)	1935 Codul No. 151 Giera Jud. Timis	1964
ROTH	Maria (3/11/38) Jakob (6/6/33) Annemarie (11/2/64)	1993 Sanandrei No. 473 Jud. Timis	1977
RUDOLF	Ernest (4/21/51) Magdalena (6/6/56) Harold (4/2/78) Alfred (8/18/82)	1981 Giarmata No. 66 Str. Noua	1970
RUECKERT	Susanna (10/16/12)	1981 Giarmata	1962
RUECKERT (cont'd)	Josef (7/17/37) Maria (8/19/42) Helmut (5/3/64)	No. 944 Str. Carni Jud. Timis	
SCHIPPLA	Anna (5/29/36)	Str. Progresului No. 126 Jud. Arad	1983
SCHIPPLA(con)			
SCHINDLER	Elena (7/24/07) Juliu Eduard (4/28/41) Ecaterina (3/22/44) Karina (1/24/70) Tiberiu (1/6/72)	Str. T. Vladimi- rescu No. 1725 Bosca 1 Jud. Timis	1979
SCHIRCKMANN	Anna (5/2/07)	1965 Visejda No. 92 Jud. Timis	unknown
SCHLAUCH	Nicolae (1/5/23) Anna (5/3/29) Peter (8/14/55) Beate (3/3/80)	1910 Giarmata VII No. 5 Str. Ialaz Jud. Timis	1962
SCHMIDT	Ignatz (2/25/03) Katherina (8/4/07) Mathias (8/10/27) Elisabetha (1/9/30)	1981 Giarmata Str. Morii No. 772 Jud. Timis	1964
SCHMIDT	Martin (3/19/36) Valeria (12/20/38) Ernst (1/1/61)	Str. Emanoil Gojdu No. 5 Jimbolia Jud. Timis	1979
SCHMIDT	Anton (11/16/09) Wilhelmine (11/16/16) Erich-Roland (11/14/42)	1900 Timisoara Batria 34 Str. Mircea cel Jud. Timis	unknown
SCHMIDT	Mathias (8/19/10) Ekaterina (8/28/10)	1981 Giarmata No. 287 Str. Batrina Jud. Timis	1970
SCHNEIDER	Pavel (3/12/29) Barbara (7/23/33)	1981 Giarmata No. 229 Str. Batrina Jud. Timis	1978
SCHUH	Gertrude (8/24/49) Francisc (1/10/43) Hannelore (5/1/68) Frank (5/4/70)	1985 Masloc No. 142 Jud. Timis	1973
SCHULLER	Susanna (11/18/11)	1982 Pischia No. 288	1975

SCHPELLER(cont'd)	Jud. Timis		
SCHILLER	Renate (3/13/57) Edith (12/4/61)	2463 Seica Mare 122 Jud. Sibiu	unknown
SCHUMPER	Romina (7/22/20) Josef (11/16/44) Margarete (5/31/54) Claudia Iris (4/19/73) Harald Erich (7/3/73)	1900 Timisoara Str. A. Nicolaescu No. 36 Jud. Timis	1964
SCHUSTER	Michael	3050 Sighisoara Bloc 50 Ap 6 Str. Dumbrawei Jud. Mures	1979
SIEGER	Annemarie (9/8/53) Herbert (11/30/54) Silvia (7/30/78) Sven (3/26/80)	1938 Peciul Nou No. 140 Jud. Timis	1970
SIMION-DUMITRU	whole family	unknown	*
STAMP	Ilse (1907) Richard (1936)	Str. Christian No. 32 Sibiu	1962
STAUDT	Maria Theresia (5/15/23) Joseph (8/25/52)	1947 Johanniesfeld No. 391 Jud. Timis	1974
STEIN	Elisabeth (6/5/30) Mathias (8/2/28)	1938 Pecuil Nou No. 59 Jud. Timis	1964
STRICKER	Anna (9/24/32) Michael (7/12/35) Erika (3/25/65) Richard (8/6/62)	1981 Giarmata No. 151 Str. Noua Jud. Timis	1967
SZEKERES	Anna (6/21/52) Michael (6/23/54) Juergen (5/18/79)	Progresului No. 4 Temeschburg	1981
TITTEL-FELLER	Oskar (11/8/57) Adelheit (4/22/62)	1982 Pischia No. 288	1980
TYOSITS	Ferdinand (10/11/30) Anna (6/18/33)	1981 Giarmata No. 66 Str. Noua	1970
UNTERWEGER	Dorothea (6/10/50) Erich (4/10/49)	1985 Masloc No. 207	1964

UNTERWEGER (cont'd)	Eduard (12/30/69 Helga (7/29/71)	Jud. Timis	
VALASUTEAN -MARTIA	Radu (9/17/52) Mihaela (4/20/58)	Str. Serdarului 9 Bloc 46 B apt. 47 Sect. 1 Bucharest	1981
VEIH	Andreas (7/23/54) Magdalena (3/20/58) Melitta (8/5/77) Arnold (5/11/79)	Birda Jud. Timis	1977
WALDNER	Franz 98/4/22) Anna (4/28/23) Helmut 95/12/53) Susanne (6/24/56) Katarina (4/5/01)	1951 Carpinis No. 29 Str. 7 Jud. Timis	1958
WEBER	Malwine	3076 Com Hetiur No. 178 Jud. Mures	unknown
WEBER	Michael (2/16/02) Elisabeta (8/26/07) Josef (5/17/31) Irina (5/23/36)	1918 Giarmata No. 1098 Str. Johanei Jud. Timis	1981
WEIDENHOF	Stefan (1912) Barbara (1920)	1953 Jimbolia No. 104 Str. T . Vladimirescu Jud. Timis	1980
WEILAND	Sebastian (9/13/34) Anna (7/15/36)	1981 Giarmata No. 287 Str. Batrina Jud. Timis	1970
WENZEL	Maria (1937)	1938 Codul No. 285 Peciu-Nou Jud. Timis	1968
WENZEL	Katharina (1959) Adam (1960)	1938 Codul No. 64 Peciu Nou Jud. Timis	1968
WIESSENS	Francise (1/9/21) Franciska (12/15/27)	1834 Nitchidorf No. 100 Jud. Timis	1965
WILD	Nicolae (10/29/21) Ekaterina (6/10/28)	1985 Masloc No. 142	1973

WILHELM	Elisabeth (11/3/30) Johann (12/26/32) Werner (11/7/55) Waltraud (8/11/58) Mathias (3/25/08) Margareta (4/12/12)	1972 Biled No. 176 Jud. Timis	1961
WIRSZ	Hanelore	1900 Timisoara No. 1 Str. Batania Jud. Timis	1984
WIRSZ	Mireana	1900 Timisoara No. 2 Str. Crisul Jud. Timis	1984
WIRSZ			
WOLF	Johann (10/13/11) Margareta (4/11/21)	1961 Celu Nr. 79/a R-1961 Sanpetru- Mic Jud. Timis	1961
ZAPPE	Hans (1/9/42) Katharina (9/14/42) Rheinhard (8/26/67) Horst (10/2/68)	Com. Biled No. 112 Jud. Timis	1973
ZIMMER	Gertrud (8/25/50)	1900 Timisoara No. 45 Strada Moncitorilor	1961

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* These families have Romanian exit passports, but are waiting for American immigration visas.

** This person has a Romanian exit passport, but is waiting for a French immigration visa.

Senator **Grassley**. Before we go to the next witness, I wanted to say that Senator Symms requested of the last panel questions for Ambassador Funderburk. And I wondered if the Ambassador would take these four questions and respond in writing?

Ambassador **Funderburk**. Sure, I will be happy to do that.

[The prepared questions follow:]

Questions for Ambassador Funderburk [1]

Is there evidence of Romania transferring technology to the Soviets from U.S.?

What is Romania's involvement in military arms exports and terrorism?

Is there evidence of Romanian complicity in the death of Catholic Priest Father Geza Palfi? And in the demolition of various churches and jailing of church leaders on trumped up charges?

How much does the Romanian Government benefit in money from MFN, and what products are dumped on the U.S. market as a result, and produced by virtual slave labor?

STATEMENT OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, THE CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY, NEW YORK, NY

Mr. **Birnbaum**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have now been testifying before this committee for a decade. I have the support this year of a newly created social action commission of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, which is the largest body of its kind in the United States. In fact, its membership is several times that of B'nai B'rith, which was represented today by Mr. Spitzer. Also, I have the support of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, which has 3 dozen regional groups throughout the United States. I join my colleagues in protesting the human rights infractions across the board in Romania—emigration, religion, and minorities. I have done my share in combating them. This afternoon, I will have to confine myself to Jewish emigration, which I believe has been badly neglected in today's discussions. Another area of emigration concern in clear contravention of the Jackson-Vanik amendment was not dealt with. I refer to the question of unofficial bribes sought throughout the system, which succeeded the suspension of the tax on education.

For the perspective I would like to make a very brief survey of Jewish emigration during the last 10 years. In the years before Romania received most-favored-nation status, 4,000 Jews were leaving annually. After Romania received MFN, the number halved and dropped to 2,000 for a couple of years. Then, almost immediately, it went down to about 1,000 a year, throughout the later 1970's. In 1984, under pressure the Romanians reversed that somewhat and raised the emigration rate to about 2,000. However, the pressure is gone, and in the first 6 months of 1985, only 543 Jews reached Israel, compared with 1,026 in the first 6 months of 1984. This is a halving and the prospects for 1985 are only 1,000 again.

I would like to put this in the perspective of antisemitic manifestations inside Romania in recent years. Romanian President Ceausescu duly denounces them. The point is that he is 67 and clearly in failing health. What I am concerned about is that as his grip loosens—or he may 1 day disappear—these antisemitic tendencies could take on a much more dangerous form than at present while he maintains control. Accordingly, we should at this point try to persuade the Romanians to restore the annual emigration rate to 4,000 in anticipation of serious potential dangers to Romanian Jewry. This is the first time I have sounded the alarm on this in all these years of testimony. If, in the next few years we try for an accelerated emigration rate, we may solve the problem of Romanian Jewish emigration.

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[1] The answers to these questions were subsequently received and, being of a confidential nature, are retained in committee files.

A final word, I think that the more systematic utilization of Trade Committee leverage could make Jackson-Vanik much more effective. For example, I believe Trade Committee and Helsinki Commission representatives should meet with the Romanians on a monthly basis. In this way, we will create an all year-round monitoring system. Further, Trade Committee members should visit Romania with lists of emigration cases and human rights abuses in their hands. Such forceful activity might produce much greater response from the Romanians as in 1982 when a major congressional campaign together with some very strong words from the President had remarkable results. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you, Mr. Birnbaum.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Birnbaum and other documentation he submitted for the record follow:]

STATEMENT OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY

SUMMARY

The Congressional trade committees need to utilize the full leverage potential available to them through the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, by adopting the late Senator Henry Jackson's recommendation of more intensive year-round monitoring of Rumania's human rights performance on emigration, religion and ethnic minorities.

Monthly meetings involving representatives of the trade committees, Helsinki Commission, and Non-Governmental Organizations with representatives of the Rumanian Embassy need to be held. In addition, twice-yearly visits to Rumania by committee delegates should be undertaken.

As a result of our massive campaign in 1982, the White House and Congress exerted intensive pressure on Bucharest to improve emigration procedures and raise the rate of Jewish emigration. The Rumanians responded with written promises for the first time, but then betrayed the promise with an education ransom tax. Under the administration threat to deprive them of the MFN trade status, Bucharest eventually suspended the tax, but substituted unofficial requests for fees, in direct contravention of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, and continued with their massive barter deals of Rumanian Germans and Jews.

As part of the need to show goodwill, Bucharest permitted a relative rise in Jewish emigration, culminating with almost 2000 in 1984. With the pressure off in 1985, Jewish emigration was slashed by half. For the first six months of 1985, 543 (compared with 1026 in 1984) emigrated to Israel. Before Rumania received MFN, 4000 Jews were leaving yearly and could do so again.

Despite Ceausescu's denunciation of not infrequent anti-Jewish manifestations, the basic insecurity of Rumanian Jews is underlined by the fact that he is already 67 years old and cannot be expected to control a primative society for much beyond the next few years. Consequently, the emigration of Rumanian Jewry needs to be accelerated before it is too late.

We call on this committee to back up President Reagan's declaration of June 3, 1985: "We will continue to closely monitor Jewish emigration to Israel."

STATEMENT

This is the eleventh year that this committee is considering the President's recommendation to extend the waiver of the "freedom of emigration" provision (Section 402) of the 1974 Trade Act in the case of Rumania, Hungary and China.

TRADE COMMITTEE'S LEVERAGE POTENTIAL RE BUCHAREST POORLY UTILIZED; REGULAR ROMANIAN VISITS AND MONTHLY REVIEW MEETINGS NEEDED

Unfortunately, Rep. Sam Gibbons' trade subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee has not held a hearing for the second year in a row, despite the continued massive evidence of Rumania's human rights infractions in the areas of emigration, religion and ethnic minorities, as documented by the Helsinki Commission, the State Department's Country reports, Amnesty International, International League for Human Rights, Helsinki Watch, etc. The human rights experts' meeting in Ottawa resulted in no visible changes in Rumanian performance.

As usual, on the eve of the hearings, we have received (as yet unconfirmed) reports of better treatment of release of a few individuals. This underlines once more the leverage potential of the Congressional trade committees, as compared even with the spotlight of an international forum such as Ottawa.

In his last statement on this matter, the late Senator Henry Jackson emphasized the central importance of the trade committees' consistent year-round monitoring of Rumanian human rights performance. We believe committee chairmen and delegations of committee members should visit Rumania not less than twice yearly, say, early January and April, to signal the committees' concrete commitment to securing improvements in the situation. The committees should generate frequent input from Non-Governmental Organizations and set up monthly meetings with representatives of the Helsinki Commission and the Rumanian Embassy. Eve-of-hearings meetings with the Rumanians are a waste of leverage, unless they entail a detailed followup of earlier meetings dealing with concrete matters, rather than the ritual incantation of vague general principles.

Further, the fact that concessions, however minor, are generated at MFN time, is a major argument against multi-year hearings. Annual hearings are crucial; twice-yearly hearings would be better still.

ROMANIAN RESPONSES TO ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES—IMPROVEMENT, RELAPSE, IMPROVEMENT

On June 2, 1982, President Reagan wrote Congress that "Rumania's negativistic emigration policies clearly contravene the intent and purpose of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment . . . Unless a noticeable improvement in its emigration procedures takes place, and the rate of Jewish emigration increases significantly, Rumanian MFN renewal for 1983 will be in serious jeopardy."

Our massive 1982 campaign in Congress and the White House had two major results.

First, Rumanian Ambassador Melitza promised Senate and House trade committees to "consistently improve emigration procedures . . . eliminate bureaucratic delays or obstacles." He further promised "to reduce the time period for processing emigration", and that applicants will "not be subjected to discrimination".

Unfortunately, I personally know at this time of two families trying to reach the US for five years and three years, who have made numerous applications and suffered considerable harassment.

Second, these and other concessions were followed by a furious Rumanian reaction, and the announcement on October 22, 1982 by the Rumanian State Council that President Ceausescu had signed an "educational repayment" decree effective November 1st. Though the decree was never systematically enforced around the country, it was only in May 1983 that Rumanian officials no longer insisted on the tax or on hard Western currency arising from other parts of the decree. President Reagan's threat in March 1983 that Rumanian MFN would be terminated on June 30th proved effective, and Secretary Shultz commented that he had acquired new respect for the importance of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

EDUCATIONAL RANSOM TAX REPLACED BY UNOFFICIAL REQUESTS FOR FEES AND PASSPORT SALES—LONGTIME HUMAN BARTER CONTINUES

Earlier reports of unofficial requests by Rumanian officials to individual for Western currency, and the sale of passports have continued and gain momentum since the suspension of the education ransom tax. We should further note the little-discussed barter of Rumanian Germans and Jews for sums of up to $10,000 a head. Fresh bargaining apparently takes place every year or so.

ANALYSIS OF RUMANIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION TRENDS 1982-85

As the effect of the education tax wore off, Jewish emigration began to pick up in the last months of 1983, rising from 89 in August to over 200 a month several times in 1984. Thus, 1951 Rumanian Jews reached Israel during 1984, not to speak of several dozen who went elsewhere in the West. Under pressure to show results, the Rumanian authorities returned to the rates of 1975/6, the first two years Rumania received MFN. Note however that before MFN, Rumania, in its drive to obtain American goodwill, released over 4000 in both 1973 and 1974, and some 3000 in 1972.

In 1985, however, the pressure eased and the first six months showed an outflow of only half compared to the same period in 1984—down from 1026 to 543. This is unacceptable.

We have not yet been able to obtain the 1985 lists of Rumanian Jewish emigration applicants, as the Rumanians had agreed. In earlier years, New York attorney Ira Kleiman and I, working separately, came to the same conclusion—that 50% of Rumanian Jewish arrivals in Israel had not registered with Jewish communal offices before leaving, and consequently the number of Jews in the process of emigration at one time could reach the 2500 mark. This figure does not include the many who had not achieved full registration at an appropriate emigration office.

Despite the endless Rumanian talk of the high age structure of its Jewry, we do not doubt that the annual rate of Jewish emigration could easily revert to 4000 or even 5000 again. Jewish emigration needs could be solved within less than a decade, but Bucharest will be deprived of the relief dollars provided by the international Jewish welfare organization, the Joint Distribution Committee.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE FUTURE OF RUMANIAN JEWRY

Although these monies are instrumental in supplying a Jewish community structure unique in East Europe, Rumanian Jewry's basic insecurity is underlined by the not infrequent eruption of literary anti-semitism, as well as the daily unpleasantness of the common garden variety of anti-Jewishness.

Lately, we have witnessed Rumania's reprinting of the anti-semitic plays of Octavian Goga (1930s) and Alexandri (1890s). To his credit, President Ceausescu denounced the manifestations of 1980-1, 1983-4, and 1984-5. At the Party congress last November, he spoke forcefully against "fascism, anti-semitism and other relics of the capitalist past". However, he was obliged to repeat his denunciation early this year.

Rumanian Jews suffered enormously during World War II. They should no longer be exposed to the insecurities of a primitive society which may dissolve into violence when the hold of a ruler, already 67, may weaken in a few years.

Accordingly, the emigration of Rumanian Jewry needs to be accelerated before it is too late.

We call on this committee to back up President Reagan's declaration of June 3, 1985: "We will continue to closely monitor Jewish emigration to Israel."

DOCUMENTATION TO TESTIMONY OF JACOB BIRNBAUM, JULY 23, 1985

I. Letter to Sen. John Danforth
II. Emigration
    1. Romanian emigration statistics 1971-84. State Dept.
    2. 'Sale' of Jews, Germans—NYC Tribune, April 85
    3. Romanian poet seeking to emigrate—Tribune, May 85
    4. Romania's MFN—Washington Jewish Week, June 85
    5. Rabbinical Assembly Mailgram on Jewish Emigration, July 85
    6. Center for Russian & East European Jewry Release, July 85
    7. Jewish Telegraphic Agency National Wire Service, July 85
III. Religious Oppression
    1. Bible as Romanian Toilet Paper—Wall St Journal, June 85
    2. Stop Pampering Romania—4 letters Wall St Journal, July 85
    3. Romanians Clash on Church—Washington Times June 85
    4. Romanians accused of jailing Baptists, NYC Tribune, July 85
IV. Human Rights in Romania and MFN
    1. Press Romania on Rights—NY Times, May, 85

2. U.S. soft on Romania, ex-ambassador says, Wash, Times, May 85
3. Heritage Foundation Excerpt on Rom. MFN, June 85
4. End Romanian Sham—NY Daily News, July 85
5. Senate letter to Ceausescu July 85
6. House letter to Ceausescu July 85
7. Rep. Siljander's Resolution (2596) to expand application of Title IV of 1974 Trade Act to religious and cultural rights.

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July 31, 1985

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Personal Attention:
Senator John Danforth
International Trade Subcommittee
Washington D. C.

Dear Senator

At the MFN Hearings of July 23, 1985 you requested me to submit my comments in writing, as you had missed my testimony and the lateness of the hour did not permit more discussion.

When the Romanian State Council imposed an Education Tax on prospective emigrants , our Administration and Congress jointly signaled Bucharest that its MFN trading status would be withdrawn unless the tax was rescinded. This unaccustomed firmness caused the Romanians to cave in and resulted in public praise from Secretary Shultz on the efficacy of the Jackson (Freedom of Emigration) Amendment. The Romanians then set about finding a somewhat less obvious way of contravening the Amendment. They expanded an old-time operation. Romanian offficials 'unofficially' sought considerable sums from would-be emigrants. We hope that after the Recess, the Committee will communicate its concerns to the Romanians about these and other serious human rights abuses.

Among the concerns communicated should surely be the question oh halving of the rate of Jewish emigration in 1985 as compared with 1984. This should be considered within the general framework of the drastic decline of Jewish emigration since Romania obtained MFN in 1975. In the years immediately before that time , the annual rate of Romanian Jewish emigration was over 4,000.

In the past, the Romanian excuse has been the high age structure of Romanian Jewry and its dwindling size, This year, neither Administration nor Helsinki Commission testimonies trotted out this hoary red herring. The Jewish population figures used by the Romanians are deliberately misleading as they comprise those registered with Rabbi Rosen's community lists, 26,000. Yet the Romanian Ambassador recently told an acquaintance of mine that there are 40,000 Jews in Romania. Knowing how these things go , the figures may well be considerably higher. A decade ago, another high Romanian official spoke of 60,000 which was, in my opinion, a little low for the time. The persistent underestimation in public by Romanian officials is supported by separate analyses of Romanian Jewish emigration figures made by a colleague and myself which showed that a range of 40% to 60% of Romanian Jews arriving in Israel had not registered themselves on the Rosen lists.

There is no doubt that the Romanian authorities closely control all emigration, whether to the U.S.,West Germany or Israel. We are certain that that the Jewish outflow could rapidly revert to an annual rate of 4,000 or more. It depends very much how seriously they take us and what actions are taken in Washington beyond expressions of concern.

Another major factor should be considered from now on - the illness of of 67 year old Romanian President Ceausecu. Till now he has denounced the recurrent manifestations of anti-semitism in this decade but how long will he maintain control ? We can only speculate as to what will happen. We pray that Romanian Jewry will not be endangered but the long history of native anti-semitism should make us wary of the potential dangers and lead to a sustained attempt to accelerate the annual rates of Jewish emigration.

Shortly before his untimely passing, the late Senator Henry Jackson publicized his view that the human rights situation in Romania would benefit from year round monitoring. We certainly support the notion expressed by some of your colleagues that representatives of the Finance and Foreign Relations Committees and of the Helsinki Commission should meet regularly with Romanian officials, perhaps monthly. This, together with Congressional visits to Bucharest (say January and April) would surely enhance the operation of the Jackson/Vanik Amendment.

In sum, the Trade Committee would be concentrating on on utilizing MFN leverage throughout the year, as well as ascertaining the views of official and unofficial groups at annual Hearings.

Sincerely,

Jacob Birnbaum

Jacob Birnbaum
National Director
Center for Russian &
East European Jewry.

cc Senators Armstrong, D'Amato, Durenberger, Dodd, Grassley, Heinz, Humphrey, McLure, Moynihan, Packwood, Pressler, Symms, Trible, Wallop.

State Dept. Statistics

Annual Romanian Emigration to the United States, Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany
1971-1984

All figures represent immigrant visas or similar documentation issued by the respective Embassies in Bucharest in the calendar year indicated. The figures have been supplied by the Embassies of the three countries from their consular records. These figures vary somewhat from the number of emigration cases approved by the Romanian Government, actual departures from Romania, and actual arrivals in the countries of destination.

YEAR	USA	ISRAEL	FRG
1971	362	1,900 (approx.)	*
1972	348	3,000 (approx.)	*
1973	469	4,000 (approx.)	*
1974	407	3,700 (approx.)	*
MOST-FAVORED-NATION TRADING STATUS GRANTED -- 1975			
1975	890	2,000 (approx.)	4,085
1976	1,021	1,989	2,720
1977	1,240	1,334	9,237
1978	1,666	1,140	9,827
1979	1,552	976	7,957
1980	2,886	1,061	12,946
1981	2,352	1,012	8,619
1982	2,381	1,474	11,546
1983	3,499	1,331	13,957
1984	4,545	1,908	14,831
(1971-84) TOTAL	23,618	26,825 (approx.)	95,815(1975-84)

New York City Tribune 4A / FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 1985

'Sale' of Jews, Germans, plus influence operations said to enrich Romania

By Ion Mihai Pacepa
and Michael Ledeen
Human Events

Second of 4 parts

Communists have invariably destroyed the economic fabric of the nations in which they come to power. When the traditional economic institutions of the society prove unable to rescue the country from ruin, communist leaders invariably turn to the secret services to balance the budget, or at least to distract the people from economic failures.

The Romanian leaders have been no exception. In order to pay huge debts to Western banks, they ordered their nation's secret intelligence service to increase the level of technological espionage and to reduce the quantity of imports from the West. They were also told to use corruption, smuggle drugs and arms, and even blackmail emigrés in the West.

The Romanian secret service, the CIE, was instructed to raise at least 10 percent of the Romanian annual payment due the West. Two of the more notorious of the CIE's clandestine money-raising activities are influence operations and selling bodies.

Influence activity has been a significant part of communist foreign intelligence from the beginning. It was originally aimed at gaining political and economic advantages, at penetrating Third World governments and turning them into political allies, at transforming emigrés into political supporters, at swaying the media, and, in general, at gaining prestige.

At the time of the communist hard currency crisis, "distinguished" agents of influence started to be used for obtaining low-interest credits and other financial advantages, increasing exports from communist countries, and acquiring Third World markets. Their major task became economic and financial influence.

Although lagging behind other Warsaw Pact members in this area, Romanian influence operations nevertheless have achieved some remarkable results.

One salient case was that of the brother of the shah of Iran. Originally recruited by the CIE to promote improved bilateral relations between the two countries, he enabled Romania to win bids for contracts to sell and manufacture tractors, locomotives, train wagons and geological research equipment.

The "sealed" bids from the other foreign competitors were simply made available to the CIE, secretly opened and photograhed. The Romanian bids therefore came in at slightly below the level of the others, and Romanian companies were able to outbid American and West German corporations for the right to build tractor, train and other assembly lines in Iran, even though the products were technically inferior.

The agent of influence in this case received a commission of 10 percent of the value of every Romanian product assembled in Iran. These millions of dollars were usually paid in cash, either into the hands of the shah's brother, or into secret Swiss bank accounts.

The Israelis paid thousands of dollars for each Romanian Jew granted a visa.

In addition to this handsome fee, when the Iranian government supported Romania with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of long-term, low-interest loans, an additional 2 percent interest was paid into the same Swiss accounts.

In the Central Africa Republic, the infamous President Jean Bedel Bokassa was recruited after a trip to Bucharest, where he "fell in love" with a winsome Romanian doctor, of course a security agent. The doctor was sent off to Africa with a special Romanian airplane and became his "unofficial wife," and Bokassa secretly accepted 10 percent of the Romanian preferential terrains for diamond mining.

These are only a few examples of the small armies of high-ranking foreign officials recruited as agents of influence and used to help balance the problems of a bankrupt economy. The success of political corruption, and not only in the Third World, made influence operations an ever more significant source of financial profit for communist countries.

One of the more profitable enterprises for the CIE was the sale of people as an export commodity. This odious practice began in the early 1960s, when two men made a secret agreement for the sale of Romanian Jews.

The first was a Romanian intelligence officer named Gheorghe Marcu; the other was an Israeli intelligence representative, the late H. Jacober, a Briton who was replaced after his death by an Israeli who represented himself as a deputy director of intelligence and called himself Yitzhak Yesahanu.

The Israelis paid thousands of dollars for each Romanian Jew granted an exit visa, and over the years many hundreds of millions of dollars were paid to Romania, along with low-interest Israeli credits issued through the CIE as bonuses for increasing the emigration quotas. For reasons of secrecy most of the payments were made in cash, but when large amounts were involved the money was transferred through West German and Swiss banks.

A sale of ethnic Germans was similarly arranged, based on a personal agreement between the same Marcu and a personal representative of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, then the West German interior minister.

As in the Israeli case, suitcases full of money were transported monthly to Bucharest via the official airline TAROM, and special low-interest credits were issued to stimulate Romanian enthusiasm for the emigration of ethnic Germans to their native land.

Only a very few people in the CIE knew about these operations, which were personally directed by President Nicolae Ceausescu. No other member of the Romanian government knew anything except the prime minister, who was only informed about them in a general way.

Any suggestion that the East European countries were selling Jews and Germans was vehemently denied by the Romanian government, along with the other East European regimes that engaged in the same practices.

Because of our position, we were in the middle of this monstrous trade from the outset. For almost 15 years, we witnessed Romanian Jews and Germans bartered behind the political scenes — Helsinki accords and propaganda notwithstanding.

The Romanians and other Warsaw Pact countries were only interested in squeezing out more money, charging extra for emigrés with better education or with relatives remaining in Romania, or for any other pretext.

In fact, for President Ceausescu the Romanian Jews and Germans are neither a political nor a humanitarian problem, contrary to his constant propaganda. For him, they are a source of money, pure and simple. Since 1972 all the money from these operations has been deposited only in his personal accounts, some in the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, and some in Switzerland.

Next week: Inheritance operations and smuggling

Ⅱ 3

May 17, 85

CAPTIVE WORLD

May 17, '85

New York City Tribune

Romanian poet seeking to emigrate now missing

Said to be isolated during hunger strike

By Hubert Huber
New York City Tribune Correspondent

VIENNA — A well-known Romanian writer who has repeatedly expressed his desire to emigrate has disappeared in Bucharest, the Romanian capital, according to the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR).

The 39-year-old poet and essayist Dorin Tudoran had staged a hunger strike prior to his disappearance to emphasize his and his family's determination to leave the country.

One of the best known writers in Romania, Tudoran has received several awards and prizes for his works. From 1977 until his retirement in 1981 the poet was a member of the board of the Romanian Pen Club.

In April 1984, Tudoran, his wife and their 8-year-old daughter applied for a passport and visa to emigrate to the West. Two months later, when authorities had not responded to his application, the author wrote a private letter to Romania's Communist Party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu.

In the letter, Tudoran criticized the situation in Romania as immoral and against basic human rights. He said there was an "unbridgeable gap" between his conscience and the reality in Romania, and criticized the regime for forcing the individual "to live in contradiction with one's own deepest faith."

"I have decided upon a solution that for years I have doggedly refused," Tudoran wrote in his letter. "My wife and I have opted to emigrate on April 7."

He also pointed out that he did not intend "to leave Romania" but only "the dictatorship in Romania."

The poet also told Ceausescu that he would publish the document in the West if the dictator would not respond to it. He argued that the party had no right to decide about fundamental human rights as long as they do nothing to improve the lives of their subjects.

As expected, the letter was never answered.

Cut off by police

Instead, the state police and secret police began to show a lively interest in the disobedient writer. They began to isolate Tudoran and his family step by step.

In September last year Tudoran wrote another letter (which recently reached the West) to the head of the Communist Party.

"I refuse to keep silent," he wrote. "With all my power I will denounce the terrorist system of keeping hostages, because those who do not have the fundamental right to emigrate are hostages."

Again the authorities responded with silence.

Finally, on April 15, the desperate philologist began an unlimited fast to support his demand for free exit from Romania.

Friends reported that shortly after he began the fast, all contact with the dissident writer was prevented by the secret police. Phone calls to the Tudorans' apartment in Bucharest were answered by a stranger's voice.

Two weeks ago the telephone line was cut, and ever since, efforts to contact the dissident have failed.

Appeals by the ISHR to Romanian embassies in London, Paris and Bonn have also produced no results. The officials there have only admitted that they know Tudoran's name.

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WASHINGTON JEWISH WEEK • 6 • JUNE 13, 1985

CAPITAL COLLAGE

Romania's MFN,

BY DAVID SILVERBERG

Ever since the Nixon administration, Romania's relatively independent foreign policy (it is the only Eastern bloc country to have relations with Israel, it does not participate in Warsaw Pact maneuvers and it trades extensively with the West) has been rewarded with MFN status. This status reduces tariffs, grants credit guarantees and gives preferred treatment to Romanian exports. There is even something of a Romania lobby in the State Department.

Usually, the MFN status is renewed and Romanian-American relations remain quiet.

This year, however, there is a new cog—some would say wrench—in the machinery. He is former U.S. ambassador to Romania **David Funderburk**. After leaving his ambassadorial position, Funderburk took issue with the U.S.'s lenient handling of Romania. Funderburk says that during his three and a half years in Romania, he saw considerable violation of human rights, persecution of religious believers and close ties with the Soviet Union.

Finding policymakers unresponsive, Funderburk went public with his complaints. Last week he took another step: He and **Rep. Mark** and Siljander declared he was introducing legislation to broaden the terms of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Under that amendment, preferential U.S. trade and credit terms with Soviet-bloc countries are conditional on the the openness of their emigration policies. The Siljander amendment would make MFN also conditional on religious, ethnic and cultural persecution. Siljander also wants a re-examination of Romania's MFN status.

Despite a harsh regime, Romania's Jews have not fared as badly as, say, Hungarian Protestant sects. Jewish institutions flourish, and up to 1,000 Jews leave every year. Of the 25,000-member community, at least half are over 65. Chief Rabbi **Moshe Rosen** is said to be close to Romanian President **Nicholae Ceausescu**.

Nonetheless, says Funderburk, Rabbi Rosen came to him on a number of occasions to express his concern about waves of anti-Semitism in the press. As for the emigration, he says, Israel pays Romania under the table for each emigrant.

Doubt has been expressed among American Jews regarding Rabbi Rosen's leadership. Some see him as a tool of the regime. Funderburk disagrees.

"He has been very vocal in some of his protests and some of his with me, he has had some real concerns." Indeed, some of the efforts to muffle Rosen's statements have come not from Romania, but from American Jews who worry about Romanian reactions, according to Funderburk.

Christians do not fare nearly as well, as Funderburk and others graphically demonstrated at their press conference. For example, in 1979, Romanian authorities allowed in 20,000 Bibles in Hungarian to be distributed to the country's Hungarian minority. The importation of the Bibles was declared a great victory for the Hungarian Reform Alliance and gained Romania considerable credit in the West. However, the Romanians sent the Bibles to a paper mill where they were converted into toilet paper. At last week's press conference, Funderburk unfurled a roll of the toilet paper, and sure enough, tiny snippets of biblical quotations could be seen mixed into the rough, scratchy sheets.

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RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA
ON ROMANIAN JEWISH EMIGRATION
TO DEPUTY ASSISTANT SEC. OF STATE MARK PALMER

Sen. J. DANFORTH
SEN. R. PACKWOOD
SEN. A. D'AMATO
REP S. GIBBONS

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JACOB BIRNBAUM
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ONLY 543 ROMANIAN JEWS EMIGRATED DURING THE FIRST 6 MONTHS OF 1985, COMPARED WITH 1,026 DURING THE SAME PERIOD IN 1984.

ON BEHALF OF OVER 1,200 RABBIS, WE URGE YOUR EARLY INTERVENTION WITH BUCHAREST TO RESTORE THE ANNUAL JEWISH OUTFLOW TO APPROXIMATELY 2,000.

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3080 BROADWAY
NEW YORK NY 10027

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The Center for Russian and East European Jewry
240 Cabrini Blvd., New York, N.Y. 10033
Tels. (212) 928-7451, 795-8867, 799-8902

For Immediate Release   Contact: Jacob Birnbaum
July 23, '85

EXPERT ON RUMANIAN JEWRY CHARGES EMIGRATION SLASHED BY HALF, ANTI-SEMITISM INCREASING

In testimony presented to the Senate International Trade Subcommittee today, Center for Russian and East European Jewry national director Jacob Birnbaum charged that "Rumanian Jewish emigration has been slashed by half in the first six months of 1985, compared to 1984 (from 1026 to 543), in direct violation of the 'freedom of emigration' law called the Jackson-Vanik Amendment." The Amendment was part of the 1974 Trade Act. It links emigration from communist nations with favorable trade tariffs and credits to them.

Birnbaum continued: "During 1984, almost 2000 Rumanian Jews had emigrated, but prospects for this year are only 1000. About 4000 were permitted to leave in the years before Rumania received most-favored-nation trade status from the United States.

"In recent years, Rumania has seen numerous manifestations of anti-semitism, which have been duly denounced by President Nicolai Ceausescu. He is now 67, and will not be able to control a potentially volatile society for many years to come. The basic insecurity of Rumanian Jewry requires an acceleration of the annual Jewish emigration rate to not less than 4000, so that the community can be evacuated within the next few years."

Birnbaum called on the trade subcommittee to make much greater use of the leverage given to it by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, to send twice-yearly delegations to Rumania for on-site inspection, and to arrange monthly meetings with Rumanian officials to review the human rights situation there in terms of emigration, religion and ethnic minorities.

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Jewish Telegraphic Agency;Nat'l Wire Service
JTA July 29, 1985 -4-
DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

RUMANIA ACCUSED OF HALVING THE NUMBER OF JEWS ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE

NEW YORK, July 28 (JTA) -- The Center for Russian and East European Jewry has accused Rumania of halving the number of Jews allowed to emigrate annually and warned that rising anti-Semitism in that country will make it necessary to evacuate the remaining Jewish community over the next few years.

Jacob Birnbaum, the Center's national director, made those points in testimony last week before the Senate International Trade Subcommittee. He charged that "Rumanian Jewish emigration has been slashed in half in the first six months of 1985, compared to 1984--from 1,026 to 543 -- in direct violation of the Freedom of Emigration Law called the Jackson-Vanik Amendment."

The Amendment to the 1974 Foreign Trade Act, links emigration from Communist nations to most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status granted them by the U.S. Birnbaum noted that during 1984, almost 2,000 Rumanian Jews emigrated but prospects for this year are only 1,000. He asserted that about 4,000 Jews were permitted to leave in the years before MFN was granted Rumania. MFN is renewable on a yearly basis.

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations last week endorsed a one-year extension despite a "disappointing" emigration record so far this year because it provides "leverage" with the Rumanian government that would not be available if MFN was terminated.

Urges Jackson-Vanik Amendment Leverage

Birnbaum urged the Trade Subcommittee to make greater use of its leverage under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. He suggested sending delegations to Rumania twice a year for on-site inspections and to arrange monthly meetings with Rumanian officials to review the human rights situation there in terms of emigration, religion and ethnic minorities.

Birnbaum said, "In recent years, Rumania has seen numerous manifestations of anti-Semitism which have been duly denounced by President Nicolai Ceausescu. He is now 67 and will not be able to control a potentially volatile society for many years to come. The basic insecurity of Rumanian Jewry requires an acceleration of the annual Jewish emigration rate to not less than 4,000 so that the community can be evacuated within the next few years."

III

The Bible as Romanian Toilet Paper

By Peter K. Keresztes

"In all of the diabolical manifestations of Adolf Hitler's hatred for God and all religions—keeping in mind that he burned Torahs—I don't think even he conceived of anything so ugly."

So fumed California Rep. Bob Dornan at a GOP-organized press conference last week on rights abuses in Romania. He was describing samples of toilet paper with Biblical words such as "Esau," "Israel," "Jeremias," "Satan" and "Isten" (Hungarian for God) imbedded in the tissue. The sample panels are "incontrovertible evidence," Rep. Dornan said, that 20,000 Bibles donated in the 1970s by the World Reformed Alliance to the Transylvanian Magyar Reformed Church with the permission of Bucharest were diverted to a mill in Braila, as labels on the rolls indicate, for recycling into toilet paper. The high-quality Western paper and ink, however, resisted the smashing, and the Biblical words are clearly legible in the creases.

In lobbying for renewal of their Most Favored Nation trading status with the U.S., the Romanians in the past often cited the agreement to distribute the Bibles as an example of their magnanimity.

This barbaric profanity is but one example cited of charges over the past 20 years from Romania (Bucharest has flatly denied them) over minority- and religious-rights violations. Laszlo Hamos, chairman of the New York-based Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, which has monitored the situation there over the past nine years, says that "over the past two years physical brutalities, imprisonments, house searches and beatings against minority-rights advocates have markedly increased." Although the 2.5 million (officially 1.8 million) Hungarians—Europe's largest national minority—in that country of 23 million have been hit the hardest, Mr. Hamos says, ethnic Germans and Jews have also complained of abuses. Here are some examples:

- The death last year of the Rev. Geza Palfi, who during his 1983 Christmas homily bemoaned an edict by President Nicolae Ceausescu making Christmas a "day of labor."

The Roman Catholic priest was arrested the following day by Securitate agents, according to the underground Hungarian Press of Transylvania, and died three months later from internal injuries, at the age of 43. This sort of brutality parallels the Popieluszko case in Poland, but no one expects a trial in Romania.

- Six other known deaths in recent years of Roman Catholic, Pentacostal and Baptist clergymen that occurred during or following interrogation.
- The "correction" by authorities of a construction error of one meter on a church—by leveling it with a bulldozer.

So where are the indignant headlines and commentaries in the mainstream press? Nowhere. To the contrary, Flora Lewis, filing to the New York Times op-ed page last week from Bucharest, warned against the "verbal fist" that she saw in the call for a tougher U.S. stand by Ambassador David Funderburk as he resigned last month after 3½ frustrating years in Bucharest. "Life is very difficult" in Romania, Ms. Lewis counseled, and "Policy requires nuance."

Why doesn't the State Department act more resolutely? It quietly protested the death of Father Palfi, but, Mr. Hamos says, the U.S. delegation to the current Ottawa human rights conference in its statement, "Discrimination Against National Minorities," overlooked the plight of Europe's largest national minority. The Romanians, he adds, have been known to agree to bilateral talks at such conferences in exchange for suppression of criticism.

Mr. Funderburk's advocacy while ambassador of a harder U.S. line against Bucharest was easy for the State Department to ignore because of President Ceausescu's image as a "maverick" who dares to stand up to the Soviets and who therefore could be beneficial to U.S. interests.

But in fact, the price for Mr. Ceausescu's "independent line" is exacted from the hides of minorities and the devout in Romania, as part of a transparent deal with the Soviets whereby they tolerate Mr. Ceausescu's unorthodoxy as long as he keeps Romania from drifting in the direction of a Poland.

Last week's news conference, nevertheless, signaled a maturing U.S. attitude toward Romania. Michigan Rep. Mark Siljander has proposed legislation (HR 2596) to change the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1975 Trade Act. The change would link Most Favored Nation trading status to a country's progress in correcting ethnic, religious and cultural persecution, in addition to the current requirement relating purely to emigration. The new law would be a powerful economic weapon in its own right that could be leveled on dictatorships, left and right.

The Republican effort (Democrats are also launching one) seems, at least as far as Romania is concerned, to buck the position of the Reagan administration, which last week proposed extension of the country's MFN status another year. Curiously, Rep. Sam Gibbons (D., Fla.) has yet to schedule the usual annual hearing to review Romania's trade status.

While the ability to emigrate is a fundamental human right, the prerogative to stay put and still live in dignity is equally one. The Siljander measure would provide leverage should the U.S. decide to exert pressure against what has been aptly described as Romania's cultural genocide of minorities—the dispersal or exile of their intelligentsia; official curtailment of their educational, language and religious opportunities, and a campaign of intimidation against their cultural and religious leaders.

Romania has variously ignored, arbitrarily applied, and misused the emigration stipulations of Jackson-Vanik to embarrass the U.S. For example, even Ms. Lewis concedes that the recent dumping of a thousand or more would-be emigres in West Berlin constituted a "mini-Mariel."

If the U.S. is to formulate an honest and humane foreign policy toward Romania, it needs to peel away the myths enshrouding the Ceausescu phenomenon and recognize it for what it truly is.

Mr. Kereszstes is on the staff of the Journal's editorial page.

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III/2

Letters to the Editor

Wall St Journal
7.11.85

Stop Pampering Romania

I was gratified to see Peter K. Keresztes' editorial-page article June 14, "The Bible as Romanian Toilet Paper." The headline graphically describes what the government of Romania thinks of both Christianity and the U.S. Yet for the past eight years, the U.S. has honored Romania with the Most Favored Nation (MFN) status with which we reward nations which have exemplary human-rights records.

Where are the human rights of the Christians whose shipment of 20,000 Bibles was intercepted by the Romanian government and sent to a pulp mill to be turned into toilet paper? Where are the human rights of the Romanian people whose churches and synagogues are bulldozed under, of the citizens who are arrested, imprisoned and brutalized because of their beliefs?

Each year, MFN status comes up for review and renewal. Each year, several weeks before the hearings begin, Congressional offices are filled with Romanian lobbyists promising dramatic change. And each year, gullible congressmen believe these hollow promises and return Romania once again to the MFN rolls.

It's time to stop this charade. It's time for the American people to get fed up with playing the court jester of Europe. It's time to tell the Socialist Republic of Romania that its time is up.

MARK D. SILJANDER (R., Mich.)
House of Representatives
Washington

• • •

I cannot and will not believe that Bibles were recycled in Romania for toilet paper. Laszlo Hamos, who is quoted in the article, is a Hungarian by origin and has carried out this campaign of hate against Romania for many years and for one purpose: He wants Transylvania ceded to Hungary. This would be impossible without a war. In World Wars I and II the Romanians occupied Budapest and will do it again if there is another war.

I know from my many visits to Romania that President Ceausescu is hardly a religious man. But when his father died five years ago, seven priests officiated at the funeral.

During my various visits I talked to three presidents of the Jewish Community in Bucharest and one in Jassy, to the Vice President of Cult and Religion, to Orthodox priests and many clergymen. I was assured by all that there was no interference by the government and that they had absolute freedom to perform religious activities. My wife and I talked to the pastor of the greatest Baptist church in Romania. He told us that in 1978 he received 5,000 Bibles from the Baptists in West Germany which were distributed among the 1,000 Baptist churches in Romania.

The Romanian government does not encourage members of the Communist Party to participate in religious activities, but does not interfere with others who do so.

PROF. EMANUEL MERDINGER
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

• • •

As a representative of Hungarian nationality of the Reformed Church in Romania, whose members are in majority Hungarians, I must express my astonishment and repulsion in the face of the allegations in this article.

I was a Bishop in the Reformed Church of Romania while at the General Assembly of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1970 held in Nairobi, Kenya, when the president of the World Alliance, Dr. Wilhelm Niesel, offered on behalf of the Alliance to our church the Bibles mentioned in the article. Also, I was bishop in 1980, at the General Assembly of the European Area Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches held in Poiana Brasov, Romania, when the delegate of the Alliance of Bible Associations from London offered to our church another 10,000 copies, as well.

The Bibles in both instances arrived in my country, were distributed proportionally between the two bishoprics (Cluj-Napoca and Oradea) and through the competent deaneries were distributed to the congregations in proportion with the number of members, and so they were put at the disposal of the believers.

D. LASZLO PAPP
Bishop, President in Office
of the Synod of Reformed
Church of Romania
Washington

• • •

Your article gives a painfully sad but accurate insight into the operation of Communist dictator Nicholae Ceausescu within his private empire. The pulping of the 20,000 Bibles sent from the West could not have been accomplished without the active support of the two Reformed "Bishops," Gyula Nagy and Laszlo Papp, both appointed to their offices by the Communist regime, against the wishes of the clergy and lay people alike. Papp is also a member of the Romanian Parliament, and thus any criticism directed to him by the clergy or church members is considered a subversive act against the State. Papp rules with the help of the feared State Police, the Securitate. In May 1984 he ordered the arrest of eight of his ministers, who were subsequently tortured. In the case of the Rev. Bela Csernak, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for receiving "illegal" Bibles from the West, Papp requested an additional one and a half years for him, which the court dutifully granted.

"Bishop" Papp was also instrumental in the confiscation of all church records, antique chalices and communion table cloths, dating back to the Protestant Reformation, from the possession of local churches. These valuable items have been, in many cases without receipt, loaded into trucks and carted away to unknown places. He forces local congregations to give up their sacred right to call their own ministers. In case of non-compliance, the congregations remain without a pastor, sometimes for years. This wolf in shepherd skin instructs his ministers how to deny the requests of the parishioners who demand the holding of Bible classes. No wonder "Bishop" Papp and his colleaque Nagy were more than willing to oblige their Communist overlords and to pass on the 20,000 gift Bibles of the World Reformed Alliance to the pulping factory in the Braila industrial zone for the manufacture of toilet papers. The scientific chemical analysis of the papers proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that they were made from Bibles supplied by the United Bible Societies to the Reformed Alliance from the 1957 Edition, published in London and printed in the Netherlands.

Whenever the MFN status of Romania is in danger, the Ceausescu regime finds it opportune to send its "Bishop" as an unregistered foreign lobbyist to Washington to convince our Senators and Congressmen and the press of the great religious liberty enjoyed in Romania. We hope that he will be given the credibility which his record warrants.

REV. ALEXANDER HAVADTOY
Calvin United Church of Christ
Fairfield, Conn.

The Washington Times
RELIGION
THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 1985

III 3

Photo by Julia Gaines The Washington Times

Bishop Laszlo Papp heads the largely Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania, which claims a membership of 1 million. Bishop Papp calls the Communist Romanian government a benefactor to the church.

Romanians clash over church

By Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

As young men, Laszlo Papp and Alexander Havadtoy went to Basel, Switzerland, to study with well-known Reformed theologian Karl Barth. Although they never met, both were in the generation of Transylvanians [now Romania] who studied there before and after World War II.

Today, they oppose each other's views on the Reformed church under Romanian communism.

Bishop Papp heads the largely Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania, which claims a membership of 1 million. He calls his government a benefactor.

Mr. Havadtoy, for 24 years the paster at the Calvin United Church of Christ in Fairfield, Conn., gives monthly sermons to Hungarian-speaking Christians over Radio Free Europe. He speaks of Romania's suppressed Reformed church.

Last fall, Mr. Havadtoy received from Romania a few rolls of toilet paper, apparently recycled from pages of the Bible.

"Fragments could be clearly seen with the naked eye, and 10 of them could be located in a certain edition of the Bible," Mr. Havadtoy remarked in a phone interview.

He said this incident clearly answers why 20,000 Bibles apparently disappeared after being sent to Romania by the World Reformed Alliance in the 1970s.

This claim was made by Mr. Havadtoy at a recent press conference here with Rep. Robert Dornan, R-Calif., and Rep. Mark Siljander, R-Mich., who wanted to bring this information to light during the annual review of Romania's trade status with the United States.

Bishop Papp also visited Washington recently after attending the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Assembly in Indianapolis.

"The Bibles," he said in a written statement, "arrived in my country [and] were distributed ... to the congregations in proportion with the number of members."

"I know an awful lot of ministers there," said Mr. Havadtoy, whose family has produced ministers dating back to the Reformation. "They could not remember such Bibles being given out to them," Mr. Havadtoy said.

In an interview at the Romanian Embassy here, Bishop Papp denied the Bibles were destroyed and said he would provide supporting evidence of this after returning home.

Why would "they use them [the Bibles] for toilet paper and not newspaper?" he asked through his interpreter.

Mr. Papp said although religious freedom in his country is "a very complex issue," the Bible makes the church's position clear. "Apostle Paul said everybody must obey the authorities."

Referring to his studies with Karl Barth, he said the Swiss theologian condemned the Nazis but "did not criticize the socialist system."

Cooperation with the socialist state helps the church, Bishop Papp said. "For all its assistance, the state asks us to respect the law." A part of the clergy's salary is paid by the government, and the preservation of church buildings, publishing costs and running the theological institute are state financed.

As a young pastor, his sermons criticized the Hungarian government for deporting 15,000 Jews during the war. But he said he has not spoken against the socialist regime. "There was no reason. It would be ungrateful after these benefits."

But Mr. Havadtoy said the benefits are at unacceptable costs. He said Bishop Papp is one of two lifetime bishops and was in effect appointed by the communist regime as he was the only candidate in the election.

Further, he said the bishop does not convene yearly synods and will not let congregations "call" their own pastors. He said the bishop collected many of the congregation's historic archives on the pretext that government storage would better preserve them. However, the project ended in 1974 and Mr. Havadtoy said he has been told that the materials are not accessible.

He also charged that Bishop Papp helped the police arrest three Reformed ministers — Lagos Gaballar for writing a congregation's history, Bela Csernak for receiving Bibles from Western visitors and Lehel Gyokossy for handing out religious tracts.

"The general synods are called only when issues must be debated," Bishop Papp responded. Every four years he and the other bishop rotate the presidency of the 800-congregation national church body.

Though general synods are not frequent, he said, high counsels of the synod have met annually on liturgical reform, new rules at the theological institute and changes in the hymn book.

He did admit, however, that pastors can have trouble with the government. "There were cases where someone said he was persecuted for his religious convictions. But he was actually punished because he did not follow the rules."

The collection of the archives was only partial, he said, and can be seen on display by anyone who comes to Romania.

Here on his fourth American visit, the bishop defended his presence in Washington, saying his visit here was not purposely tied to the review of Romania's trade status. "It's normal protocol to visit your embassy when in another country," he said.

The Rev. Havadtoy disagreed. "Every time something comes up, they bring out Bishop Papp to tell us how wonderful life is for the Hungarian Reformed Church."

Romania accused of jailing Baptist leaders

By Kristen Burroughs
The Washington Times

WASHINGTON — A human-rights monitoring group has accused the Securitatea, the Romanian secret police, of imprisoning several Baptist leaders and demolishing several Baptist churches a day after it was announced that Billy Graham, the Baptist evangelist, would conduct a revival crusade there in September.

Buni and Benjamin Cocar, two Baptist ministers from Bucharest, "were arrested and exiled to Terrosani, a remote town in which making a living is impossible," said Kay Drew, deputy director of Christian Response International (CRI), a Washington human rights group.

Buni Cocar, who went underground after being exiled, surfaced to meet with Reps. Tony Hall, D-Ohio, Christopher Smith, R-N.J., and Frank Wolf, R-Va., in Bucharest while they were on a "fact-finding" visit to Romania earlier this month.

When they returned, the congressmen delivered a letter to Romanian Ambassador Nicolae Gavrilescu, citing more than 35 human rights violations, for forwarding to Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei.

Though the timing of the disclosures by the rights watch groups appeared to be a coincidence, the revelations, coupled with the announcement that Billy Graham would preach in Romania, inevitably recalled the controversy set off in 1982 when Graham, after touring the Soviet Union, was quoted as say-

(see ROMANIA, page 12A)

ROMANIA

(From page 1A)

ing there was "a measure of religious freedom" in the Soviet Union.

'Misinterpreted' remarks

Graham said his remarks had been misinterpreted, but his characterization of religious freedom in the Soviet Union set off a storm of criticism from Soviet dissidents, some U.S. churchmen and congressmen.

Unlike the Soviet Union, which permitted Graham to speak only inside churches, where Soviet police monitored who were there, the Romanian government said it would allow up to 40,000 people to attend a Graham "open air" service in Suceava, Moldavia, a large monastery near the Soviet border.

"The most severe case of [Romanian] religious persecution that I know of currently all happen to be Baptists," said John Crossley, chairman of the board of CREED, another human rights watch organization.

"There is no question that in a Marxist regime they want to discriminate against religion, but the 18 million Romanian Orthodox church members put a real damper on their wishes," he said.

Romanian Orthodox communicants make up more than 80 percent of Romania's population of 22 million.

Most of the persecuted in Romania are members of minority denominations, including Baptists, Jews, Seventh Day Adventists and Catholic Hungarians, according to the rights watch groups.

Priest allowed to emigrate

The only Romanian Orthodox priest known to be in prison, the Rev. Georghe Calciu, has received an exit visa and is expected to emigrate via Italy by early August.

Calciu, 58, was sentenced in 1979 to 10 years of imprisonment. Midway through his sentence he was released and placed under house arrest. Switzerland granted him an entry visa, but Romania would not allow him to leave until Thursday.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and his wife, Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole, appealed to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu for Calciu's release when they were in Bucharest in May.

As an example of the persecution of minority religious sects, rights watch groups pointed to the sentencing last Thursday of Constantine Sfatco to over 7 years of hard labor for attempting to kill a policeman. Sfatco, a Baptist lay leader, was arrested in Iasi because he transported 600 Bibles in a minister's car.

According to CRI's Drew, his car rolled forward and slightly injured a member of Securitatea.

Thursday, while the Senate was reviewing Romania's "most-favored nation" trade status, three other Baptist leaders were arrested for carrying Bibles and are being held by the secret police.

Legislations pending

Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., Thursday introduced legislation to withdraw the special trade status to Romania on the grounds that the nation limits emigration. Rep. Philip Crane, R-Ill., is introducing a similar bill in the House.

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment prohibits "most-favored nation" status to communist countries that deny citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate or impose more than a nominal fee for emigration. However, the president has the authority to waive the prohibition, subject to congressional approval.

"Many have argued that the spirit of the legislation does embrace the human rights problems. So when various congressional subcommittees review the [most favored nation] status, they also review the human rights of Romanian citizens," said Lynn Davidson, a spokesman for the Helsinki Commission.

But Crossley said: "Revoking the MFN trade status of Romania on the basis ofthe Jackson-Vanik Amendment does not take into consideration that Romania has a better track record than almost any other East bloc country.

"One-half of all legal emigration throughout East bloc countries comes from Romania. Bulgaria last year processed five passports — Romania processed 20,000."

Billy Graham, 66, a friend of President Reagan for more than 25 years, conducts four to six crusades a year.

IV.

New York Times, May 1985

Press Rumania on Rights

By Nina Shea

President Reagan has recommended renewal of Rumania's most-favored-nation status — that is, nondiscriminatory treatment on imports — for another year. Congress ought to hinge approval of his request on human rights improvements.

In Rumania, human rights take a beating: no dissent is allowed; no independent labor unions, citizens' groups, scientific and legal or other professional associations can function. Not even underground presses survive. Ruling by decree, the regime controls virtually all aspects of life, intruding deeply into personal family and religious matters.

Yet Washington is soft on this Stalinism. It rarely questions Rumania's human rights abuses; instead, it grants Rumania trade privileges and loudly praises its relatively independent foreign policy. This prompted a public protest by David Funderburk, who recently resigned as Ambassador to Bucharest and accused senior Administration officials of overrating Bucharest's independence from Moscow while downplaying the harshness of its internal practices.

Rumania does not hesitate to use brutal tactics to suppress dissent. More frequently, it uses more subtle but no less efficient administrative sanctions. It punishes without the pretext of a trial, and coerces and coopts citizens simply by administrative order. Such measures include exile, forced labor, dismissal from jobs, eviction, and denial of wages as well as food and medicine.

Rumania suppresses religion. It bans religious education for the young, regulates distribution of Bibles, requires licenses for places of worship and presses believers to work on Christmas and other religious holidays. It is demolishing historic churches and monasteries. Dissident Roman Catholic, Protestant and Rumanian Orthodox leaders have been imprisoned, even killed. While Rumania maintains diplomatic ties with Israel and permits steady emigration of Jews, a recent decline in that emigration and the appearance of anti-Semitic publications have evoked concern.

Temporarily withhold its favored trade status

Many thousands of Rumanians have been denied the right to emigrate, including those seeking medical treatment abroad or family reunification. Merely requesting exit permission triggers such reprisals as employment demotion or dismissal, eviction and denial of essential goods and services. Ethnic Hungarians, the largest minority, are persecuted.

Conditions have been deteriorating alarmingly. With the media under direct Government control, a new decree requiring police registration of private typewriters further restricts information. In 1984, West Germany uncovered a Rumanian bombing plot against Radio Free Europe, the only independent source of broadcast news about Rumania in Rumania.

Most-favored-nation status provides important leverage that should be used to obtain significant concessions in human rights performance. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment links trade status with rights guarantees, particularly the right to emigrate. Since 1975, Rumania has gotten most-favored-nation treatment without having to conform to Jackson-Vanik standards. Presidents annually waive the provision and Congress acquiesces after holding perfunctory hearings — in 1984, the House did not even bother with this gesture.

Negotiations on enhancing the rights of Rumanians who choose not to emigrate ought to precede renewal of most-favored-nation status. The Administration should request specific reforms in diverse areas and establish a definite timetable, and should temporarily suspend favored status until the talks are satisfactorily completed. Congressional trade committees would do well to review Rumania's rights record in hearings, and press for reforms.

Few Americans advocate severing an important link with Eastern Europe. But Bucharest is unlikely to let that happen. President Nicolae Ceausescu personally sought trade benefits in 1975, and no doubt during his nation's current economic crisis still prizes them. Faced with past threats to most-favored-nation status, he agreed to demands to rescind an education tax on emigrants, to increase emigration and to free political prisoners. It serves American interests to press for improvements that will strengthen Rumanian pluralism and institutions. ☐

Nina Shea, a lawyer, is program director of the International League for Human Rights.

IV 2

WASHINGTON TIMES 5/16/85

U.S. soft on Romania, ex-ambassador says

By Dave Doubrava
and Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

American policy toward Romania came under sharp attack yesterday by the former U.S. ambassador to that country who rekindled conservative criticism that the U.S. is too soft on the communist bloc country.

David Funderburk, 41, a former history professor with ties to conservative Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., recently resigned as ambassador to Romania claiming that U.S. policy toward that country is misconceived and ineffective.

The charges come at a time when Congress is conducting its annual reassessment of Romania's most-favored-nation trading status.

Mr. Funderburk in a telephone interview yesterday called for a reexamination of U.S. policy toward Romania and a possible end to that trading status which it enjoys with the United States.

Mr. Funderburk also said that administration officials have disregarded evidence he and other embassy officials presented that Romania's ties to the Soviet Union are much stronger than U.S. policy acknowledges.

The State Department yesterday refuted Mr. Funderburk's charges, saying he had "every opportunity to contribute to the policy process regarding Romania."

"His views received full consideration throughout the government on those occasions, when he conveyed them," said department spokesman Edward Djerejian.

For almost two decades U.S. policy toward Romania has been based on the view that the government of President Nicolae Ceausescu is a "maverick" in the Soviet bloc, following a foreign policy which is frequently at odds with Moscow's.

The State Department policy of using "the Romania card" — using Romania to weaken the Warsaw pact — was a false concept, Mr. Funderburk said.

"If they think they're using the Romania card, they are being manipulated and used," Mr. Funderburk said.

He said Romania receives favorable treatment from the U.S. in terms of trade, bank credits and "favorable publicity by us wrapping ourselves around the Romanian regime," while the U.S. receives nothing in return.

Mr. Funderburk charged specifically that Romania's human rights record is poor, its economic ties to the Soviet Union are growing and...the government is transferring western technology to the Soviets.

"What we do get is the Romanian people wondering why we are supporting such a tyrannical regime," Mr. Funderburk said.

The State Department yesterday in defending its policy, said that while Romania is a member of the Warsaw Pact its military participation is more limited than any other pact nation.

Romania does not participate in joint military maneuvers with other pact nations and does not allow the Soviet Union to station troops on its soil, Mr. Djerejian said.

In addition, the administration argues, Romania's emigration policies allow more Jews to emigrate to Israel than does the Soviet Union. It is also the only communist bloc state with formal diplomatic relations with Israel.

Mr. Funderburk said administration policy was being manipulated by the State Department, from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs down to lower-level officials at State's Romania desk. These people were executing the policies toward Romania formulated by Henry Kissinger during the Nixon administration, he said.

He criticized that policy for ignoring gross human rights violations at the same time it has extended favorable trade and credits in an attempt to wean the eastern European country from the Soviet bloc.

He said leading intellectuals, religious leaders and some Romanian government officials told him during his tenure as ambassador that U.S. policy was only propping up Romanian President Ceausescu and the Romanian Communist Party and not the Romanian people.

Mr. Funderburk charged specifically that Romania's human rights record is poor, its economic ties to the Soviet Union are growing and there is evidence the government in Bucharest is transferring western technology to the Soviets and becoming one of the world's largest arms exporters.

He said in an interview with The Washington Post yesterday that while it may appear that Romania is complying with U.S. wishes concerning emigration, in reality the U.S. was "outfoxed by Ceausescu."

"Hundreds of those approved for emigration were undesirables," Mr. Funderburk said. "Meantime, many of those we wanted out are still waiting for official permission."

At the State Department, Mr. Djerejian acknowledged the backlog of people waiting to leave Romania but rejected Mr. Funderburk's characterization. 3

"These people are not undesirables. And we have registered them for visa processing," Mr. Djerejian said.

A 1974 amendment to a foreign trade bill sponsored by the late Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., and former Rep. Charles Vanik, D-Ohio, tied the issue of freer tariff barriers and eased credit restrictions for communist bloc countries to human rights issues and the number of citizens allowed to emigrate.

In a related development, a congressional hearing on human rights abuses on Tuesday was told a "cycle of repression" in Romania coincides with annual reviews of the eastern European nation's favorable trade status.

In a hearing Tuesday, Robert Sharlett, of the human rights group Amnesty International, testified before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on human rights and international organizations that Romanians wishing to emigrate have been arrested, imprisoned, harassed and in some cases beaten by security officials.

Mr. Sharlett said the Romanians periodically relax emigration restrictions each year prior to a review of Romania's most favored nation status.

Gary Matthews, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, even while defending the administration position, admitted to the panel that the administration recognizes "the Romanian internal scene is harsh, and individual and collective liberties are severely limited."

IV 4

New York Daily News July 23, '85

End the Romanian sham

It seems strange to have to tell the Reagan administration not to let a Communist regime pull the wool over the U.S.'s eyes. But Romania is a special case. Since 1975, Bucharest has enjoyed an almost unique distinction for a Communist government doing business with the U.S.—most favored nation status, a trade classification generally reserved by Washington for friends and allies. The administration has recommended that Romania's MFN status be extended for yet another year. Congress should say no.

Romania has been singled out for two reasons: Bucharest appeared to be pursuing a foreign policy independent of that imposed by the USSR on the rest of the Soviet bloc; and it offered explicit promises of improvements in human rights.

A 1974 law called the Jackson-Vanik amendment prohibits MFN treatment for Communist countries that fail to promote, even minimally, basic human rights. The President can ask Congress, on an annual basis, to waive Jackson-Vanik in given cases. Thus, Romania's decade of privilege.

If Washington ever did have a deal with Romania on foreign policy and human rights, it seems clear the deal has broken down. The whole thing is a vast swindle.

The human rights situation in Romania is as bad as—or worse than—anywhere behind the Iron Curtain except the Soviet Union itself: Psychiatric hospitals used as prisons; torture of political dissidents; harassment of religious believers and would-be emigrants. Item: Some 20,000 Bibles recently sent to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania were seized and turned into toilet paper.

But for the U.S., strategic questions are even more worrisome. There is a lot of evidence now—thanks, in part, to high-ranking Romanian defectors—that Romania illegally transfers valuable technology obtained from the U.S. to the Soviet Union. The Romanian security services, well integrated with the KGB, are known to have engaged in assassinations and terrorism abroad.

No Communist regime is ever going to permit genuine human rights to flourish. The Jackson-Vanik amendment's notion is that the U.S. should create incentives—like MFN status. It's clear that the Romanian government is simply too cruel at home, and too much of an international outlaw abroad, to merit privileged status. Congress should deny it.

DON NICKLES
OKLAHOMA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

COMMITTEES
ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
SMALL BUSINESS

IV 5

July 24, 1985

His Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu
President
The Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest
ROMANIA

Dear Mr. President:

We, the undersigned members of the United States Senate, are gravely concerned about continuing reports reaching us regarding the severely repressive measures being taken by your government against religious believers, emigration applicants, and ethnic minorities.

While we are pleased to hear of an agreement between our two nations which should alleviate hardships for new emigration applicants (the loss of employment, housing, and medical treatment), we are concerned that the process of family reunification remains extremely difficult or impossible.

Regarding Romanian Jewish emigration, half as many Jews (543) reached Israel during the first half of 1985 compared to the same period last year (1,026). During 1984 almost 2,000 Romanian Jews arrived in Israel; in the years before Romania received Most Favored Nation trade status the annual rate was almost 4,000.

Reliable information reaching Congress has confirmed the destruction of at least three churches: the Pentacostal Church of Cimpia Turzii, the Baptist Church of Bistrita, and the Giulesti Baptist Church of Bucharest. In addition, religious leaders such as Constantin Sfatcu of Iasi are being arrested and convicted for long prison terms for distributing Bibles and other religious literature. It has even been reported that a shipment of 20,000 Bibles sent to the Hungarian minority churches by Western church organizations have been recycled for use as toilet paper.

Many churches are kept waiting for years without building permits including: The Second Baptist Church of Oradea, Hateg Baptist Church, Resita Baptist Church, the Pentacostal Church of Medias, Tirgu-Mures Pentacostal Church, the Baptist Church of Timisoara, the Baptist Church of Marghita, and the Tiganesti Baptist Church of Alexandria.

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☎ 405 231-4941

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333 W. 4th
Tulsa, OK 74103
☎ 918 581-7651

1916 Lake Road
Ponca City, OK 74601
☎ 405 767-1270

Among minorities, the Hungarians continue to be singled out for deprivatio of their cultural heritage. Recently, all television broadcasting in Hungarian was stopped, more Hungarian schools closed, and spokesmen of that minority harassed, imprisoned and beaten.

These facts, along with many other concerns, raise the question of whether our MFN trade status with Romania is really mutually beneficial. It is becoming increasingly difficult to justify this special relationship with a nation that is thought by more and more Americans to have little regard for human rights.

Your help in addressing these concerns is very important to us. We believe that progress in human rights is possible when two nations work together for the common good.

Sincerely,

Don Nickles
DON NICKLES
U.S. Senator

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
U.S. Senator

Jim McClure

David L. Boren

Mark Andrews

Steve Symms

Dick Lugar

John Heinz

Frank H. Murkowski

John Glenn

J. J. Exon

Alfonse D'Amato

Nancy Landon Kassebaum

~~Strom Thurmond~~

Larry Pressler

Dave Durenberger

Chuck Grassley

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

IV 6

August 8, 1985

His Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu
President
The Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest
Romania

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express our grave concern over reports reaching us regarding the repressive measures being taken by your government against emigration applicants, religious believers and ethnic minorities.

While we are pleased to hear of a new agreement between our two nations which should alleviate hardships for new emigration applicants--including the loss of employment, housing and medical treatment--we are very concerned that the process of family reunification remains extremely difficult in most cases, and impossible in others.

We are particularly concerned about Jewish emigration. As you know, half as many Jews, 543, were allowed to emigrate to Israel during the first half of 1985 compared to the same time period last year when 1026 Jews were allowed to emigrate. Before your nation received Most Favored Nation trade status with the United States, an average of 4000 Jews a year were allowed to emigrate.

According to reliable sources, individuals practicing their religious beliefs are harassed, several churches have been destroyed and no new building permits are being granted. The Seventh-day Adventist Dorel Catarama is jailed and Baptist layleader Constantin Sfatcu of Iasi was arrested for distributing Bibles and religious literature. We have learned that the Pentacostal Church of Cimpia Turzii, the Baptist Church of Bistrita and the Guilesti Baptist Church of Bucharest and many other religious buildings have been demolished. It has also been reported that legal shipments of Bibles have been recycled for use as toilet paper.

Among minorities, the Hungarians continue to be singled out for deprivation of their cultural heritage. Recently, all television broadcasting in Hungarian has been stopped, more Hungarian schools closed, and the designation of the famous "Babes Bolyai" University as a Hungarian institution has been terminated.

These facts, along with many other concerns, raise the question of whether our Most Favored Nation trade status with Romania is really mutually beneficial. It is becoming increasingly difficult to justify to the American people this special relationship with a nation that is thought to have little regard for human rights.

Your help in addressing the concerns we have raised would be greatly appreciated. We believe that progress in your country's respect for human freedoms will create a favorable impression on the American people.

Sincerely,

John E. Porter, M.C.

Lawrence J. Smith, M.C.

Peter W Rodino

Peter Rodino, M.C.

Jack Kemp

Jack Kemp, M.C.

Mike Lowry

Mike Lowry, M.C.

Robert Lagomarsino, M.C.

James Howard, M.C.

Barbara A. Mikulski

Barbara Mikulski, M.C.

Norm Lent

Norm Lent, M.C.

Doug Walgren

Doug Walgren, M.C.

Charles Rangel, M.C.

Henry Waxman, M.C.

50 signatories

Robert Young, M.C.

David Bonior, M.C.

Herbert Bateman, M.C.

Edward Feighan

Edward Feighan, M.C.

Albert Bustamante, M.C.

Marcy Kaptur, M.C.

Hal Daub

Hal Daub, M.C.

John F. Seiberling, M.C.

Robert J. Mrazek, M.C.

Dan Glickman

Dan Glickman, M.C.

Harry M. Reid, M.C.

Vic Fazio

Vic Fazio, M.C.

Bill Green

Bill Green, M.C.

Martin Frost, M.C.

John Miller

John Miller, M.C.

Denny Smith

Denny Smith, M.C.

Barney Frank

Barney Frank, M.C.

Bruce A. Morrison

Bruce Morrison, M.C.

Tim Penny
Timothy Penny, M.C.

George C Wortley
George Wortley, M.C.

Barbara Boxer
Barbara Boxer, M.C.

Mel Levine
Mel Levine, M.C.

Bernard J. Dwyer
Bernard Dwyer, M.C.

Robert T. Matsui
Robert Matsui, M.C.

Mike Barnes
Mike Barnes, M.C.

Jam H Scheuer
James H. Scheuer, M.C.

Nicholas Mavroules, M.C.

Fred Eckert, M.C.

Dan Burton
Dan Burton, M.C.

Vin Weber
Vic Weber, M.C.

Robert K. Dornan
Robert Dornan, M.C.

Ray McGrath
Ray McGrath, M.C.

Lawrence Smith, M.C.

James M. Jeffords
James M. Jeffords, M.C.

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2596

To deny most-favored-nation treatment to countries subject to title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 that discriminate against citizens because of religious, ethnic, or cultural orientation.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 23, 1985

Mr. SILJANDER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

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A BILL

To deny most-favored-nation treatment to countries subject to title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 that discriminate against citizens because of religious, ethnic, or cultural orientation.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2432(a)) is amended—

(1) by amending subsection (a)—

(A) by striking out "or" at the end of paragraph (2);

(B) by striking out the comma at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof "; or";

(C) by adding immediately after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

"(4) discriminates, or permits, encourages, or condones discrimination, because of religious, ethnic, or cultural orientation;"; and

(D) by striking out "paragraph (1), (2), or (3)" and inserting in lieu thereof "paragraph (1), (2), (3), or (4)";

(2) by amending subsection (b) by striking out "paragraph (1), (2), or (3)" and inserting in lieu thereof "paragraph (1), (2), (3), or (4)"; and

(3) by amending the section heading by striking out "**IN EAST-WEST TRADE**" and inserting in lieu thereof "**AND OF RELIGIOUS, ETHNIC, AND CULTURAL ORIENTATION**".

SEC. 2. The entry for section 402 in the table of contents for the Trade Act of 1974 is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 402. Freedom of emigration and of religious, ethnic, and cultural orientation.".

STATEMENT OF LÁSZLÓ HÁMOS, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA, NEW YORK, NY

Mr. HÁMOS. Mr. Chairman, we appreciate your scheduling this hearing and demonstrating the importance that the Congress does attach to compliance by countries accepting U.S. trade benefits with the human rights conditions under which those benefits were granted. The concern over noncompliance is especially warranted in the case of Romania. Our organization has maintained a close and consistent watch for 10 years over human rights developments in that country, and we must report that during the past 12 months conditions there have reached unparalleled depths of repression and misery.

For the more than 2.5 million Hungarians and other minority inhabitants, the repression is doubly severe. They are subjected to a systematic and relentless program of interlocking administrative measures, coupled with outright physical brutalities and terror, to destroy their language, their culture, their churches and traditions. The program is a direct consequence of a brazen, desparate and arrogant ideology of nationalism professed by Romania's dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mr. Chairman, if there is one feature that characterizes the Romanian regime's antiminority policies during the past 12 months, it is an increased militancy and radicalism. The Romanian authorities display less interest in trying to even justify or rationalize a particular discriminatory measure or violent act, while proceeding with greater openness, urgency, and boldness of purpose to accelerate the process of attaining the final solution—the complete eradication of minorities.

During the past year, there has been a marked increase in house searches, harassment, beatings and general intimidation of all Hungarians who manifest any desire to nurture or express their national identity. Our organization is particularly concerned over the outrageous continued imprisonment of three Hungarians: Ernö Borbély, László Buzás, and Béla Páll, who have now been held unjustly for close to 3 years. We also urge that you call the Romanian authorities to account for the stepped-up harassment of the Hungarian poet Geza Szöcs and the disappearance of the Romanian poet Dorin Tudoran. These two courageous individuals had signed an entirely balanced and reasonable appeal addressed to the UN, calling for the creation of an international agency to protect the rights of national minorities.

One of the most offensive administrative measures instituted last year by the Romanian Government was the total elimination of all minority language radio and TV broadcasts, which resulted in the summary firing of over 600 employees.

Mr. Chairman, during the 10 years since Romania was first granted MFN status, the United States has done little if anything to use the enormous economic leverage conferred by MFN to actually benefit the condition of human rights in Romania. At the same time, by allowing the automatic and unquestioned continuation of trade benefits, year after year, the United States has actively served to legitimize and prop up the oppressive Ceausescu regime. For our organization, along with others who have appeared before this subcommittee year after year, urging greater concern and involvement, the real question is not whether MFN status should be continued, but why it was not suspended years ago? By again failing to act, our Government can only hope to perpetuate the Romanian regime's long-proven callous disregard for human rights. Instead, we urge the U.S. Senate to begin lending its good name and prestige to a more noble cause and to take a positive step in this direction by suspending Romania's MFN status.

Senator **Danforth**. Thank you, sir. Dr. Szaz?

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hámos follows:]

STATEMENT

BY THE

COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUMANIA

Supplementing the
Oral Testimony
of
László Hámos

on behalf of the
Committee for Human Rights in Rumania

before the
Subcommittee on International Trade
of the
Committee on Finance
United States Senate

at Hearings

ON CONTINUATION OF

MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS FOR RUMANIA

Committee for Human Rights in Rumania
Post Office Box "J"
Gracie Station
New York, New York 10028

(212) 289-5488

July 23, 1985

STATEMENT

Mr. Chairman, the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania is fully aware and appreciative of the importance you attach to compliance by countries accepting U.S. trade benefits with the human rights conditions under which those benefits were granted. Clearly, you would not have scheduled this hearing today if you had no doubt whatever that the non-market economy countries receiving most-favored-nation treatment were living up to the terms they had agreed to when they accepted that status.

The concern over non-compliance is especially warranted in the case of Rumania. Our organization, which has maintained a close and consistent watch for ten years over human rights developments in that country, must report that during the past twelve months conditions there have reached unparalleled depths of repression and misery.

Victimized for twenty years by a terrorist dictator, its economy in shambles, the country by all reports has taken on a strange, surreal atmosphere — a combination of shabbiness, fear, darkness, corruption and hopelessness. For the more than 2.5 million Hungarians, 350,000 Germans and other minority inhabitants, the repression is doubly severe: since the 1950's they have been subjected to a systematic and relentless program of interlocking administrative measures, coupled with outright physical brutalities and terror, to destroy their language, culture, churches and traditions. The program is a direct consequence of the Rumanian dictator's brazen, desperate and arrogant ideology of nationalism which strives to generate at least some measure of popularity by declaring the cultural, historic and political superiority of the Rumanian people, with Ceausescu himself as its stalwart and dynamic "protector." National minorities, the bone-in-the-throat of this idyllic myth of a "unitary" (culturally and ethnically "pure") nation-state, must be forced to relinquish their uniqueness, to lose their national identities and to assimilate. But, even until this goal is achieved, minorities can serve as convenient scapegoats for the country's economic decline.

The prejudice and enmity officially exhibited against national minorities have, indeed, intensified since the early 1980's with the ever steepening downward spiral in the country's economy. And if there is one feature which characterizes the Rumanian regime's anti-minority policies during the past twelve months, it is an increased militancy and radicalism, with the Rumanian authorities less interested in trying to justify or rationalize a particular discriminatory measure or violent act, while proceeding with greater openness, urgency and boldness of purpose to accelerate the process of attaining the final solution: the complete eradication of minorities.

It is only the most recent manifestations of precisely this radical and destabilizing campaign of forced assimilation which will be decribed in the pages that follow. Departing from the practice followed in each of the nine statements submitted to this Subcommittee in the past, our written testimony this year does not have appendices containing English translations of primary source materials on Rumania's human rights record. With the sharp increase in the number of abuses reported during the past year, the abundance of translated documentation available — in excess of 150 pages — would have swollen this statement to unreasonable proportions. Instead, the following review will only summarize three major areas in which the Rumanian government has implemented its anti-minority policies, with each section followed by a simple listing of the first-hand sources cited.

The major source for news concerning Rumania's human rights violations against national minorities is an underground reporting service called the "Hungarian Press of Transylvania," which derives its name from the region, presently part of Rumania, where a majority of the country's minorities still reside. The Hungarian Press of Transylvania was formed in 1983, several months after Rumanian authorities had employed violence and force to disband the country's first — and thus far only — regular underground periodical, Ellenpontok (Counterpoints). The Hungarian Press of Transylvania learned from the experience of its predecessor publication: Instead of openly naming its editors or sources — and thereby exposing them to the risk of physical abuse, imprisonment and expulsion from the country, which was the fate of all those who had worked with Counterpoints — the Hungarian Press of Transylvania operates through editors and a network of informers who gather and pass on information in complete anonymity.

The Hungarian Press of Transylvania has admirably and courageously fulfilled its stated purpose to provide "reliable and detailed information concerning the unrestrained terror now prevailing in Rumania" (see Hungarian Press of Transylvania — hereinafter cited as "HPT" — Release No. 1/1983, dated May 20, 1983). During the past twelve months alone, working under extremely dangerous circumstances, the HPT managed to issue a total of 98 numbered and dated releases, ranging in length from one sentence to twenty pages, and covering the Rumanian regime's newest human rights abuses in an up-to-date and highly reliable fashion.

Our analysis also relies on open protest letters and memoranda issued by persons still living in Rumania, who continue their efforts despite official measures to punish and silence them. The most prominent of these courageous individuals is Károly Király, 55, of Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), a formerly high-ranking Rumanian Communist Party leader who publicly broke with the regime in 1978 over its failure to correct the abusive nationality policies instituted under President Ceausescu. In an open letter to Party leaders dated October 18, 1984, Mr. Király renewed his protest, expressing indignation at the severe beating by secret police of his friend Károly Péter, and detailing additional specific cases of brutality against ethnic Hungarians (see section "C" below).

Another individual who vocally and consistently protested the regime's anti-minority policies is the well-known poet Géza Szőcs, 32, of Kolozsvár (Cluj), who had been one of the editors of the underground Hungarian-language periodical Counterpoints. Mr. Szőcs issued a new, detailed appeal for minority rights, timed to precede the 13th Rumanian Party Congress held on November 19 - 22, 1984. The document, entitled "Submission to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party" was published in English by our organization (in Human Rights Petitions of the Hungarian Minority in Rumania, booklet prepared for the CSCE Human Rights Experts' Meeting, Ottawa, May 1985).

Instead of addressing the legitimate complaints raised in the Szőcs Submission, and instituting sorely needed reforms, the Rumanian government's only response was to reiterate the absurd contention that there is no problem in the first place. "The national question has been settled completely in this country," declared President Ceausescu in a speech on December 27, 1984. And he went on to issue a thinly-veiled warning to the likes of Géza Szőcs, in effect making it a criminal offense to even mention the possibility that this "solution" may not be the model of perfection: "Any attempts at diversion, at questioning it, can only misinform the respective people or nations." (Speech by Nicolae Ceausescu before the Joint Session of the Hungarian and German Nationality Workers' Councils, Bucharest, December 27, 1984; text, as translated by Agerpres, the official Rumanian press agency).

Nor does it appear likely that in the future Rumania's national minorities will be looked upon as anything more the the enemy within, the targets of still further intimidation and terror. To allay any doubts regarding the true state of mind and future intentions of the "maverick" despot Ceausescu, we quote below from the text of a secret speech he gave on November 9, 1984, setting the tone for the 13th Party Congress which followed (fragments of the transcript were obtained by the Hungarian Press of Transylvania, and reported in its HPT Release No. 62/1984, dated November 28, 1984, from which the following excerpt is taken):

> "We committed a grave error in giving the national minorities so much freedom. We made too many concessions and this is why they have become such nationalists and chauvinists. The national minorities are posing a danger to our freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the future, all this must be changed. I have decided — and I am certain that you, comrades, fully agree with me on this — that we must approach this question completely determined to wipe out all of their hostile opposition and unquestionably reject all of their demands."

Despite such manifestations of hysteria and intransigence by the Rumanian leadership, Mr. Szőcs wrote a "Supplemental Memorandum to the Central Committee," dated March 28, 1985, in which he detailed the regime's newest anti-minority measures instituted even during the brief time period which had elapsed since issuance of his "Submission." In addition, recognizing the obvious futility of petitioning the Rumanian government, democratic-minded intellectuals in Rumania joined forces in early 1985 to undertake a novel and unprecedented step: the issuance of a joint appeal to the outside world, entitled "Proposal for the Creation of a UN-Supervised International Agency to Protect the Rights of National Minorities." The document is significant not only because of its balanced, constructive and fresh approach to the problem, but also because of the names of its three signers: Messrs. Szöcs and Király (representing a unity of purpose among the younger and older generations of the Hungarian minority in Rumania) and the well-known Rumanian dissident poet Dorin Tudoran (signifying the first open espousal of minority grievances by a prominent, ethnic Rumanian intellectual).

As news of this newest appeal filtered to the West, Rumanian authorities moved to silence the sources of dissent in typically brutal fashion. As more fully elaborated under section "C" below, Dorin Tudoran — long a victim of police terror due to his consistent and outspoken defense of human rights — has inexplicably "disappeared." Although the comings and goings of even average citizens (much less prominent dissidents) are rather well monitored in the police state of Rumania, officials there are curiously incapable of explaining the whereabouts of Mr. Tudoran — or whether he is still alive. On the other hand, it is known that on at least one occasion — June 29, 1985 — Géza Szöcs was subjected to a fourteen-hour police interrogation (regarding, above all, his contacts with Dorin Tudoran and their issuance of the joint Proposal), when all his manuscripts and writings were confiscated. Mr. Király, the third signer of the Proposal, remains under virtual house arrest in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) — vilified, subjected to harassment and threats, and denied the right to travel abroad for medical treatment as he has been since 1978.

Mr. Chairman, there is a unifying theme, which — sadly, but strikingly — dominates all of the many news releases, declarations, memoranda, petitions and appeals we received from Rumania during the past year. It is present in the form and substance — indeed, the very existence — of the Hungarian Press of Transylvania, whose co-workers regularly risk their own personal safety and well-being for the sole purpose of forwarding information to the West on the atrocities daily committed in Rumania. The theme was implicitly contained in the first documents protesting minority oppression which emerged from Rumania in the mid-1970's. It has since been more and more explicitly reiterated in countless, desperate appeals for outside intervention addressed to the CSCE Madrid Conference, the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting, the United Nations and to any other body which might take note — including this very forum: the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on International Trade.

Perhaps more importantly, the same thought is increasingly in the hearts and minds of everyday citizens of Rumania, it is written on the facial expressions of the few among them who are able to visit the United States, it is contained in new-found tones of urgency and concern on the part of the occasional Western tourist returning from there, and it comprises the self-professed motivation of dissidents who would ordinarily be much happier pursuing their chosen careers as writers, physicians, carpenters or workers. Finally, it is also there in the demonic behavior of the Rumanian authorities, from President Ceausescu's words quoted above, to the action of an agent of the secret police as he strikes his victim with a rubber truncheon.

The message, Mr. Chairman, is simply that citizens of that dark and tragic place have been denied their fundamental freedoms, their basic human dignity and all avenues of legal recourse to such an extent that they can no longer turn to any place but outside their country for help. Enduring more that twenty years of deprivation under the heel of a ruthless and petty tyrant, and, in the case of almost four million minority inhabitants, witnessing the barbaric destruction of their centuries-old culture, the people of that country have less and less to hope for but some form of effective, outside support.

Clearly, the United States cannot be held responsible for the rise to power of a megalomaniac ruler in Rumania, nor can it be expected to universally solve that country's many woes. But it is equally clear that this Congress and this Administration are responsible for living up to the legislative mandate provided under the terms of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974. The purpose of that piece of legislation, as explicitly stated in its opening words, is "to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights."

During the ten years since Rumania was first granted most-favored-nation status, however, any candid assessment must show that the United States has done little, if anything, to use the enormous economic leverage conferred by MFN to actually benefit the condition of human rights in Rumania. At the same time, by allowing the automatic and unquestioned continuation of trade benefits, year after year, the United States has actively served to legitimize and prop up the oppressive and corrupt Ceausescu regime. Far from "assuring its continued dedication to fundamental human rights," therefore, the United States is rightfully seen as endorsing the repressive government behavior and unsavory practices which are the very antithesis of the ideals on which this country was built.

For our organization, therefore, along with others who have appeared before this Subcommittee year after year urging greater concern and involvement, the real question is not whether MFN status should be continued, but why it was not suspended years ago. By again failing to act, our government can only hope to perpetuate the Rumanian regime's long-proven, callous disregard for human rights. Instead, we urge the United States to begin lending its good name and prestige to a more noble cause and to take a positive step in this direction by suspending Rumania's most-favored-nation status.

Sources: Opening Statement

Géza Szöcs. "Submission to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party," dated November 1984, Kolozsvár (Cluj), in Human Rights Petitions of the Hungarian Minority in Rumania (booklet prepared by the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation/Committee for Human Rights in Rumania for the CSCE Human Rights Experts' Meeting, Ottawa, May 1985), pages 17-36.

Károly Király. "Report to Comrade Ioan Ungur, First Party Secretary, of Conversation with a Foreigner" and "Additional Comments," dated October 18, 1984, Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), [English translation based on photocopy of Rumanian-language original, with signature], (8 pages).

HPT Release No. 70/1984 (December 26, 1984), "Hungarians' Democratic Association Announces Formation, Issues Communique" (3 pages).

Géza Szöcs, Dorin Tudoran and Károly Király. "Proposal for the Creation of a UN-Supervised International Agency to Protect the Rights of National Minorities," signed February 10, 1985 at Kolozsvár (Cluj) by Mr. Szöcs; February 15, 1985 by Mr. Tudoran; and March 27, 1985 by Mr. Király (2 pages).

Géza Szöcs. "Supplemental Memorandum to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party," dated March 28, 1985, Kolozsvár (Cluj), (4 pages).

HPT Release No. 39/1985 (May 30, 1985), "New Documents Protest the Growing Oppression of Hungarians in Rumania: Géza Szöcs, Dorin Tudoran and Károly Király Propose the Creation of a UN-Supervised International Agency to Protect the Rights of National Minorities" (3 pages).

Wolfgang Broer. "Hungarians in Rumania: Appeal for Help to the UN" (Ungarn in Rumänien: Hilferuf an die UNO!), Kurier (Vienna), (June 25, 1985). [Reports contents of memorandum by Géza Szöcs, Károly Király and Dorin Tudoran protesting mistreatment of Hungarian minority in Rumania and requesting creation of UN commission to monitor treatment of national minorities.]

Vladimir Socor. "Dissident Writer [Dorin Tudoran] Disappears," in Radio Free Europe Situation Report No. 10 (June 26, 1985), pages 29-33.

HPT Release No. 46/1985 (June 30, 1985), "Rumanian Secret Police Interrogate the Poet Géza Szöcs" (1 page).

Section A

Rumanian Policies Aimed at Reducing Minority-Language Educational Facilities Intensified

Perhaps the area of greatest sensitivity to the Hungarian minority is its ability to preserve even the remnants of what was once a broad network of Hungarian schools and educational facilities throughout Transylvania. "A nation lives through its language" (nyelvében él a nemzet), goes the popular Hungarian saying, and it is precisely in reducing the ability of the educational system to nurture and pass on the minority languages to future generations that official Rumanian policies have been the most destructive.

During the past twelve months, efforts in this field were markedly intensified in two specific areas: (1) direct reductions in opportunities to pursue studies in a particular minority language; and (2) indirect creation of disincentives to do so, by manipulating the system of compulsory job assignment (i.e. through arbitrarily posting Hungarian university graduates to Rumanian-speaking regions and importing ethnic Rumanian professionals into Hungarian communities).

One form of direct reduction was simply the elimination, outright, of minority schools. An example of this practice, carried out in the predominantly Hungarian-inhabited city of Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), was provided in HPT Release No. 52/1984, dated September 18, 1984:

> "Rumanian authorities have closed down Vocational Lyceum No. 5, one of the few remaining schools where Hungarian was the only language of instruction. The move was preceded by several years during which the authorities had prohibited the school from starting new classes even though the number of applicants was several times in excess of the spaces available."

As a result of a similar measure last year, there is no longer a single high school left in the densely Hungarian-populated city of Kolozsvár (Cluj) where teaching is conducted exclusively in Hungarian. According to HPT Release No. 33/1984, dated June 25, 1984, starting with the Fall 1984 semester, five Rumanian-language courses were introduced at the Mathematics-Physics Lyceum

No. 3 located in that city. The impact of this measure is significant, since it affected a school which had functioned for 400 years as an independent Hungarian institution. (It had been established in the 1500's by the Hungarian Prince István Báthory, Governor of Transylvania and later King of Poland.) Moreover, as noted in HPT Release No. 33/1984:

> "In the final analysis, there is more to this measure than simply the fact that the Rumanian government, contrary to its official propaganda line, has condemned another Hungarian-language educational institution to extinction. The true significance of this event is that the Mathematics-Physics Lyceum No. 3 of Kolozsvár, which has year after year since 1979 successfully defended itself against absorption, was ultimately unable to avoid the fate dictated by government policy."

More comprehensive measures, calling for wholesale reductions in minority-language schooling opportunities, were also set in motion during the past year. According to HPT Release No. 57/1984, dated November 11, 1984, official steps were instituted to abolish Hungarian-language instruction in two eastern Transylvanian counties, where even according to official Rumanian statistics, Hungarians comprise more than 80% of the population. The measures entail an innocuous-sounding "reorganization" of the school systems in Hargita (Hargitha) and Kovászna (Covasna) counties. However, according to HPT Release No. 57:

> "The reorganization is being carried out according to nationality criteria. The new measures were preceded by a survey taken at the beginning of the year among those teachers and staff known for their unconditional loyalty to the system. The cadres selected for questioning were asked to give their recommendations for speeding up the process of replacing Hungarian with Rumanian as the language of instruction in Hungarian minority schools.
>
> "According to reports just received, virtually the entire school board in each of the two counties was fired. New officials were installed on the basis of national origin, so that there is now hardly a single Hungarian left in any of these positions."

It may be useful here to place into perspective the destruction which has been visited upon Hungarian-language educational facilities. According to Géza Szőcs ("Submission to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party," November 1984, p. 22), at the end of the 1940's under the relatively tolerant minority policies instituted by (the Communist!) Prime Minister Petru Groza,

> "there were 184 Hungarian-language secondary schools in Rumania together employing more than 2,000 teachers. Approximately 80 Hungarian-language schools were established in Moldavia, in the region inhabitated by the [Hungarian] Csángós."

In contrast, today there is not a single Hungarian-language school or class for the Hungarian Csángós. And in Transylvania (ibid., p. 25):

> "separate Hungarian-language general and secondary schools have been eliminated. In the mixed-language schools, the number of Hungarian classes is being steadily reduced, especially at the upper grade levels. There are hardly any schools left in the entire country which have not been transformed into mixed-language schools."

Nor have institutions of higher education escaped the ax. In the late 1940's, according to Géza Szőcs (ibid., p. 22):

> "Hungarian-language instruction was available at five institutions of higher education in Transylvania, to a total of 3,000 students. Courses taught in the nationality languages were offered by an additional 23 schools and departments."

Today, for a Hungarian population in excess of 2.5 million people, there is no institution of higher education functioning in its own language. In addition (ibid., p. 24):

> "Numerous overt measures and internal directives are used to place Hungarian university students at a disadvantage within the Rumanian educational system. Of primary concern is the plight of the annually diminishing number of students permitted to graduate from the Kolozsvár (Cluj) University's Department of Hungarian Language and Literature."

During the past year, our organization received verbal accounts, confirmed by written reports, of a new, restrictive measure already imposed at the very university mentioned above. As reported in HPT Release No. 15/1985, dated March 15, 1985:

> "The Ministry of Education has issued an internal directive, already received at the Office of the Dean of Kolozsvár University. The new directive imposes a mandatory Rumanian language examination for all students who apply for admission to the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature, and to the History-Philosophy Department of the University.

> "According to reliable sources, an even further restriction has been introduced to supplement the new directive: Beginning this year, it will no longer be possible to take university entrance examinations in a minority language. This measure, as well, signifies a drastic limitation on the use of minority languages in education."

Both measures reported above were confirmed by Géza Szőcs in his "Supplemental Memorandum to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party," dated March 28, 1985 (p. 2). According to Mr. Szőcs, the effect of those measures is not limited to students presently applying to attend the university. Rather, a broader, negative impact occurs at the secondary school level, where, from now on "parents will be more inclined to reason that it does not serve their children's best interest to complete their secondary school studies in a language that cannot be used when applying for university admission" (ibid.).

Indeed, the fate of all Hungarian language instruction at institutions of higher education is reportedly in question. According to HPT Release No. 22/1985, dated March 22, 1985, by order of the Central Committee, the Ministry of Education has drawn up a plan that would abolish Hungarian language instruction "at all institutions of higher education except the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature at Kolozsvár University, and the Hungarian section of the School for Dramatic Arts in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures)."

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For years the government authorities responsible for public education have followed a practice of arbitrarily assigning university and trade school graduates of Hungarian origin to jobs in Rumanian-inhabited counties. In our organization's testimony before this Subcommittee last year, we reported the manner in which this practice was applied at the Kolozsvár University, showing the exact number of Hungarian graduates displaced into Rumanian-speaking regions (see "Statement of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania," August 8, 1984, p. 3). According to HPT Release No. 38/1984, dated July 26, 1984, the relentless process continues:

> "This year the same as last, the majority of students graduating from the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) with degrees in Hungarian Language and Literature were assigned to jobs in areas beyond the Carpathian Mountains, in other words to Rumanian-speaking regions of the country. At the same time, native Rumanian speakers were appointed as teachers to 38 schools located in the Hungarian (Székely) region of Transylvania."

The same practice was applied at another institution of higher education, as reported in HPT Release No. 59/1984, dated November 15, 1984:

> "Students graduating from the Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) School of Medicine and Pharmacology, similar to those graduating from the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj), were assigned jobs in those regions which comprise historic Rumania and are wholly Rumanian inhabited (principally, the counties of Bacau, Olt and Arges). We note that the majority of students graduating from the Marosvásárhely School are Hungarian and even completed certain of their courses in the Hungarian language."

The application of this practice at the Marosvásárhely School of Medicine and Pharmacology was specifically confirmed by Géza Szőcs in his "Supplemental Memorandum," dated March 28, 1985 (p. 2). Moreover, during the past year our organization received a chilling and detailed eyewitness account of the meeting held on November 27, 1984 in the auditorium of the medical school, where the business of assigning the Hungarian graduates to faraway locations was actually performed and announced. Without quoting from the report the precise underhanded procedures used to destroy the careers of starting physicians, or the names of the officials responsible, we summarize only the final result of the meeting: For the 230 graduates — 130 of them Hungarian — only eight job openings were made available in the densely Hungarian-populated county of Maros (Mures). Even of those eight available positions, due to various administrative ploys, only one went to a Hungarian. All of the remaining Hungarian graduates were assigned jobs in five heavily Rumanian-populated counties. At the same time, ethnic Rumanian graduates from the Medical Schools in Bucharest and Iasi, outside Transylvania, were assigned to fill the openings in the heavily Hungarian-populated counties of Hargita (Hargitha) and Kovászna (Covasna).

Due to a recent official measure, conscription into this compulsory system of job assignments actually begins before a student is even admitted to an institution of higher learning. Last year, according to HPT Release No. 71/1984, dated December 28, 1984, the Rumanian Ministry of Education issued a new set of instructions which provide that:

> "the student enrolling for admission must sign a 'contract' which obligates him to accept whatever position the government 'guarantees' him after

> graduation. As a result of this directive, those applying for admission to universities in Transylvania -- in effect, all Hungarians who wish to continue their studies — are faced with the prospect of assignment exclusively to regions outside Transylvania, while those from other parts of Rumania are posted to Transylvania. It was in the same spirit that Ceausescu spoke, on December 27, 1984, before the joint session of the so-called Hungarian and German Nationality Workers' Councils, where he stressed that minority students receiving a higher education must be posted to all regions of the country."

We close this section with a concrete illustration of the detrimental effects of this practice on the Hungarian minority, as experienced at the grade school in the town of Felsőbánya (Baia Sprie) (HPT Release No. 29/85, dated April 5, 1985):

> "Thanks to the efforts of parents and some enthusiastic teachers, this year — following a hiatus of several years — a sufficient number of Hungarian children registered, and a Hungarian class was started at the grade-school in Felsőbánya (Baia Sprie). The Máramaros (Maramures) County school board tried to impede the creation of the class, but when this attempt proved unsuccessful, they assigned a teacher to the class who had never attended a Hungarian school and is practically incapable of reading or writing in Hungarian. All efforts and protests by the affected parents to have the teacher replaced have proven unsuccessful."

Sources: Minority Education

HPT Release No. 33/1984 (June 25, 1984), "Rumanian-Language Classes to Be Introduced at Mathematics-Physics Lyceum No. 3, Founded 400 Years Ago by the Hungarian Prince István Báthory and the Last High School in Kolozsvár (Cluj) to Teach Solely in Hungarian" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 38/1984 (July 26, 1984), "Majority of Hungarians Graduating from University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) Assigned Jobs in Rumanian-Speaking Regions, While Rumanians Appointed as Teachers in 38 Transylvanian-Hungarian Schools" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 39/1984 (July 26, 1984), "Statistical Analysis of the Reduction in Hungarian-Language Educational Opportunities in Rumania, 1966-1983" (19 pages).

HPT Release No. 52/1984 (September 18, 1984), "Another Hungarian School, Vocational Lyceum No. 5 in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), Closed Down in Transylvania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 57/1984 (November 10, 1984), "Official Measures Instituted to Abolish Hungarian-Language Instruction in Hargita (Hargitha) and Kovászna (Covasna), Two Predominantly Hungarian-Inhabited Counties in Eastern Transylvania" (1 page).

Eyewitness Report from Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) School of Medicine and Pharmacology, dated November 13, 1984, "Legalized Assault against the Sick, 'Without Regard to National Origin': Ceausescu's New Presidential Decree on the Compulsory Job Placement of Physicians" (3 pages).

HPT Release No. 59/1984 (November 15, 1984), "Transylvanian-Hungarian Students Graduating from the Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) School of Medicine and Pharmacology Assigned Jobs in Rumanian-Inhabited Regions" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 68/1984 (December 13, 1984), "Statistics on Admissions to Institutions of Higher Education in Rumania, by Nationality, for the 1983-84 School Year" (5 pages).

HPT Release No. 71/1984 (December 28, 1984), "Contracts Signed by University Students at Enrollment Are Used to Appoint Hungarian Graduates to Jobs outside Transylvania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 14/1985 (March 12, 1985), "Measures Instituted at Kolozsvár (Cluj) Ion Andreescu Academy of Fine Arts and Gheorghe Dima Conservatory of Music Threaten their Continued Survival" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 15/1985 (March 15, 1985), "Compulsory Rumanian-Language Admission Tests Re-Introduced, and Minority-Language Examinations Discontinued, at University of Kolozsvár (Cluj)" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 22/1985 (March 22, 1985), "Ministry of Education Draws Up New Plan to Virtually Eliminate Ethnic Higher Education in Rumania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 29/1985 (April 5, 1985), "Circumstances at Elementary School in Felsőbanya (Baia Sprie) Illustrate that Hungarian Classes Are Frequently Taught by Rumanian-Trained Teachers with Poor Knowledge of Hungarian" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 44/1985 (June 18, 1985), "Discrimination against Hungarians Is Made an Integral Part of High School Final Examinations in Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare)" (1 page).

Section B

New Measures Instituted to Curtail Minority Cultural Institutions and Activities

The same policies of curtailment and elimination affecting Hungarian educational opportunities permeate minority cultural life as well. The most blatant recent example of this discriminatory process, and one representing a severe loss to the Hungarian minority, was the elimination of all Hungarian and German-language radio programs broadcast in Rumania (HPT Release No. 6/1985, dated February 2, 1985):

> "According to information received from Rumanian sources, the decision permanently abolishes 'foreign language' radio programming in Rumania. Even with a let-up in the prevailing economic and political crisis, it is not expected that the Hungarian and German sections of Radio Rumania will be reestablished."

According to a later report (HPT Release No. 17/1985, dated March 4, 1985), this measure resulted in the firing of 600 employees, with a majority of them still unemployed as of March. In contrast to claims by Rumanian officials, the elimination does indeed appear to be a permanent one (ibid.):

> "Witnesses now report that the radio studio equipment at the regional stations is being dismantled, while the programs' archive materials are being destroyed. Especially tragic is the loss of the tape archives at the radio station in Kolozsvár (Cluj). The collection had contained irreplaceable folklore recordings, interviews, oral histories and other materials documenting the culture and history of Transylvanian Hungarians."

The fate of the minority-language radio broadcasts is not surprising. Rumanian authorities have long employed the identical process to eliminate a wide variety of minority cultural institutions: First, the cultural institution is allowed to exist. Second, it experiences cutbacks, lay-offs and curtailment of its activities. Finally, the cultural institution is eliminated outright.

The blatant act of eliminating all minority-language broadcasts not only serves the purpose of depriving the Hungarian and German minorities of another cultural institution, but it also discriminates against the 600 people left unemployed. By this measure, the Rumanian government issued an unmistakable signal to the minorities of its intention to accelerate the process of eradicating their cultural institutions and manifestations.

The following are only some of the additional discriminatory measures evidencing this intention which were instituted last year:

- Forty Hungarian musicians were fired from the Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) Philharmonic (HPT Release No. 46/1984, dated September 5, 1984). In Spring 1984, the authorities had declared that widescale dismissals were necessary "for economic reasons." After the members of the ensemble voluntarily gave up half their salaries in order to keep the orchestra intact, and after this decision had been accepted by the authorities in Bucharest, forty of the musicians were nevertheless dismissed in June 1984. Curiously, despite the alleged "economic reasons" necessitating the cutback, the vacancies were then filled by ethnic Rumanians (ibid.).

- In Temesvár (Timisoara), the Hungarian dance center, the youth art group known as Studio-M, and the Thalia drama club were closed down (HPT Release No. 31/1985, dated April 7, 1985). Several cultural endeavors — most, though not all of them Hungarian — had been suspended during the Winter due to heating problems and energy restrictions. However, once the problems of Winter were overcome, the suspension was permanently applied to the above minority cultural institutions.

In similar fashion, "the Hungarian folkdance center in Kolozsvár (Cluj), which had been temporarily closed for renovation of the dance hall, is now permanently closed for lack of a dance hall" (ibid.).

- The performance of all Hungarian operettas and musicals has been banned throughout Rumania (HPT Release No. 2/1985, dated January 5, 1985). Furthermore, since January 1985, two classic Hungarian operas, "Bánk Bán" and "László Hunyadi," have been abolished from the repertory of the Hungarian Opera Company of Kolozsvár (Cluj):

> "These restrictions are being imposed at a time when — despite rising ticket prices and the lack of heating in the auditoriums — long lines of people regularly form in front of the box office at the Hungarian Opera Company in Kolozsvár, to purchase tickets.

> "Conversely, in Temesvár (Timisoara), during the final months of 1984, only those city residents could obtain gas, who, along with their gasoline coupons, also purchased tickets to the local Rumanian opera performance."

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The following two cases represent more than just the elimination of cultural institutions and the destruction of historical artifacts. The purpose underlying these measures is to distort and denigrate the past history of Hungarians in Transylvania, thereby attempting to weaken the minorities' sense of identity:

- HPT Release No. 67/1984, dated December 11, 1984, reported Rumanian government actions aimed at eliminating the folklore objects which had been collected in local museums and community folklore centers throughout Transylvania. The process here, culminating in destruction, consisted of virtually the same steps applied in the above cited cases: First, some fifteen years ago, the central government urged the creation of local museums and community folklore centers to collect folklore artifacts. With the help of voluntary donations, these institutions have indeed thrived. Then, in mid-November 1984, the directors of these Hungarian community folk museums were summoned to a meeting and ordered to declare the percentage of "fakeries" and of objects "bearing the onus of bourgeois taste" contained in their collections. Finally, they were told to deliver a number of objects equal to the "percentage of fakeries" they had declared, to the appropriate central museums, where they would be destroyed. According to HPT Release No. 67/1984:

> "The intent behind this measure is the gradual elimination of Hungarian heritage and folklore. The action is obviously part of a shrewd, comprehensive and well-planned process which started fifteen years ago with the very gathering of the cultural objects into centralized collections, allowing the authorities to control and ultimately destroy them in a relatively simple fashion."

- Equally insidious is the elimination of the stone sculpture collection dating from the Middle Ages and the Modern Era from the Kolozsvár (Cluj) Museum (HPT Release No. 32/1985, dated April 10, 1985). In the future, only pieces from the Ancient and Pre-Ancient periods will be allowed on display.

The purpose behind this measure is obvious: To eradicate the memory and artifacts of Transylvania's Hungarian history between the Middle Ages and modern times. Only selected Ancient and Pre-Ancient pieces are allowed on display to serve as "proof" of a theory of history — wholly unsubstantiated, but raised to the level of official ideology by the present Rumanian leadership — which holds that Rumanians are the direct descendants of the once great Roman Empire and are therefore, somehow, superior to the minorities.

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Another method of curtailing Hungarian cultural activity in Rumania is the harassment and intimidation of minority cultural leaders. This is a most effective measure, as, by virtue of their prominence, every act of banning a lecture, prohibiting the publication of a book, slandering and denigrating the characters of these cultural leaders, quickly comes to public attention. Thus, not only are the individuals involved personally harassed, but their fate serves as an example for the minority as a whole.

A recent example (others are described under section "C" below) is the dismissal in January 1985 of the popular Transylvanian-Hungarian writer, György Beke, from his job as editor at A Hét (The Week), the Hungarian-language weekly published in Bucharest. Due to immediate and vocal protests, this decision was temporarily suspended. Nevertheless, permission to publish his new book was withdrawn (HPT Release No. 7/1985, dated February 10, 1985). The decision to fire Beke was just one step in a series of attacks aimed at harassing, demoralizing and besmirching this writer. The stage had been set in 1984 with the appearance of a 36-page vicious pamphlet which vilifies Beke for one of his earlier books. Since all publications in Rumania are subject to strict control, the defamatory work against Beke was obviously inspired by the authorities, published with their approval and, presumably, their active assistance (ibid.):

> "The author, one "Gheorghe Rotarescu, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Reserves" recommends the imposition of summary proceedings against Beke. He demands that the secret police intervene not only against Beke and all those who consented to be interviewed by him, but also against those who were present at the interviews and failed to report the substance of their conversations. He feels it especially important to punish the directors and editorial staff of the minority-language publishing house, Kriterion, which had consented to publish a book of this kind."

Indeed, as shown in the above illustration, the persecution of cultural leaders serves as a convenient excuse to undermine the institutions which employ them. This is not the first time the Rumanian government has imposed measures to curb A Hét, a newspaper which has thus far survived the pressures against minority expression. It should be recalled that in 1983, two editors, Sándor Huszár and Andor Horváth, were fired from the same weekly on a trumped-up, flimsy excuse ("Statement by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania," August 8, 1984, p. 10; citing HPT Release No. 20/1983, dated November 21, 1983).

Likewise, the Hungarian-language periodical Korunk (Our Age) has recently been subjected to increased censorship and curtailment, as reported in HPT Release No. 34/1984, dated June 30, 1984:

- In 1983, after the death of Gyula Illyés, Hungary's greatest contemporary poet, Korunk was forbidden to print even a single word of remembrance or eulogy about him.

- "Similarly, a few weeks ago, the supposedly 'non-existent' Rumanian censorship authorities used black ink to eradicate the name of another Hungarian poet, the recently deceased László Nagy, from the 1983-84 yearbook of Korunk. The artistic supplement to the yearbook contains a photograph of Vid Tirnovan's wood carving memorializing László Nagy, but the title of the work is covered in black ink" (ibid.).

- According to HPT Release No. 34/1984, Korunk can be subscribed to from abroad and sometimes even purchased at newsstands in neighboring countries. Yet, "in Rumania itself, where the magazine is actually published, only a few copies ever reach the newsstands because the number of copies is limited to the number of subscribers it can document, placing an undue commercial burden on the editorial board to recruit new subscribers. At the same time, its high cultural standards and artificially limited range of subjects prevent the magazine from attracting a mass readership. Yet, Korunk needs to maintain a high cultural standard, since other Hungarian-language periodicals are allowed to appear only as bland, undifferentiated and inconsequential publications."

- Finally, domestic minority-language publications — and efforts to suppress them — acquire a greater significance when viewed in a broader context. "The role of Korunk in this regard is especially important, as publications from Hungary cannot be purchased in Rumania, Rumanian customs officials systematically confiscate Hungarian books and periodicals at border crossings, and it is incredibly difficult to subscribe to periodicals from Hungary" (ibid.).

Sources: Minority Cultural Institutions and Activities

HPT Release No. 34/1984 (June 30, 1984), "Increased Censorship and Curtailment of the Hungarian-Language Periodical Korunk (Our Age)" (4 pages).

HPT Release No. 46/1984 (September 5, 1984), "Forty Hungarian Musicians Fired from the Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) Philharmonic" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 61/1984 (November 22, 1984), "Editorial Offices of Transylvanian-Hungarian Periodical Weekly Új Élet (New Life) Are Target of Break-In, Assumed to Be the Work of State Security Agents" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 67/1984 (December 11, 1984), "Bucharest Authorities Order Destruction of 'Fakeries' and 'Objects Bearing the Onus of Bourgeois Taste' at Transylvanian-Hungarian Museums and Community Folklore Centers" (2 pages).

HPT Release No. 2/1985 (January 5, 1985), "Performance of All Hungarian Operettas and Musicals Banned throughout Rumania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 6/1985 (February 2, 1985), "All Minority-Language Radio Programming Eliminated in Rumania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 7/1985 (February 10, 1985), "Semi-Official Attack Against the Transylvanian-Hungarian Writer György Beke" (3 pages).

HPT Release No. 8/1985 (February 11, 1985), "Rumanian Security Apparatus Steps Up Aggression against Those Who Watch Television Broadcasts from Hungary" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 10/1985 (March 4, 1985), "Transylvanian-Hungarian Intellectuals György Beke and Géza Domokos Prohibited from Speaking at Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc)" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 17/1985 (March 4, 1985), "Six Hundred Employees Fired in Connection with Elimination of Hungarian and German Language Radio Broadcasts in Rumania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 31/1985 (April 7, 1985), "Several Hungarian Folkdance Centers Shut Down in Transylvania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 32/1985 (April 10, 1985), "Middle Ages and Modern Sections of Kolozsvár (Cluj) Museum's Stone Sculpture Collection to Be Eliminated" (1 page).

"Gheorghe Rotarescu, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Reserves," [Annotated Hungarian-language translation of untitled, polemical tract against the Transylvanian-Hungarian writer György Beke; original Rumanian-language booklet shows no publisher or place of publication; publication date: presumably sometime in 1984], (45 pages).

Section C

Heightened Physical Brutality and Persecution Employed against Minority Individuals

In 1984, the murder by Rumanian secret police of Hungarian Roman Catholic priest Father Géza Pálfi came to worldwide attention. The case was thoroughly documented by numerous sources, and its details were later confirmed by the recently resigned U. S. Ambassador to Rumania, David Funderburk (at, for example, a press conference held June 5, 1985 in Washington, D.C.). As we stated in testimony before this Subcommittee last year ("Statement by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania," August 8, 1984, p. 6; citing HPT Release No. 10/1984, dated March 21, 1984 and other sources):

> "The parish priest from Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc) was arrested on December 25, 1983 by the Securitate after delivering a Christmas Eve sermon mildly critical of the fact that in Rumania even Christmas is a compulsory workday. 'He was beaten and kicked for several hours as a consequence of which his liver burst, he suffered broken ribs, and his kidneys were damaged.' As a result of these injuries he was hospitalized until his death in February 1984, after which his death certificate, issued by the Securitate, named 'cancer of the liver' as the official cause of death."

When confronted with inquiries about a particular brutality, Rumanian authorities act quickly to suppress information within the country about the atrocity and to prevent news of the brutality from reaching the West. In the case of Father Géza Pálfi as well, false rumors were spread claiming that Father Pálfi had died of "natural causes." In fact, not only the HPT (in its Release No. 43/1984, dated August 21, 1984,) but numerous first-hand observers have confirmed the gruesome circumstances surrounding Father Pálfi's death, as reported above. Rumanian authorities, instead of punishing those responsible for this gross act, have gone about threatening close associates of Father Pálfi as well as Roman Catholic circles that it would be in their best interests "to refute the allegations concerning Pálfi's death" (ibid.).

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Wanton acts of violence by the secret police against Hungarian minority persons have not stopped with the murder of Father Pálfi. Swift and forceful actions are taken by the Securitate against all Hungarians who manifest any desire to nurture or express their ethnic identity. During the past year, the following was one of the reported fatalities:

- A 17 year-old youth from Kézdiszentlelki (Sinzeni) employed at the Kézdivásárhely (Tirgu Secuiesc) Electrical Plant was reportedly murdered for painting protest slogans against economic and national oppression on a wall of the Plant (HPT Release No. 63/1984, dated November 30, 1984). According to witnesses, agents of the secret police pursued and caught the boy, who, however, slipped off the roof of the assembly shop and injured his legs. The boy was then taken to the local Securitate headquarters and the following morning to the Kézdivásárhely hospital where he was pronounced dead on arrival by the hospital staff. The doctors on duty at the time verified that the boy had received severe blows to the head, stomach area and testicles, and had suffered concussions. Moreover, the doctors refused to comply with insistent demands by Securitate agents that the hospital records be falsified to show "death due to illness" and to write in the official death certificate that the boy had died not before but after arriving at the hospital (ibid.).

*

Apart from instances resulting in death (where international protest, no matter how vigorous, is of little help to the victim), our organization is most concerned over the continued imprisonment of three Transylvanian-Hungarians -- Ernő Borbély, László Buzás and Béla Páll — who have now been held for close to three years. Since Rumanian authorities have adamantly refused to respond to inquiries regarding these three individuals, their present fate is completely unknown. The testimony we gave before this Subcommittee last year ("Statement by the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania," August 8, 1984, pp. 7-8) continues to be the only information available about these cases:

- Ernő Borbély, a 32 year-old secondary school teacher was arrested on November 23, 1982 after extensive house searches at his home in Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc). According to unconfirmed reports, sometime in February or March 1983, he was sentenced by a secret court in Bucharest to 6 years imprisonment for "treason." All that can be determined about what may have precipitated this fate is that he was suspected of smuggling sample copies of certain inflammatory anti-Hungarian fliers out of the country which he believed had been prepared with the active participation of the Rumanian State Security apparatus. Borbély is reported to be held in an underground cell at the political prison in Jilava, outside of Bucharest.

- László Buzás, a draftsman from Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), was arrested on March 23, 1983 after a series of police interrogations commencing on November 22, 1982, the day before the arrest of Ernő Borbély. His case is believed to be connected with that of Borbély, as the two were friends. Buzás was also sentenced to 6 years imprisonment for "treason." During his interrogation, he was severely tortured, his fingernails having been ripped out. He is reportedly being held in the same prison as Borbély.

- Béla Páll, a teacher of mathematics at the high school in Ditró (Ditrau) was arrested on or about April 30, 1983, upon his return from a perfectly legal visit to Hungary. It is known that in November 1983 he was sentenced, but not on what charges. It is also known that he is being held in Bucharest, presumably in the psychiatric ward of a prison hospital. Since the 1950's, when Páll had written a memorandum criticizing the elimination of Hungarian educational opportunities, he has been continually harassed and committed to psychiatric institutions on several occasions.

It should be added, that as a token gesture, on September 7, 1984 the Rumanian authorities granted amnesty to, and released from prison, Transylvanian-Hungarian actor Árpád Visky (HPT Release No. 49/1984, dated September 13, 1984). Visky had been imprisoned on February 24, 1983, around the same time as Buzás, and also on political grounds. Well-informed sources in Rumania consider the release of Visky to be the result of international protests on his behalf. However, even this token of freedom was not without its conditions: HPT Release No. 53/1984, dated September 19, 1984 reported that Visky, widely regarded as one of the most talented actors in Transylvania, is now prohibited from performing on any stage, in any theater or at any cultural center in Rumania. The only position for which he can be hired is an unskilled blue collar job.

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During the past year there has been a marked increase in house searches, harassment, beatings and general intimidation of individuals who occupy any leadership position in the community life of the Hungarian minority. Religious leaders, writers, editors, artists, physicians and especially teachers are persecuted in order to rid the Hungarian minority of its intelligentsia and to set an example for the rest of the minority population. The slightest participation in cultural endeavors, or the refusal to support a particular curtailment of cultural rights is sufficient to incur the wrath of the Securitate, Rumania's notorious secret police.

Although undoubtedly only the tip of an iceberg, some of the documented cases are summarized below:

- The Securitate has again taken action against Géza Szőcs, the renowned Hungarian poet and one of the editors of the forcibly disbanded samizdat periodical Ellenpontok (Counterpoints). According to HPT Release No. 46/1985, dated June 30, 1985:

> "On June 29, 1985, Rumanian authorities searched the home of Géza Szőcs, one of the most outspoken and courageous advocates of Hungarian minority rights in Rumania, and confiscated all of his handwritten material. Immediately afterwards, he was taken to the Securitate headquarters on Traian Street in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and interrogated for fourteen hours without interruption.
>
> "This move by the Securitate is believed to be in direct response to the memorandum written in February 1985 by Szőcs and later signed by Károly Király and noted Rumanian poet Dorin Tudoran. The memorandum, entitled 'Proposal for the Creation of an International Agency to Protect the Rights of National Minorities,' is addressed to the UN and protests the mistreatment of the Hungarian minority in Rumania."

- In the meantime, the dissident poet Dorin Tudoran has disappeared altogether. According to Radio Free Europe Situation Report No. 10, dated June 26, 1985, on April 15, 1985 Tudoran went on a hunger strike in protest against the Rumanian authorities' denial of an exist visa for him and his family. Shortly thereafter, he was picked up by the Securitate, and he has not been seen since. Despite international protests, Rumanian authorities have refused to release any news concerning his whereabouts and state of health. The last report which was allowed to filter out quoted Tudoran as having said that he had suspended his fast on June 3rd due to illness linked to vitamin deficiency and that upon medical treatment he intends to resume his hunger strike in support of his demand to emigrate.

- János Csilik, 29, a Hungarian Roman Catholic priest in Nagyvárad (Oradea) was tortured by the Securitate during an interrogation at the beginning of May 1985 (HPT Release No. 41/1985, dated June 2, 1985). Both his hands were broken so severely that he is still undergoing medical treatment.

Between the months of March and May, Csilik had repeatedly been hauled away by the Securitate for questioning. During these interrogations, the Securitate, threatening physical abuse, attempted to coerce him into revealing information about his colleagues and parish, which Csilik refused to do (ibid.).

- József Gazda, a 48 year-old ethnographer on a study-tour of the Hungarian Csángós in Moldavia was taken into custody by the Securitate. He was then taken to a nearby town of Bákó (Bacau) where he was interrogated, cruelly assaulted and injured. He was then expelled from the district (HPT Release No. 50/1984, dated September 15, 1984). (It should be noted here that the Rumanian authorities exercise tight control over the Hungarian-populated regions of Moldavia, in order to keep the Csángós isolated from Hungarians in Transylvania and especially from those in Hungary. The Securitate clamps down immediately on anyone who attempts to come into contact with them.)

- Dr. György Sófalvi, a physician from Szatmár (Satu Mare) had his house searched for half a day in August 1984, during which time hundreds of his Hungarian-language books were confiscated (HPT Release No. 51/1984, dated September 15, 1984). Dr. Sófalvi had regularly participated in Hungarian cultural events in Transylvania, and especially in meetings of the Literary Roundtable in Nagyvárad (Oradea). The confiscated books dealt primarily with cultural history and included several collectors' items. Furthermore, his impressive photo collection, documenting the past and present-day existence of Hungarian culture in Transylvania, was also seized.

- Imre Baász, a well-known Transylvanian graphic artist from Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe), was subjected to a house search by the Securitate at the end of September 1984 (HPT Release No. 55/1984, dated October 2, 1984):

> "The police took all of the books not published in Rumania from his library, as well as most of his graphic works and sketches. The works of Imre Baász have been exhibited in other countries on numerous occasions. His best-known works in Transylvania are posters which portray living conditions in Rumania authentically and with great force of expression. According to confirmed reports, Baász continues to be called in from time to time, and is interrogated at length and threatened by the Securitate."

- According to HPT Release No. 28/1985, dated April 4, 1985, the Rumanian secret police has been engaged in exposing a non-existent "Hungarian Nationalist Conspiracy." In the attempt to find evidence to prop up its preconceived notion of the "plot," widescale interrogations took place during the end of 1984 in the following eight Transylvanian cities: Beszterce (Bistrita), Csikszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfintul Gheorghe), Temesvár (Timisoara), Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc) and Zilah (Zalau).

In the town of Dés (Dej), during the months of November and December 1984, the following acts of violence were perpetrated by the Securitate (ibid.):

> - "Ildikó Berecki, Jolán Kalapáti, Mihály Szabó and Sándor Tarai, all of them teachers, were interrogated by the Securitate and accused of fostering 'separatism' in their students. The educators' tendencies toward 'separatism' were allegedly evidenced by their participation in school and unofficial cultural and educational events."
>
> - "Books and records published in Hungary were confiscated from several of the students. Due to their religious and ethnic convictions, they were threatened with imprisonment, or in lesser cases 'banishment from all schools in the country.' The interrogation reached far into the night, and the police tried to obtain incriminating confessions using a variety of 'persuasive' techniques.
>
> - "László Lakatos, Imre Tóth, Irén Újfalvi and practically all members of the Szabó and Gallov families, among others from the culture club of Dés, were interrogated by the Securitate. During the course of the interrogation, their books, souvenirs and photos were confiscated, and their activity, for which they had an official permit, was declared illegal.

- "Calvinist Minister József Oláh was interrogated at length. He had previously been demoted and reassigned to Dés as assistant minister in punishment for his energetic service as a pastor in Moldavia.

- "András Lázár, an engineer, Tibor Takács, a physician and Ferenc Gallov were also interrogated."

- On All Saints' Day, wreaths are traditionally placed in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) at the site where Hungarian Székelys were executed in 1854 following a failed uprising against Habsburg rule. In recent years Rumanian officials have shown their displeasure at this commemoration as an act which furthers Transylvanian-Hungarian historical consciousness.

The signs of displeasure have grown more visible with interrogations and arrests following the wreath-placing ceremony at the Székely Martyrs' Memorial on November 1, 1984 (HPT Release No. 3/1985, dated January 6, 1985):

> "At least three persons were taken into local Securitate headquarters. In addition, a student was severely maltreated and a female student was threatened with expulsion from high school due to her impudence in daring to commemorate this event.
>
> "The ceremony this year also offered the Securitate an opportunity to repeatedly interrogate László Török, assistant editor-in-chief of the Hungarian-language weekly Uj Elet (New Life). The purpose was to force him to give incriminating testimony about the inner life and workings of the editorial office and staff.
>
> "It is believed that these incidents constituted, in effect, nothing more than attacks against András Sütö, the foremost Transylvanian-Hungarian writer and editor-in-chief of Uj Elet. According to highly reliable sources, the President's wife, Elena Ceausescu herself gave the order to besmirch Sütö, saying 'it is necessary to strip him of all possibilities for contact with Hungarian public opinion and to drag up more evidence to confirm his traitorous past.' "

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The past year has also seen an increase in the interrogation and attempted intimidation of Western visitors to Rumania. Visitors of Hungarian origin are especially vulnerable, as the following example illustrates:

- According to HPT Release No. 56/1984, dated November 5, 1984, on October 18, 1984 the well-known Hungarian minority advocate Károly Király met with Mr. Zsolt Szekeres, a Washington, D.C. resident of Hungarian origin, in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures). Following the meeting, Mr. Szekeres was detained by the Securitate on false charges of having caused a traffic accident. The next day he was threatened with physical abuse and retaliation against his relatives living in Rumania, and interrogated for 7-1/2 hours about his acquaintances and activities in the United States.

In addition, the Securitate violently retaliated against all those who had met with Mr. Szekeres. HPT Release No. 70/1984, dated December 30, 1984, reported the following incidents:

- Károly Péter, 53, was taken from his home on October 18, 1984 at 6:00 p.m. by the Securitate. He was released at 3:00 a.m., and taken in again at 8:00 a.m. the next day for interrogation until 2:00 p.m. Eight detectives took part in the the interrogation, led by a certain Colonel Bataga (ibid.):

> "During the course of the interrogation, Colonel Bataga knocked off Péter's glasses, then ground them to pieces under his foot. Next, two of his assistants, seizing the unfortunate man by the hair, dragged him around the room several times, all the while beating his head against the floor and walls.
>
> "The interrogation ended only because Péter lost consciousness . . . Péter suffered a broken leg and internal injuries to the head and stomach."

- András Sütő, Jr., a physician and son of the prominent writer, also underwent extensive interrogation during this time.

Károly Király, who protested these atrocities (in his "Report to Comrade Ioan Ungur, First Party Secretary, of Conversation with a Foreign Visitor" and "Additional Comments," dated October 18, 1984), also described the recent harassment and interrogation of the following individual Hungarians:

- "Sándor Zolcsák, an artist;
- "Imre Balázs, manager of the Maros Restaurant in Marosvasarhely;
- "Eugen Arus, secretary of the Party organization at the TESA Cannery in Marosvásárhely;

- "Alexandru Biró, an engineer;
- "Ernö Löködi, of Szováta (Sovata);
- "Zoltán Mátyás, department chief at the television station in Marosvásárhely;
- "Zoltán Zsuffa, a professor;
- "György Szabó, a professor;
- "Two Marosvásárhely youths under the age of 15, by the last name of Szabó, were terrorized for eight days by the Securitate and were given five-year sentences for hanging the tri-colored Hungarian flag on the County Party Committee Building; and
- "Dr. Csaba Hadnagy, 65, a physician, was denounced as a nationalist merely for reading periodicals from Hungary."

Sources: Physical Brutality and Persecution against Minority Individuals

HPT Release No. 35/1984 (June 12, 1984), "Two Minority Rights Activists, Loránd and Éva Kertész, Expelled from Rumania; Detained at Border, Searched, Interrogated; Envelope Containing Canadian Entry Visa Torn Open by Border Guards" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 43/1984 (August 21, 1984), "Rumanian Authorities Circulate False Rumors Regarding Father Géza Pálfi, the Hungarian Catholic Priest Who Died as a Result of Beating by the Secret Police" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 44/1984 (September 2, 1984), "Text of Open Letter of Protest by Rev. László Tökés, Hungarian Protestant Minister Fired from His Position in Dés (Dej)" (2 pages).

HPT Release No. 49/1984 (September 13, 1984), "Árpád Visky, Popular Transylvanian-Hungarian Actor, and Father Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa, Well-Known Rumanian Orthodox Dissident Priest, Released from Prison; Ernő Borbély, László Buzás, Radu Filipescu and Béla Páll Remain Political Prisoners" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 50/1984 (September 15, 1984), "Secret Police Assault and Injure József Gazda, a Hungarian Ethnographer on Study Tour of Hungarian Csángó Region in Moldavia" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 51/1984 (September 15, 1984), "Secret Police Raid the Home of Dr. György Sófalvi, Physician from Szatmár (Satu Mare), Confiscate Several Hundred Hungarian Books and Collection of Photographs on Transylvanian-Hungarian Culture" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 53/1984 (September 19, 1984), "Recently Released Actor Árpád Visky Banned from Appearing on Stage in Rumania and Constrained to Work at Unskilled, Blue Collar Job" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 55/1984 (October 2, 1984), "Rumanian Secret Police Interrogate and Harass Imre Baász, Well-Known Transylvanian-Hungarian Graphic Artist" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 63/1984 (November 30, 1984), "Seventeen Year-Old Worker at Kézdivásárhely (Tirgu Secuiesc) Power Plant Reportedly Beaten to Death by State Security Agents for Painting Protest Slogans" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 3/1985 (January 6, 1985), "Arrests and Interrogation Follow the Placing of Wreaths at the 'Memorial to Székely Hungarians' in Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures)" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 18/1985 (March 17, 1985), "Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) Security Chief Colonel Bataga Replaced by General Ioanna, a Notorious Anti-Hungarian Instigator" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 28/1985 (April 4, 1985), "Rumanian Secret Police Conduct Widescale Interrogations in Eight Transylvanian Cities to Expose Alleged 'Hungarian Nationalist Conspiracy' " (2 pages).

HPT Release No. 36/1985 (May 10, 1985), "Colonel Bataga, Perpetrator of Violence against Károly Péter, Confirmed in Post as Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures) State Security Chief" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 41/1985 (June 2, 1985), "A Roman Catholic Priest, Father János Csilik from Nagyvárad (Oradea), Is Tortured by Rumanian Secret Police" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 42/1985 (June 5, 1985), "Patterns of Political and Cultural Oppression in Rumania, 1984-1985" (4 pages).

Vladimir Socor, "Dissident Writer [Dorin Tudoran] Disappears," in *Radio Free Europe Situation Report No. 10* (June 26, 1985), pages 29-33.

HPT Release No. 46/1985 (June 30, 1985), "Rumanian Secret Police Interrogate the Poet Géza Szőcs" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 48/1985 (July 5, 1985), "Methods Employed by the Forces of Repression in Kolozsvár (Cluj): Ordinary Police Supplement the Role of Secret Police in Carrying Out Political Oppression" (2 pages).

plotting to blow up the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty headquarters in Munich. This blatant attempt, hatched under diplomatic cover, was specifically intended to destroy an important American installation. Is it truly the opinion of our State Department that Rumania should be rewarded for this outrageous act by renewal of its MFN status?

We urge instead that the United States Senate take seriously its "continued dedication to fundamental human rights" by suspending Rumania's most-favored-nation status.

Sources: Minority Churches and Religious Activity

HPT Release No. 32/1984 (June 21, 1984), "Local Police Close Down All Roads Leading into Csiksomlyó (Sumleu), Traditional Pilgrimage Site of Hungarian Catholics" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 40/1984 (July 30, 1984), "Ministers of Sectarian Congregations Forced to Complete Official Questionnaires" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 41/1984 (August 10, 1984), "Student Openings at the Kolozsvár (Cluj) Protestant Theological Seminary Drastically Reduced" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 42/1984 (August 10, 1984), "New Ordinance Severely Restricts the Right of Hungarian Reformed Church Ministers to Preach Outside Their Own Congregations" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 47/1984 (September 10, 1984), "Comprehensive Report on the Situation of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania: State Policy Imposed upon the Church; the Leadership Succession Problem; General Assembly of Kolozsvár (Cluj) Church District Placed under Heavy Pressure; Forced Dismissal of Assistant Bishop István Tőkés; Admission Quota Restrictions at Protestant Theological Seminary in Kolozsvár; Efforts to Eliminate Remote Congregations; Assault on Traditional Hungarian Protestant Institution, the Presbytery" (9 pages).

Conclusion

A multitude of additional documented examples could have been cited under each of the preceding three sections to illustrate the Rumanian government's anti-minority policies. And we have not even mentioned two major areas -- suppression of minority churches and religious activity, and restrictions on human contacts and the free flow of information -- in which Rumanian authorities further applied a wide variety of discriminatory practices. One illustration is Rumania's hideous act of manufacturing toilet paper from Hungarian-language Bibles, which was reported in major newspapers around the world (see Appendix, pp. A-13 to A-14). Further examples of measures instituted in these two omitted areas can be gained by perusing the list of available sources included below.

Clearly, any serious review of the documentation on minority oppression alone must lead to the inescapable conclusion that Rumania is not deserving of "most-favored" treatment by the United States.

Moreover, Rumania is simply not the pro-Washington, anti-Moscow friend of America that it, and some in the U.S. State Department would have us believe. One of the false assertions used by the State Department in "lobbying" for continuation of Rumania's MFN status is based on the allegedly pro-U.S. voting record of the Rumanian government in the United Nations General Assembly. In fact, Rumania's voting record is the worst among the Warsaw Pact countries from this point of view. According to the latest statistics (published in the Congressional Record, June 12, 1985, p. S7972), the Rumanian government had the lowest number of identical votes with the United States among all Warsaw Pact countries.

Another piece of vital information which has so far been successfully covered up from American public opinion and the U.S. Congress is the fact of Rumania's international terrorist plots, directed in some cases against the United States itself. Recently, as reported in major European newspapers (e.g., Die Welt (Munich), November 9, 1984), five Rumanian diplomats were expelled from West Germany for

HPT Release No. 1/1985 (January 3, 1985), Recent Measures Against the Hungarian Reformed Church: A Dozen Ministers Interrogated in Háromszék Region; House Searches in Nagyvárad (Oradea) and Dés (Dej) Church Districts; Maros (Mures) District Conference Declares Loyalty to Ceausescu and the Party; Efforts Continue To Further Centralize and Subjugate the Church; Bishop László Papp Employs Administrative and Disciplinary Measures to Harass Ministers Belonging under Him; Bucharest Authorities Deny Permission to Print Hungarian-Language Hymnals Despite Large Donation of Paper from Holland" (4 pages).

HPT Release No. 30/1985 (April 7, 1985), "Meetings Are Held to Order Educators to More Vigorously Denounce Churches and Religious Upbringing" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 38/1985 (May 30, 1985), "Rumanian Authorities Again Institute Efforts to Harass and Intimidate Participants in Pilgrimage to Csiksomlyó (Sumleu) for Traditional Transylvanian-Hungarian Observance of Pentecost" (1 page).

Sources: Human Contacts

HPT Release No. 56/1984 (November 5, 1984), "Transylvanian Hungarians Interrogated and Threatened Following Visit of Zsolt Szekeres, a UN Employee, to Rumania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 66/1984 (December 9, 1984), "Seventy Visitors from Hungary Ordered Off Train and Denied Entry into Rumania in Official Reprisal against TV Program Broadcast in Hungary" (2 pages).

HPT Release No. 69/1984 (December 18 1984), "Large Numbers of Hungarian Minority Intellectuals Escape to the West" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 72/1984 (December 30, 1984), "Secret Police Brutally Assault Károly Péter: New Details on Aftermath of UN Employee's Visit to Transylvania" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 4/1985 (January 8, 1985), "Rumanian Authorities Introduce Routine Body Searches at Arad Border Crossing Point" (1 page).

Zsolt Szekeres, "Report on My Detention and Interrogation in Rumania" (Washington, D.C.: February 12, 1985), (26 pages).

HPT Release No. 11/1985 (March 5, 1985), "Rumania's Ministry of the Interior Issues Directive Prohibiting Family Members from Traveling Abroad at the Same Time" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 13/1985 (March 12, 1985), "Rumanian Border Guards Institute Full Body Searches of Women, Intensify Confiscations of Printed Materials from Hungary" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 24/1985 (March 26, 1985), "U.S. Citizen, Tibor Cseh, Detained at Border Crossing, Physically Threatened and Interrogated for Ten Hours by Rumanian State Security Agents" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 25/1985 (March 30, 1985), "Rumanian Authorities Impose Total Ban on Movement in Several Moldavian Villages Inhabited by Hungarian Csángós" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 26/1985 (April 2, 1985), "Four Rumanian Villages Resettled into Southeastern Transylvania in New Attempt at Destroying the Ethnic Homogeneity of Hungarian-Inhabited Regions" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 27/1985 (April 2, 1985), "Rumania Rescinds Last Month's Restrictions on Joint Travel Abroad by Family Members" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 35/1985 (May 5, 1985), "Rumanian Authorities Continue to Selectively Apply Prohibition on Joint Travel Abroad by Family Members: Minorities Are Selected Victims" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 37/1985 (May 10, 1985), "New Reprisals Instituted to Enforce Ban on Private Lodging and Further Isolate Hungarian-Inhabited Regions from the Outside World" (1 page).

HPT Release No. 43/1985 (June 10, 1985), "Four Japanese Ethnographers Expelled from Rumania during Visit to Research Transylvanian-Hungarian Folklore" (1 page).

APPENDIX

News Articles Published in the West on Minority Oppression in Rumania, July 1984 to June 1985

1. "U.S. Voices Strong Concern over Death of Catholic Priest in Rumania," Reuters (Washington), (July 24, 1984). [The State Department issued a statement today, protesting the death of Father Géza Pálfi "at the hands of Rumanian authorities."]

2. "Rumania: Brutal Persecution" (Rumänien: Brutale Verfolgung), Christen in Not (Zurich), (August 1984). [Report on the persecution of Hungarians in Rumania not only on the basis of nationality, but religion as well. István Tőkés, István Juhász and Géza Pálfi cited as examples.]

3. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "Another World War is 'Unimaginable' for Hungary" (Für Ungarn ist ein neuer Weltkrieg "unvorstellbar"), Die Welt (Munich), August 25, 1984). [Reports the Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Lajos Faluvégi's speech in Budapest on the occassion of Rumania's national holiday. He emphasized that Rumania should allow its Hungarians to maintain contacts with Hungary.]

4. "Hungarians are Oppressed in Rumania" (Die Ungarn werden unterdrückt), Glaube in der zweiten Welt (Zurich), (September 9, 1984). [Report on Géza Pálfi, István Tőkes, István Juhász and László Tőkés; the Autumn 1984 Numerus Clausus which limited the number of Hungarian students at the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) to 5%; the interrogation and imprisonment of Béla Páll; the dismissal and persecution of Hungarian cultural leaders including János Demeter, János Gyöngyössi, Nándor Balogh and Géza Domokos.]

5. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "Hungary Opposes Rumania's Minority Policy" (Ungarn rügt Rumäniens Nationalitäten-Politik), Die Welt (Munich), (September 3, 1984). [Reports Ceausescu's speech on December 27, 1984 where he proclaimed that "the nationality problem has been solved in Rumania."]

6. "Rumanian Policies on Minorities Criticized," RFE Correspondent's Report (Strasbourg), (September 25, 1984). [Reports the Council of Europe's debate on the parliamentary report accusing the Rumanian government of flagrantly violating the rights and political freedoms of the country's ethnic minorities.]

7. Ronay, Gabriel. "Outspoken Hungarian Refuses Exit," The Times (London), (September 25, 1984). [Report on Gáspár Miklós Tamás, whose August 1984 letter seeking help from Western public opinion for Rumania's persecuted Hungarian minority was published by The Times. As a result, Mr. Tamás, a Transylvanian who was expelled and now lives in Hungary, was "offered" a one-way exit visa and a passport by the Hungarian Interior Ministry. Mr. Tamás has refused to go.]

8. "The Council of Europe and Eastern Europe: A Report on Minorities in Rumania" (Der Europarat und Osteuropa: Ein Bericht über die Minderheiten in Rumänien), Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich), (October 3, 1984). [On September 29 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed a resolution condemning the Rumanian government for violation of the human rights of the country's ethnic minorities and urging the government to restore freedom and respect for its ethnic population.]

9. Godwin, Peter. "Rumania Plans Drive against Its Hungarians," The Sunday Times (London), (September 30, 1984). [Reports the 5% quota for Hungarian students at the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj); the ruling that all history and geography teachers in Transylvania have to be Rumanian; the sacking of Hungarian theatre directors, harassment and arrests of Hungarian writers and intellectuals; proposed demolition of historic Hungarian buildings in Kolozsvár (Cluj); measures to break up compact Hungarian communities in Transylvania.]

10. "Hungary's Limited Opportunities: Limitations on Foreign Policy 'Self-Imposed' in Budapest" (Ungarns eingeengter Spielraum: Aussenpolitische Selbstbeschränkung in Budapest), Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich), (October 5, 1984). [Reports Hungary's strained relationship with Rumania, due to Rumania's unwillingness to discuss the situation of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. Although quiet diplomacy has not achieved results, Budapest is not taking more forceful measures.]

11. Novacovici, Doru. "Communist Arrogance" (Arrogance communiste), Villages (Val de Marne), (October 11, 1984). [Reports Ceausescu's unwillingness to discuss the plight of the German minority with Kohl.]

12. Washietl, Engelbert. "Eastern Europe's Boycott Policy Broken: Ceausescu Arrives in Bonn for a Short Visit" (Bruch der osteuropäischen Boykott-Politik: Ceausescu zu Kurzbesuch in Bonn), Die Presse (Vienna), (October 16, 1984). [Report on the tensions caused during Ceausescu's visit, due to his unwillingnes to discuss minorities in Rumania. Ceausescu's comment on the fact that more Germans want to leave Rumania was that "there is no reason for our citizens to leave the country just because they speak another language."]

13. Washietl, Engelbert. "Kohl Speaks Up for German-Rumanians" (Kohl-Appell für Rumänendeutsche), Die Presse (Vienna), (October 17, 1984) [Report on the discussions between Kohl and Ceausescu, including Kohl's desire to see not just emigration but more human rights for the Germans still remaining in Rumania.]

14. Santner, Inge. "How Ceausescu Allows the Hungarians in Rumania No Room to Breath" (Wie Ceausescu Seinen Ungarn die Luft Abschneidet), Weltwoche (Zurich), (October 19, 1984). [Report on the growing public outcry in Hungary over the fate of Hungarians in Rumania; Rumania's efforts to eradicate all traces of Hungarian history and culture in Transylvania; the decline of Hungarian students and classes; the prohibition on speaking Hungarian in public.]

15. "Rumania," Index on Censorship (London), (October 1984). [Report on the new Rumanian decree limiting the number of Hungarian students at the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) to 5%; history and geography teachers in all schools must be Rumanian; the sacking of several Hungarian theatre directors; and the murder of Géza Pálfi.]

16. Borowiec, Andrew. "Marxism Has Many Faces in Balkans," The Washington Times (November 12, 1984). [Reports the discrimination against the Hungarian minority in Rumania.]

17. Bassett, Richard. "Transylvania, Part 1: Rumania's Restless Minorities: Feelings Run High in Budapest and Bonn," The Times (London), (November 19, 1984). [Reports on discrimination against the Hungarian and German minorities in Transylvania.]

18. Bassett, Richard. "Transylvania, Part 2: Rumania's Minorities," The Times (London), (November 20, 1984). [Reports on discrimination against the Hungarian and German minorities in Transylvania.]

19. "No Emigration Permits for Ethnic Germans in Rumania?" (Ausreisesperre für Rumäniendeutsche?), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Frankfurt), (November 26, 1984). [Rumania's possible reason for denial of emigration permits may be retaliation for Bonn's expulsion of 5 Rumanian diplomats.]

20. "Unusually Strong Defense of Rights of Hungarian Minority," Associated Press (Budapest), (December 1, 1984). [Report on the Hungarian Communist Party's statements supporting the Hungarian minorities striving against assimilation.]

21. Buchan, David. "Taboo Surrounding Transylvania's Ethnic Minorities," The Financial Times (London), (December 4, 1984). [Report on the tensions between Bucharest, Budapest and Bonn due to discrimination against the Hungarian and German minorities in Rumania including Rumania's desire to rid itself of its Germans, the destruction of schools and cultural institutions for Hungarians, and the Hungarian government's threat against Gáspár Miklós Tamás to expell him if he continues to publicly raise the issue of Hungarians in Rumania.]

22. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "Power of Nations" (Kraft der Nationen), Die Welt (Munich), (December 12, 1984). [Report on the failings of the Leninist-Marxist doctrine in solving nationality problems, particularly that of the Hungarians in Rumania.]

23. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "Conflict Increases Between Bucharest and Budapest: Central to the Tensions is the Hungarian Minority in Rumania" (Streit zwischen Bukarest und Budapest zieht Kreise: Zankapfel ist die ungarische Minderheit in Rumänien), Die Welt (Munich), (December 11, 1984).

24. "Rumanian Hungarian Controversy over Vilmos Nagy" (Rumänisch-ungarische Kontroverse über Vilmos Nagy), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt), (December 11, 1984). [Reports the Rumanian journal *Romania Literara*'s attack on the Hungarian periodical *Kritika*.]

25. Fodor, George. "More Quarrels over Transylvania," *British Broadcasting Corporation* (London), (December 12, 1984). [Reports the conflict between the Hungarian periodical *Kritika* and the Rumanian journal *Romania Literara* on the topic of Hungarian General Vilmos Nagy's participation in World War II.]

26. "Argument over Nationalities" (Nationalitätenstreit), *Der Tagesspiegel* (West Berlin), (December 12, 1984). [Report on Rumania's attempt to forcibly assimilate its Hungarian minority, whose members do not wish to emigrate.]

27. Kaplan, Robert D. "Rumanian Gymnastics: Ceausescu Looks West but Acts East," *The New Republic* (Washington, D.C.), (December 17, 1984). ["Far from a bold maverick, Ceausescu — who reigns over a Marxist banana republic of his own making -- is a bird singing loudly in a cage."]

28. "Renewed Rumanian Criticism of Soviet Bloc Ally," *Associated Press* and *Deutsche Press Agentur* (Bucharest), (December 20, 1984). [Detailed reports on the Rumanian journal *Romania Literara*'s attack on the Hungarian periodical *Kritika*.]

29. Rosenthal, Bertrand von. "Impairment of Relations Between Budapest and Bucharest," *Agence France Presse* (Vienna), (December 21, 1984). [Report on the new tensions between Budapest and Bucharest due to the Rumanian journal *Romania Literara*'s attack on the Hungarian periodical *Kritika*, and the Hungarian government's statement in support of Hungarian minorities striving against assimilation.]

30. Colitt, Leslie. "Hungary, Rumania Row Over Magyar Minority," *The Financial Times* (London), (December 28, 1984). [Reports that the plight of Hungarian minorities will be discussed at the Hungarian Party Congress in March 1985.]

31. Meier, Viktor. "Budapest and Bucharest No Longer Hide the Tension over Rumania's Policy in Transylvania" (Budapest und Bukarest verbergen die Spannungen nicht mehr Streit um Rumäniens Siebenbürgen-Politik), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt), (December 29, 1984). [Report on the Hungarian government's unwillingness to accept the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, if only to assuage its public opinion. Arguments between the Hungarian periodical *Kritika* and the Rumanian journal *Romania Literara* over Vilmos Nagy, Petru Groza, István Bibó and Gyula Illyés.]

32. "Ceausescu Condemns 'Foreign Interference'," Reuters (Vienna), (December 29, 1984). [Reports Ceausescu's December 27, 1984 speech before the joint meeting of the Hungarian and German Nationality Workers' Councils, where he proclaimed that "the nationality question has been settled completely in this country and any attempts at discussion, at questioning it, can only misinform the respective people or nations, contributing to worsening relations between peoples and countries."]

33. Bassett, Richard. "Habsburgs High in Hungary," The Sunday Times (London), (December 30, 1984). [Reports the growing public concern in Hungary over the Hungarian minorities in Rumania and Czechoslovakia.]

34. Lynn, Jonathan. "Europe's Biggest Minority Problem in Transylvania," Reuters (Cluj), (December 30, 1984). [Reports the forms of discrimination against the Hungarian minority.]

35. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "New Arguments between Rumania and Hungary" (Erneut Streit Rumanien/Ungarn), Die Welt (Munich), (January 9, 1985). [In response to Ceausescu's speech which proclaimed that the nationality problem has been solved in Rumania, the Hungarian daily Magyar Nemzet wrote: "The forcible assimilation of national minorities in Central and Eastern Europe is improper because it is necessary in this part of the world that ethnic groups retain their cultural identity."]

36. Schleicher, Harry von. "Minority Problems: Thoughts of Revanchism between Eastern Block States" (Probleme mit Minderheiten: Revanchismusverdacht zwischen Staaten des Ostblocks), Frankfurter Rundschau (Frankfurt), (January 15, 1985). [Reports Ceausescu's speech at the Rumanian Party Congress where he declared that the minority problem has been solved in Rumania; arguments between the Hungarian periodical Kritika and the Rumanian journal Romania Literara.]

37. Rullmann, Hans-Peter. "Unified Organization: The Catholic Church/The Hungarians in Yugoslavia - Arguments between Hungarians and Rumanians - Nationalities at the Border" (Gemeinsame Organisation: Die katholische Kirche/Die Ungarn in Jugoslawien - Streit der Ungarn mit Rumänien - Nationalitäten an der Grenze), Deutsche Tagespost/Katolische Zeitung für Deutschland (Würzburg), (January 15, 1985).

38. "A Small Step for Bucharest" (Un Petite pas a Bucarest), L'actualité religieuse (Paris), (January, 15 1985). [Report on the Roman Catholic Church in Rumania, whose members are predominantly Hungarian and German and, as a result, suffer dual discrimination.]

39. Pollack, Maxine. "Eastern Europe's other Popieluszkos," The Wall Street Journal (January 16, 1985). [Reports the murder of the Hungarian Catholic priest Ion Ecsy in April 1982 by the Rumanian Secret Police. His funeral was held under very heavy security for fear protest would erupt among the mourners.]

40. "Strife between Hungary and Rumania" (Dissens Ungarn-Rumänien), Die Welt (Munich), (January 25, 1985). [Report on the deep conflicts between Hungary and Rumania over the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Rumania.]

41. "The Cauldron Bubbles Over," The Economist (London), (January 26, 1985). [Report on the growing tensions between Hungary and Rumania over the Hungarian minority in Rumania; the arguments between the Hungarian periodical Kritika and the Rumanian journal Romania Literara over Vilmos Nagy and István Bibó; Hungarian dissidents' accusation that the Hungarian government is not doing anything to prevent the "slow death" of the Hungarian minority in Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.]

42. "Before the Hungarian Party Congress: 'Supervised Self-Administration' in Hungary: Reduced Competence for Party and State" (Vor dem Parteikongress in Budapest: 'Überwachte Selbstverwaltung' in Ungarn: Kompetenzabbau für Partei und Regierung), Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich), (January 26, 1985). [Report on the plight of the Hungarian minorities in Rumania and Czechoslovakia and how, in the 1980's, they have received wider attention in Hungary.]

43. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "Resurgence of Nationality Problem" (Renaissance des Nationalen), Die Welt (Munich), (January 28, 1985). [Report on the strained relationship between Communist Hungary and Rumania now that Hungary's long silence is over and it speaks out against Bucharest's tendencies towards establishing a "Greater Rumania" by forcibly assimilating and isolating the 2 million Transylvanian Hungarians.]

44. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "When the Deportation Began" (Als die Verschleppung begann), Die Welt (Munich), (January 31, 1985). [Report on the deportations beginning in January 1945 of Transylvanian Saxons and Swabians from the Banat to the Soviet Union and Rumania's non-intervention at the time.]

45. Logeart, Agathe. "I Released Agent Pordea" (J'ai reactivé l'agent Pordea), Le Matin (Paris), (February 4, 1985). [Interview with Ion Pacepa, formerly deputy chief of Rumanian Intelligence, who defected in 1978. Various methods of subterfuge were employed to counter unfavorable publicity in the West regarding Rumania's treatment of national minorities. Rumanian agents regularly wrote articles published under pseudonyms in the West. Émigrés from Rumania were compromised -- sometimes violently -- to serve Rumanian government aims.]

46. "Rumania Closes Consulate in Debrecen" (Rumänien schliesst sein Konsulat in Debrecen), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Frankfurt), (February 6, 1985). [The reason given was "economic hardships," but it is feared that as a result Rumania might want Hungary to close its Consulate in Kolozsvár (Cluj).]

47. "A Comrade Colonel in Rumania: He Can Even Summon God's Mother from Heaven. The Potential Consequences of Meeting with a Foreigner in Rumania" (Da holt der Genosse Oberst die Muttergottes vom Himmel: Gespräch mit einem Fremden in Rumänien -- und was folgen kann), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Frankfurt), (February 9, 1985). [Lengthy report on Károly Király's memorandum protesting secret police brutalities following his meeting with a Western visitor. Describes secret police Colonel Bataga's torture of Károly Péter and names numerous other Hungarian minority intellectuals subjected to similar treatment.]

48. Loterswalde, E.B. von. "Minorities in Eastern Europe," Deutsche Presse Agentur (Hamburg), (February 21, 1985). [Reports on the discrimination against the Hungarian minority in Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Hungarians from Transylvania are not allowed contact with Hungary, nor do Hungarians in Rumania wish to emigrate.]

49. Ströhm, Carl Gustaf. "Hungarian Peculiarities," Die Welt (Munich), (February 23, 1985). [Reports the tensions between Hungary and Rumania over the large Hungarian minority in Transylvania.]

50. Quastel, Adam. "Inside Rumania: Smashing the Cultural Mosaic," The McGill Daily (Montreal), (February 25, 1985). [Extensive report, based on an interview with Loránd Kertész, Hungarian minority activist recently expelled from Rumania, on the forms of discrimination against the Hungarian minority in Rumania, including restrictions on travel to Hungary, the law against accommodating foreigners in homes and destruction of Hungarian education. Also detailed is the background and fate of Ellenpontok (Counterpoints) and its editors, and the persecution and expulsion of Attila and Loránd Kertész.]

51. Balogh, Elemér. "Ceausescu's 'Salami Tactics:' Criticism of Bucharest's Minority Policies" (Ceausescu's 'Salami-Tactik:' Ungarische Kritik an Bukarests Minderheitenpolitik), Die Fürche (Vienna), (March 6, 1985).

52. "Hungary and Rumania Argue over Hungarian Minority: The Nationality Question Influences the Hungarian Party Congress" (Ungarn und Rumänien im Streit um ihre Minderheiten: Nationalitätenfrage beeinflusst auch Perteitag in Budapest), Die Welt (Munich), (March 23, 1985). [The fate of the Hungarian minority in Rumania was discussed at the Hungarian Party Congress. Hungarian Party officials were particularly disturbed by Ceausescu's speech in which he expressed his desire to establish a "greater Rumania."]

53. "Conformity at Home," The Globe and Mail (Toronto), (April 17, 1985). [An editorial criticizing Ceausescu for, among others repressive acts, the efforts to forcibly assimilate the Hungarian minority.]

54. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Erik Von. "Gorbachev's Inheritance," National Review (Washington, D.C.), (April 19, 1985). ["The Rumanian case is an unusual one. The regime is essentially Stalinist, probably the most totalitarian in

the Soviet Bloc, but it does make efforts to steer an independent foreign policy. Hence Rumania sometimes gets an undeservedly good press in the West even though suppression of free thought is complete, and pressure on non-Rumanian nationalities is intense. For the Hungarian minority, life is hell."]

55. "Still the Balkans," *The Economist* (London), (April 20, 1985). [Reports the discrimination against the Hungarian minority in Transylvania and the tensions between Hungary and Rumania as a result.]

56. McKinsey, Kitty. "'Cultural Genocide' in the East Bloc: Nationalism Defeats 'Socialist Solidarity'," *The Citizen* (Ottawa), (April 26, 1985). [A report on the tensions between Hungary and Rumania due to the latter's oppression of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, including restrictions on travel to Hungary, international phone calls, contact with foreigners, teaching and publishing in the Hungarian language.]

57. "Minority Problems between Rumania and Hungary" (Minderheitenstreit Rumänien-Ungarn), *Die Presse* (Vienna), (April 26, 1985). [Reports the closing of the Rumanian consulate in Debrecen as well as the Hungarian consulate in Kolozsvár (Cluj). Now Hungarians will have to travel to Bucharest to obtain visas to Hungary.]

58. Lemoine, Mario. "1,000 Demonstrators of Hungarian Origin on the Hill" (1,000 manifestants d'origine hongroise sur la Colline), *Le Droit* (Ottawa), (May 11, 1985). [Report, quoting István Tőkés (representative of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation), on the forced assimilation of the Hungarian minorities in Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Measures include the closing down of all Hungarian language radio and television in Rumania on December 31, 1984, and the "closing of 1,000 Hungarian schools in Transylvania in the past 20 years."]

59. "Rumanians Accused," *The New York Times* (June 10, 1985).

60. Shea, Nina. "Press Rumania on Rights," *The New York Times* (Op-Ed), (June 12, 1985).

61. Keresztes, Peter K. "The Bible as Rumanian Toilet Paper," *The Wall Street Journal* (June 14, 1985).

62. "Foreign Exchange: From Sacred to Profane," *Time* (June 17, 1985).

63. Graham, Bradley. "The Voices That Refuse to Be Silenced, *The Washington Post* (June 18, 1985). [Reports that Rumania is the most oppressive regime in Eastern Europe and that Hungarian dissident activity has drawn attention to the discrimination against the Hungarian minorities in Rumania and Czechoslovakia.]

64. Broer, Wolfgang. "Hungarians in Rumania: Appeal for Help to the UN" (Ungarn in Rumänien: Hilferuf an die UNO!), *Kurier* (Vienna), (June 25, 1985). [Reports contents of memorandum by Géza Szöcs, Károly Király and Dorin Tudoran protesting mistreatment of Hungarian minority in Rumania and requesting creation of U N commission to monitor treatment of national minorities.]

THE SUNDAY TIMES

30 SEPTEMBER 1984

Romania plans drive against its Hungarians

by Peter Godwin

TENSION is mounting between Hungary and Romania over the treatment of about 2m ethnic Hungarians living in Romania's province of Transylvania. There are persistent reports alleging that this minority has been subjected to ill-treatment, arbitrary arrest and "cultural genocide".

Last month a top official in Hungary criticised President Nicolae Ceausescu's regime over events in Transylvania. Romania reacted by sending three members of its central committee to the Hungarian capital, Budapest, demanding an urgent meeting. Despite assertions to the contrary, the meeting was stormy, according to reliable sources.

The Hungarian government is under pressure from its own citizens, who want firmer action in support of their brethren across the border. Among Romanian moves they have criticised are:

- A 5% quota for Hungarian students at the university of Cluj (the capital of Transylvania).
- A ruling that all geography and history teachers in Transylvanian schools be Romanian.
- The sacking in May of Hungarian theatre directors for planning to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Karoly Kos, a Transylvanian cultural historian, in a play. The authorities banned the play as "fascist".
- The stepping-up of searches, arrests and general harassment of Hungarian writers and intellectuals.
- The proposed demolition of historic Hungarian buildings in Cluj to make way for high-rise blocks.
- Travel restrictions between Hungary and Romania.
- The concentration of industrial development in Romania proper. This forces Hungarians to leave Transylvania in search of jobs. At the same time vacancies in Transylvania are filled by ethnic Romanians, further diluting the Hungarian community there.

Hungarians also allege that tombstones and memorials to prominent Hungarians, especially in Cluj, have been interfered with.

Hungarian emigrés suggest that the Ceausescu regime aims to turn Romania into a nation state with no ethnic minorities, and they allege that the Transylvanian Hungarians now face cultural extinction.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
USSR
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA

The Transylvanian problem has dogged relations between Hungary and Romania since the war. The territory, which lies in the elbow of the Carpathian mountains, forms a strategically important corridor to the Russian steppes. For more than a thousand years it was part of Hungary before finally being ceded to Romania in the Paris Treaty of 1947.

In contrast to the treatment meted out to Transylvanian Hungarians, Hungary makes great play of the way it treats its 25,000-strong Romanian community. They are allowed their own schools, cultural societies, and even their own newspaper in Romanian – which is banned in Romania.

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RUMANIA

New measures aimed at the Rumanisation of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania were introduced by the authorities recently. They include the passing of a decree limiting the numbers of Hungarian-speaking students at the University of Cluj to five per cent. (At present, Hungarians make up almost 65 per cent of student numbers.) The government also insists that geography and history teachers in all schools in Transylvania be Rumanians. The laws follow the sacking of several Hungarian theatre directors in the province who were planning to celebrate the centenary of the Hungarian architect Karoly Kos in a new play, which the authorities banned as a fascist provocation. Searches of Hungarian writers' houses have been stepped up recently.

According to reports reaching the West recently, Roman Catholic priest **Geza Palfi** of Odorheiul Secuiesc protested (in his Christmas Day sermon) that the day had been declared an ordinary working day in Rumania. Two days later he was arrested, interrogated and beaten. He was later admitted to hospital, where he died at the end of February. The death certificate gave the cause of death as 'liver cancer', but this was apparently contradicted by the findings of the autopsy. It is believed that the real cause of death was liver damage caused by the beating.

The Citizen
Thursday,
April 25, 1985
Ottawa

'Cultural genocide' in the East Bloc:

Nationalism defeats 'Socialist solidarity

By Kitty McKinsey
Knight-Ridder

BUDAPEST, Hungary — Transylvania may be known in America as the home of the Dracula legend, but in Hungary it is regarded as the target of the most repressive policies of the Romanian government of Nicolae Ceausescu.

Romania's treatment of 1.7 million to two million ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania has sparked unusual public feuding between the two Communist countries and Warsaw Pact allies.

At issue are Romania's attempts to assimilate the Hungarians within its borders, using measures that one Western diplomat here termed "cultural genocide." Romania limits contacts between its ethnic Hungarians and Hungarian citizens and has banned teaching and publishing in the Hungarian language.

The debate escalated with repeated criticism of Romania at the four-day policy-setting congress of the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The criticism, sometimes cloaked in quotations from Lenin, took the form of statements of principles that would sound like bland platitudes in Western democracies. But in this part of the world, where ideological battles often are fought between the lines of history books, the attacks were harsh.

Nicolae Ceaucescu—harsh policies

The only countries that "can claim the rank of a civilized state" are those that respect minorities' rights, said Imre Pozsgay, a leading member of the Hungarian central committee.

A Western diplomat here said that was "clearly aimed at Romania, and Romania will certainly understand it."

Hungarian Communists have suffered from many illusions, said Ferenc Havasi, secretary of the party's central committee and widely thought to be Hungarian leader Janos Kadar's heir apparent. "We used to assume that with the advance of socialism, national frontiers and the issue of national minorities would lose their significance," he told the congress.

The implication was that though Romania is a socialist ally, the fate of ethnic Hungarians there remains a matter of concern for the Hungarian government.

Transylvania's Hungarians fell under Romanian control when the Austro-Hungarian empire was dismembered at the end of First World War I. Transylvania has been Romanian since, except for four years during Second World War.

Hungarians with relatives in Transylvania have said Romania is trying to destroy Hungarian culture by harassing Hungarians, limiting Hungarian attendance at universities and forcing prominent Hungarian professors and newspaper editors to retire.

Other restrictions on all Romanians are said to fall more harshly on ethnic Hungarians. Hungarians who travel in Romania said foreigners may not stay in the homes of Romanian citizens who are not blood relatives. Foreign travel, international telephone calls and personal contact with foreigners are limited severely for Romanian citizens.

"It's such an inventory of evil imagination that you have to admire them," said a Hungarian citizen in contact with Transylvanians. "What will they think of next?"

Romania does not admit to mistreating ethnic Hungarians and has said it will not bow to Hungarian government pressure.

The New York Times
MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1985

WASHINGTON TALK

Briefing

Rumanians Accused

An unusual accusation of sacrilege has been directed against the Government of Rumania by critics who charge that a gift shipment of Bibles was pulped. "This is a sign of the total contempt for religion that the regime practices," said Alexander Havadtoy, who identified himself as pastor of the Calvin United Church of Christ in Fairfield, Conn., adding that he was born in Rumania. He and other critics contend that Bucharest has demonstrated that it does not deserve the good trade status extended by the Administration.

Representative Mark D. Siljander, Republican of Michigan, and David Funderburk, who just resigned as Ambassador to Rumania, joined in the criticism, charging that human rights abuses abounded under the Communists. Mr. Havadtoy charged that thousands of Bibles printed in Hungarian and donated to Rumania's Hungarian Reformed Church were destroyed at a pulp factory in Braila, Rumania, and turned into toilet tissue. "They did such a bad job at this, as with everything else, that words from the Bible are still visible," he said, reporting these were fragments of Hungarian words for "God," "Esau," "Israel" and other Biblical references.

The Rumanian Embassy had no comment. Privately, one official rejected it, saying that "some letters were visible" on the paper proved nothing because various sorts of paper, including newspapers printed for Rumania's Hungarian minority, were pulped and reused. "Israel is a common word in the newspapers, too, you know," said this official, who would comment only unofficially and anonymously.

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
JUNE 17, 1985

American Notes

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

From Sacred to Profane

When Congress voted in 1975 to grant most-favored-nation trading status to Rumania in recognition of improvements in that nation's emigration policy, some conservative members supported the move because they had been impressed by an unusual concession from the Communist regime. Rumania had agreed to import and distribute 20,000 Bibles supplied by churchmen in the West to members of its Hungarian Reformed Church. However, outraged clergymen and conservatives displayed proof in the Rayburn House Office Building last week that the Bibles had not been put to their intended use. Close inspection of a roll of toilet paper manufactured in a Rumanian factory and smuggled out of the country revealed the Hungarian words for God, Jeremiah and other biblical names. Instead of distributing the holy books, said Calvinist Minister Alexander Havadtoy, Rumania's Communist rulers recycled them into pulp "to show their contempt."

Several human rights organizations and church groups said this was only the latest instance of the regime's repression. With Congress due to consider renewal of MFN trading relationships this summer, conservatives want to strip Rumania of its special status.

Displaying the paper

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1985

The Bible as Romanian Toilet Paper

By Peter K. Keresztes

"In all of the diabolical manifestations of Adolf Hitler's hatred for God and all religions—keeping in mind that he burned Torahs—I don't think even he conceived of anything so ugly."

So fumed California Rep. Bob Dornan at a GOP-organized press conference last week on rights abuses in Romania. He was describing samples of toilet paper with Biblical words such as "Esau," "Israel," "Jeremias," "Satan" and "Isten" (Hungarian for God) imbedded in the tissue. The sample panels are "incontrovertible evidence," Rep. Dornan said, that 20,000 Bibles donated in the 1970s by the World Reformed Alliance to the Transylvanian Magyar Reformed Church with the permission of Bucharest were diverted to a mill in Braila, as labels on the rolls indicate, for recycling into toilet paper. The high quality Western paper and ink, however, resisted the smashing, and the Biblical words are clearly legible in the creases.

In lobbying for renewal of their Most Favored Nation trading status with the U.S., the Romanians in the past often cited the agreement to distribute the Bibles as an example of their magnanimity.

This barbaric profanity is but one example cited of charges over the past 20 years from Romania (Bucharest has flatly denied them) over minority and religious rights violations. Laszlo Hamos, chairman of the New York based Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, which has monitored the situation there over the past nine years, says that "over the past two years physical brutalities, imprisonments, house searches and beatings against minority-rights advocates have markedly increased." Although the 2.5 million (officially 1.8 million) Hungarians—Europe's largest national minority—in that country of 23 million have been hit the hardest, Mr. Hamos says, ethnic Germans and Jews have also complained of abuses. Here are some examples:

- The death last year of the Rev. Geza Palfi, who during his 1983 Christmas homily bemoaned an edict by President Nicolae Ceausescu making Christmas a "day of labor."

The Roman Catholic priest was arrested the following day by Securitate agents, according to the underground Hungarian Press of Transylvania, and died three months later from internal injuries, at the age of 43. This sort of brutality parallels the Popieluszko case in Poland, but no one expects a trial in Romania.

- Six other known deaths in recent years of Roman Catholic, Pentacostal and Baptist clergymen that occurred during or following interrogation.
- The "correction" by authorities of a construction error of one meter on a church—by leveling it with a bulldozer.

So where are the indignant headlines and commentaries in the mainstream press? Nowhere. To the contrary, Flora Lewis, filing to the New York Times op-ed page last week from Bucharest, warned against the "verbal fist" that she saw in the call for a tougher U.S. stand by Ambassador David Funderburk as he resigned last month after 3½ frustrating years in Bucharest. "Life is very difficult" in Romania, Ms. Lewis counseled, and "Policy requires nuance."

Why doesn't the State Department act more resolutely? It quietly protested the death of Father Palfi, but, Mr. Hamos says, the U.S. delegation to the current Ottawa human rights conference in its statement, "Discrimination Against National Minorities," overlooked the plight of Europe's largest national minority. The Romanians, he adds, have been known to agree to bilateral talks at such conferences in exchange for suppression of criticism.

Mr. Funderburk's advocacy while ambassador of a harder U.S. line against Bucharest was easy for the State Department to ignore because of President Ceausescu's image as a "maverick" who dares to stand up to the Soviets and who therefore could be beneficial to U.S. interests.

But in fact, the price for Mr. Ceausescu's "independent line" is exacted from the hides of minorities and the devout in Romania, as part of a transparent deal with the Soviets whereby they tolerate Mr. Ceausescu's unorthodoxy as long as he keeps Romania from drifting in the direction of a Poland.

Last week's news conference, nevertheless, signaled a maturing U.S. attitude toward Romania. Michigan Rep. Mark Siljander has proposed legislation (HR 2596) to change the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1975 Trade Act. The change would link Most Favored Nation trading status to a country's progress in correcting ethnic, religious and cultural persecution, in addition to the current requirement relating purely to emigration. The new law would be a powerful economic weapon in its own right that could be leveled on dictatorships, left and right.

The Republican effort (Democrats are also launching one) seems, at least as far as Romania is concerned, to buck the position of the Reagan administration, which last week proposed extension of the country's MFN status another year. Curiously, Rep. Sam Gibbons (D., Fla.) has yet to schedule the usual annual hearing to review Romania's trade status.

While the ability to emigrate is a fundamental human right, the prerogative to stay put and still live in dignity is equally one. The Siljander measure would provide leverage should the U.S. decide to exert pressure against what has been aptly described as Romania's cultural genocide of minorities—the dispersal or exile of their intelligentsia, official curtailment of their educational, language and religious opportunities, and a campaign of intimidation against their cultural and religious leaders.

Romania has variously ignored, arbitrarily applied, and misused the emigration stipulations of Jackson-Vanik to embarrass the U.S. For example, even Ms. Lewis concedes that the recent dumping of a thousand or more would-be emigres in West Berlin constituted a "mini-Mariel."

If the U.S. is to formulate an honest and humane foreign policy toward Romania, it needs to peel away the myths enshrouding the Ceausescu phenomenon and recognize it for what it truly is.

Mr. Keresztes is on the staff of the Journal's editorial page.

STATEMENT OF DR. Z. MICHAEL SZAZ, SECRETARY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION, SPRINGFIELD, VA

Dr. SZAZ. Mr. Chairman, I am testifying both on behalf of the American Hungarian Federation, the American Hungarian Action Committee, the World Federation of Free Hungarian Jewry, and the Transylvanian World Federation, organizations who are all interested in the issues surrounding the MFN status of Romania. This is the first time I am testifying against the MFN status of Romania.

In past years' testimonies, I referred to the human rights abuses of the Ceausescu regime and asked for remedies, but did not oppose MFN status, hoping that it would provide leverage to achieve progress. Ten years of experience show that dialog does not produce results and convinces me that only a shock treatment, that is, the suspension of the MFN status of Romania, may produce some improvement on the part of the Romanian Government. When I talk about dialog, I talk about personal experience. I visited Romania in 1976, 1978, at the suggestion of the Romanian Government. I talked to most of them including the Deputy Foreign Minister Vasile Aliza, to the Hungarian and German minority leadership, and I tried to suggest means to improve the lot of the minorities by dialoging with them, all of which came to no avail. At this point, I tend to agree wholeheartedly with former Ambassador Funderburk. The issue is not just a minority issue. The issue is rather: Are there any national interests of the United States served by continuing the MFN status of Romania? The situation of the Hungarian minority is even worse than before. I think Mr. Hámos explained some of it. I could add a few things. Mr. Geza Szöts, the former editor of Ellenpontok, has been just in the last few weeks been interrogated by the secret police again. He remains under house arrest. The sentences against minority citizens on trumped-up charges are extremely severe and are commonplace. The dispersion of Hungarian professionals into other areas of the country continues. The churches have been discussed by Reverend Havadtoy. I met with two of the reformed bishops in 1976, 1977, and 1978. One, Mr. László Papp of Oradea (Nagyvárad), is practically a regent of the regime. The other gentleman is a very nice Christian, but completely intimidated.

And we do not believe that the independent foreign policy of Romania is really of substance. In some instances, they allow themselves some gestures to be made in order to get Western loans. And also, Ceausescu sought to be a go-between between the Soviet Union and the West, but nothing has changed. The transfer of technology continues. They provide arms and political support of all the Marxist regimes and the Third World. So, at this point, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully urge that the U.S. Senate, in its wisdom, suspend the MFN status of Romania for 1 year until some improvement of the human rights and emigration situations can be achieved. Thank you.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you all very much.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Szaz follows:]

TESTIMONY BY Z. MICHAEL SZAZ, PH.D., SECRETARY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION

Mr. Chairman, I am testifying both on behalf of the American Hungarian Federation and of the American Action Committee, the World Federation of Free Hungarian Jurists and the Transylvanian World Federation, all intimately interested in the MFN status of Romania.

This is the first time that I am testifying clearly against the continuation of the MFN status of Romania. In past testimonies, I referred to the human rights abuses of the Ceausescu regime and asked remedies, but did not oppose the MFN status hoping that it would provide a leverage to achieve progress. Ten years of experience that dialog does not produce results, convince me that only a shock treatment, i.e., the suspension of the MFN status of Romania may produce some improvement on the part of the Romanian government.

The reasons for our change of attitude are reflected in our conviction that progress is not being achieved, neither in the field of free emigration, human rights for churches and national minorities, nay, for any citizen of Romania. Also we feel that in view of the revelations of former Ambassador David Funderburk that no United States national interest is served by maintaining the MFN status.

On human rights, the litany of abuses continue unabatedly. In the past year, a Hungarian Catholic priest was beaten so badly that his liver was ruptured and he died just because objecting to working on Christmas Day, the main Christian holiday. According to most recent information. Geza Szöts, the editor of Ellenpontok remains under house arrest and is being interrogated by the secret police. Several ministers were forced out of their ministry and some are in prison. Hungarian school sections are continually shrinking, the dispersion of Hungarian professionals into purely Romanian areas continues. Unlawful arrests, beatings by police and unduly severe sentences by courts for the Hungarians in Romania are commonplace. The Hungarian churches and their leaders are brutally intimidated, if not led by agents, like Laszlo Papp of Oradea (Nagyvárad). Economic and housing discrimination is on the increase as the economy remains in a critical shape.

The Romanian Government does not conduct an independent foreign policy. The maverick U.N. votes and the maintenance of an Israeli embassy are condoned by the Soviet Union which exercises military transit rights, employs hundreds of advisors in Romanian plants exporting to the U.S.S.R. Romania also provides haven both to radical Arab terrorists and all Marxist-Leninist "liberation fronts."

Romania's MFN status unfavorably affects our trade balance. We are running a negative balance of more than $300 million in the last two years with Romania, with no change in sight because of Romanian austerity measures.

The final insult to the United States was provided by the Romanian Government in the field of emigration to the United States. While family reunification cases remain unsolved and measure in the hundreds, a large number of passports were issued to Romanians who have no relatives in the United States and cannot be admitted under our quota system for several years.

Mr. Chairman, under these circumstances, I strongly urge the suspension of the MFN status of the Socialist Republic of Romania for one year and a thorough review of the same after such period expires.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **DANFORTH**. I appreciate the testimony of all the witnesses. You have been very helpful to the committee.

Mr. **BIRNBAUM**. Mr. Chairman, before we finish a point must be raised. The question of unofficial ransom payments, which are now widespread throughout the whole of Romania, has not been discussed, and it is a critical question. These payments succeeded the education tax which we got suspended, and need to be dealt with. Also the question of the halving of the rate of Romanian Jewish emigration, was not given attention except in a very general way by Mr. Spitzer who was given plenty of opportunity to present a totally one-sided picture.

Senator **DANFORTH**. Mr. Birnbaum, I would very much appreciate if you could submit any comments that you have on those subjects in writing. The committee would be happy to review them.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Would it be possible for the chairman to convey some of these sentiments, the committee's concerns on these two matters to the Romanians, please?

Senator DANFORTH. I would be happy to look at any testimony you have. I have visited with the Romanian Ambassador. We are deeply concerned about human rights violations and about the emigration policy, and we will continue to monitor the situation very carefully. The issue, I think, before us now—the specific issue—has to do with renewal of most-favored-nation status. I guess the question there is: How do you do the most good? Would it accomplish any real results if MFN status were revoked? Does it provide any real leverage to maintain it? And I think that is what we will have to look at.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. I am discussing the utilization of that leverage—the inadequate utilization of that leverage. I understand the problems of revoking MFN, but we need to monitor the situation the year round, by having frequent meetings between representatives of the Trade Committee and the Helsinki Commission, with the Romanian officials. We would get a lot more results than from the kind of once-a-year situation represented by these hearings.

Senator DANFORTH. I appreciate your thoughts. We will consider that.

Mr. BIRNBAUM. Thank you.

Senator DANFORTH. Thank you very much. That concludes the hearing.

[Whereupon, at 4:56 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

[The prepared statements of Mr. Ralph R. Johnson, Mr. Roger D. Severance, Mr. Franklin J. Vargo, and Mr. Robert A. Cornell and other material submitted for the record follow:]

TESTIMONY BY RALPH R.JOHNSON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
OFFICE OF THE U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

July 23, 1985

Mr. Chairman--

It is a pleasure to testify before the Subcommittee on the topic of most favored nation (MFN) treatment for Hungary, Romania, and the People's Republic of China. The Office of the United States Trade Representative strongly supports the President's decision to exercise his waiver authority under Section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, thereby permitting a continuation of most favored nation treatment for these three countries. Maintenance of MFN status for Hungary, Romania, and the People's Republic of China will facilitate the further expansion of bilateral trade relationships with these nations.

Bilateral trade and cooperation between the United States and Hungary has increased significantly since the U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement was implemented in 1978. Total trade turnover has risen from $127 million in 1977 to $326 million in 1984, and a satisfactory balance of concessions has been sustained. Hungary has improved working conditions for U.S. businessmen, increased access to industrial officials, and greatly augmented the amount of economic and commercial information available to Western firms.

The extension of MFN encouraged the growth of U.S.-Hungarian trade. Hungary has become eligible for and utilized loans from the Export-Import Bank and credits from the Commodity Credit Corporation. Hungary has also obtained a World Bank loan package and negotiated a stand-by arrangement with the IMF.

An active participant in the MTN, Hungary reached agreement with the U.S. on reciprocal tariff reductions and cuts in certain nontariff barriers to trade. Since the conclusion of the MTN, Hungary has formally adhered to many of the multilateral codes on nontariff trade barriers and the international arrangements negotiated during the Tokyo Round. Hungary is a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Romania received most favored nation treatment in 1975. Since that time, trade relations between the United States and Romania have expanded substantially. Total bilateral trade has grown from about $450 million in 1976 to $1.2 billion in 1984. Romania has utilized Ex-Im Bank lending programs and Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits to purchase U.S. exports. Romania is also eligible for political risk insurance from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC).

The United States and Romania concluded a satisfactory bilateral agreement during the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. Since the conclusion of the MTN, Romania has formally adhered to most of the nontariff measure codes and international arrangements negotiated during the Tokyo Round.

The Office of the United States Trade Representative also lends its support to the extension of the waiver permitting most-favored-nation treatment for the People's Republic of China. Although it has been only half a decade since MFN status for China was granted under the terms of our bilateral trade agreement, there has been significant growth in our bilateral economic relations. Two-way trade between the United States and China in 1984 was nearly in balance and valued at approximately $6 billion, a substantial increase from the 1983 level of $4.4 billion. U.S. exports to China in 1984 increased by more than 30 percent from the 1983 level. The prospects for this year are positive. Two-way trade is projected to reach $7 billion in 1985. The United States and China have continued to work hard to create a favorable commercial environment in order to facilitate mutual economic cooperation and development. Progress has been achieved in resolving problems dealing with outstanding claims; China is eligible for Exim Bank programs, OPIC Insurance and Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits. A series of agreements and protocols governing a wide variety of issues from industrial and technological cooperation to consular services are successfully in place between our two governments.

While substantial progress has been achieved between our two governments in improving our economic, trade and investment relations, major challenges continue to face U.S. firms pursuing commercial opportunities in China. Many of the difficulties are not unlike those confronting U.S. business in other developing country markets. Fortunately, as a result of the expanding dialogue we have with China and the strengthening of our bilateral economic relations, we have been able to discuss these issues amicably in a variety of formal and informal settings, such as the U.S.- China Joint Economic Committee (JEC), which held its fifth session in Washington last month, and the May meeting of the Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT) in Beijing.

Since implementation of its open door policy, China has undertaken a series of measures designed to facilitate its development through an expansion of trade opportunities and to become more fully integrated into the international trading system. The major economic reforms have called for the increased use of market forces to regulate trade and a decentralization in decision-making. Greater autonomy is being provided to enterprises and to provincial governments. China is improving its legal framework for commercial relations and has promulgated a body of economic and commercial laws to attract foreign participation in its special economic zones and newly opened coastal cities.

China has made significant progress toward the protecting of intellectual property. In March of this year, China acceded to the Paris Convention for Intellectual Property; On April 1, 1985 it enacted a new patent law. China has improved its trademark law and is continuing to consider the issue of copyright. While there are certainly areas for additional progress, we take a positive view of China's efforts towards the protection for intellectual property, an area of increasing concern to the Administration and to the Congress.

The United States has been encouraged by the progress that China has made in its open door policy and the establishment of a commercial legal framework within which U.S. investors may operate.

We remain interested in concluding a comprehensive bilateral investment agreement between our two governments and have held additional consultations with the Chinese to achieve such an agreement. We will continue to explore the possibility of obtaining a meaningful investment agreement which is in our mutual interest. U.S. investment in China was valued at $700 million last year, the bulk of which was in offshore oil exploration.

As trade with China develops, the incidence of problems between us will inevitably increase. We will continue to push for resolution of these problems, whether the difficulties involve Chinese exports to the U.S. market or access to China's expanding market through the many formal and informal channels established and U.S. trade statutes in a manner conducive to the development of our bilateral relations.

As is the case with other trade partners as well, some problems remain unresolved in our trade relations with these three countries. We are continuing to work on those problems, just as we are continuing to develop beneficial trade and economic relationships with Hungary, Romania, and China.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize once again that most favored nation treatment is a key element of our trade relationship with each of these three nations. The decision to extend to extend MFN treatment, in each instance, was based on the determination that the extension would further the intent of Section 402. Furthermore, it will expand opportunities for U.S. exports. Failure to continue their MFN status would deliver a major setback to these policy objectives. For these reasons, the Office of the United States Trade Representative strongly supports the determinations made by the President in continuing the waivers applicable to Hungary, Romania, and the People's Republic of China.

STATEMENT OF ROGER D. SEVERANCE
ACTING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC
BEFORE
THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE
OF
SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

I am pleased to submit testimony to this Committee on the continuation of MFN status for China. My remarks today will focus on developments in our commercial relations during the past year.

U.S.-PRC TRADE

After a decline for two successive years, U.S.-China trade reached an all-time high last year. Two-way trade in 1984 totalled $6.4 billion, an increase of 37 percent over the previous year. This growth trend is continuing, and bilateral trade in the first five months of this year was up nearly 31 percent over the same period of 1984.

U.S. exports to China reached a peak of $3.7 billion in 1980, fell slightly to $3.6 billion in 1981, and declined more substantially in 1982 and 1983. In 1984, U.S. exports totalled $3 billion, a 37 percent increase over 1983.

Agricultural products as a percentage of U.S. exports to China have declined markedly over the past few years -- from 58 percent in 1979-80 to 20 percent in 1984. Last year U.S. agricultural exports to China amounted to only $615 million, compared to a peak of $2.2 billion in 1980. Declining agricultural exports were due in large part to the vastly improved performance of China's agricultural sector.

Overall growth in U.S. exports to China in 1984 was the result of a rapid expansion of U.S. nonagricultural sales. Export gains were spread throughout the machinery and equipment sectors and were also strong in agricultural chemicals, forestry products, and instrumentation. Heading the list of U.S. nonagricultural sales in 1984 were logs and lumber, fertilizers, locomotives and rolling stock, synthetic resins and rubber, scientific instruments, chemical elements and compounds, coal-cutting, mining and well-drilling machinery, commercial aircraft, and office machinery and computers (See Table 1).

While U.S. exports to China have experienced ups and downs in recent years, U.S. imports from China have grown continuously since 1972. After a modest increase in 1983, U.S. imports rose 36.5 percent last year to reach $3.38 billion. U.S. imports from China in 1984 were dominated by non-agricultural items such as clothing, petroleum and petroleum products, toys and sporting goods, minerals, floor coverings, luggage and handbags, and footwear (See Table 2).

STATUS OF COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

U.S.-China commercial relations have improved over the past year. Secretary Baldrige visited Beijing in May for the third session of the Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT). During his visit he underscored the friendship and cooperation which has supported the rapid growth of U.S.-China trade in the past few years. The Secretary met with Premier Zhao Ziyang, and the newly appointed Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade (MOFERT), Zheng Tuobin. Both sides expressed satisfaction that U.S.-China trade is at an all time high, and U.S. investment in China outpaces that of any other country.

As with any growing trade relationship, however, there will be problems. The U.S. and China are likely to continue to disagree about U.S. textile policy. In addition, technology transfer, market access, the Chinese legal system, the high cost of doing business in China, repatriation of profits, intellectual property protection, and the lack of adequate business facilities in China are all areas of concern which we have discussed with the Chinese. These discussions will be continued and we believe that these issues can be managed successfully.

Our trade relationship with the Chinese has benefited from our cooperation on work programs of the Industrial and Technological Cooperation Accord (ITCA), legal seminars, Trade and Development Program grants, and OPIC programs.

Secretary Baldrige signed a fourth work program on industrial renovation under the ITCA agreement which President Reagan and Premier Zhao signed in January 1984. The three previous work programs were in the areas of aerospace, electronics, and metallurgy. The new work program calls for U.S. consultants to assist in the evaluation of industrial renovation projects, with the goal of involving U.S. companies in the retooling of Chinese enterprises. Activities under this program will begin at the end of this year when a Chinese delegation will visit the U.S. to study successful renovation projects in this country.

Both the Trade Development Program (TDP) and Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) have been major forces in the developing commercial cooperation between the U.S. and China. TDP has concluded ten grant agreements with MOFERT, and several more are expected by the end of this year. The OPIC program with China will also be expanded. The Chinese proposed holding investment seminars in the U.S., thus reciprocating the seminar OPIC organized last year in China.

Joint legal seminars have built a greater understanding of the legal framework for U.S.-China trade. Last fall a delegation of Chinese trade law experts visited five U.S. cities to present a series of seminars on the development of Chinese commercial law. At the end of this year, a group of U.S. legal experts will visit China to discuss the investment and regulatory environment in the coastal economic zones.

Technology transfer issues were discussed at the recent JCCT. In the first four months of 1985, the Commerce Department approved 2696 license applications which was more than the total of approved cases in all of 1982. This increased caseload has necessitated a streamlining of the license review process both at Commerce and in the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM). While the U.S. technology transfer policy now supports greatly expanded technology exports to China, it was pointed out to the Chinese that future expansion will depend upon the success of their efforts to build an attractive commercial and investment environment. We also pointed out that a bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) would do much to encourage U.S. firms to invest in China. Progress has been made in our BIT negotiations, but we continue to have differences on several issues which are critical to potential U.S. investors.

The numerous government to government exchanges, the JCCT, the ITCA work programs, and the TDP and OPIC programs have all led to the creation of a stable trade relationship between our country and the PRC. While problems remain, a strong foundation of shared economic and political interests will continue to support an expansion of our trade and investment relations. Mr. Chairman, the continuation of MFN status remains an essential part of our economic and commercial relationship with China.

TABLE 1

LEADING U.S. EXPORTS TO CHINA, 1980 - 1984
(F.A.S. Millions of U.S. Dollars)

1984 Rank		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
1.	Wheat	1,039.3	1,269.0	1,046.7	377.7	575.3
2.	Logs and Lumber	41.4	89.2	212.1	227.9	271.8
3.	Fertilizers	152.6	131.0	147.0	167.7	267.3
4.	Locomotives & Rolling Stock	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	240.9
5.	Synthetic Resins	123.8	170.0	237.3	91.8	234.0
6.	Measuring & Controlling Instru.	40.9	51.8	64.1	139.5	176.1
7.	Construction & Mining Machinery	42.7	31.8	47.8	51.1	136.1
8.	Aircraft	155.1	7.8	19.0	234.8	113.8
9.	Chemical Elements & Compounds	91.4	66.1	49.7	54.9	118.4
10.	Synthetic Fibers	193.9	327.2	95.1	28.8	95.7
11.	Automatic Data Processing Machines and Parts	22.7	13.5	25.0	36.9	77.8

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 2

LEADING U.S. IMPORTS FROM CHINA, 1980 - 1984
(C.I.F. Millions of U.S. Dollars)

1984 Rank		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
1.	Clothing & Accessories	299.4	505.6	752.4	909.4	1,119.7
2.	Petroleum Products	131.1	319.5	431.4	383.5	406.5
3.	Textile Yarns & Fabrics	69.3	129.8	106.5	112.5	183.5
4.	Crude Petroleum	20.1	0.0	212.1	85.0	249.0
5.	Baby Carriages, Toys, Sport. Goods	2.8	6.7	20.6	22.0	130.1
6.	Luggage & Handbags	3.1	16.7	31.0	45.7	104.3
7.	Floor Covering & Tapestries	53.2	71.3	58.1	66.3	96.3
8.	Vegetable Roots & Tubers	23.0	38.7	48.0	43.6	61.7
9.	Crude Minerals	40.6	53.4	60.1	47.1	57.0
10.	Collector's Items Incl. Numismatic Coins	39.3	27.0	22.1	28.0	52.8
11.	Footwear	22.0	39.1	42.9	38.2	48.3

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census

STATEMENT OF FRANKLIN J. VARGO
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FOR EUROPE
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
JULY 23, 1985

Mr. Chairman,

The Department of Commerce strongly supports continuation of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) treatment for Romania and Hungary. It is the Department's view that continuation of MFN treatment both promotes the freedom of emigration objectives of Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, and supports U.S. commercial interests with respect to Romania and Hungary.

Along with our bilateral trade agreements, mutual extension of MFN tariff treatment provides the foundation for U.S. trade relations with Romania and Hungary. Thanks to MFN these relations have grown impressively during the past 10 years, bringing commercial benefits to both sides. In particular, the reciprocal granting of MFN by Hungary and Romania permits the many American firms active in these markets to enjoy the benefits of non-discriminatory trade. Our companies can compete in these markets on an equal footing with their international competitors.

Extension of MFN treatment symbolizes our commitment to maintaining normal trade relations with these countries. Failure to extend MFN would send a political signal that would impact negatively on the many American companies involved in business with Romanian and Hungarian partners. In addition, MFN extension has contributed to the important objective of integrating Romania and Hungary more fully into the international trading system, thereby encouraging observance of the rules and obligations not only of that system, but of United States trade regulations and policies, as well.

The extension of MFN has led to an active dialogue on trade issues with both countries. In instances where imports from these countries have been alleged as unfair, and questions of dumping or market disruption have been raised, Commerce has used informal consultations and bilateral agreements to enforce U.S. trade administration regulations. For example, restraint agreements recently were concluded with both countries on their exports of steel products to the United States.

It has been the experience of the Commerce Department that Romania and Hungary have heeded our trade laws and honored their trade agreements. We consider our trade relations with these countries to be of significant value and mutual benefit.

ROMANIA

U.S.-Romanian trade reached a new high in 1984--trade turnover was $1.2 billion, up from $738.4 million in 1983. Bilateral trade has grown over 350 percent since MFN was extended in 1975. In that year, trade turnover totalled $322 million.

U.S. exports grew about 25 percent from $186 million in 1983 to $246 million in 1984. We expect further growth this year given the Romanian preference for American goods, and given the serious need in Romania for service and spare parts for equipment bought from U.S. companies in the 1970s. During the Tenth Session of the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission in December 1984, the Romanian delegation gave us its assurances that Romania would increase its imports of American goods in 1985.

Romania usually buys from the countries to which it sells; the revenues Romania earns from its exports to the United States result in expanded U.S. exports to Romania. Also, Romania has used hard currency earnings to repay financial obligations to Western entities including the U.S. government, private banks and commercial suppliers.

Romania has been favoring imports from the United States. Romanian 1984 imports from the United States were up 10 percent over 1982, while Romania's imports from the rest of the industrialized world were down 22 percent during the same period. Consequently, the U.S. share of Romania's imports from the industrialized west rose from 13.7 percent in 1982 to 18.4 percent in 1984.

Romanian exports to the United States have grown steadily from $133 million in 1975, when MFN was first granted, to $974 million last year. 1984 was the third consecutive year in which the United States ran a sizeable deficit in its trade with Romania. Romania's surplus of over $700 million in 1984 was due to a variety of factors including Romania's emphasis on reducing its hard currency debt through severe import curtailment and increased exports, and attractive market opportunities, particularly for petroleum products.

Romanian sales in the United States are to a large extent in products which compete with those of other foreign producers, thus displacing imports from other countries rather than U.S. production. Romanian petroleum products have led the way. In 1984, exports of petroleum products accounted for over 50 percent of Romanian exports to the United States. Between 1982 and 1984, Romanian exports of petroleum products to the United States grew 124 percent.

Romanian exports of steel products to the United States have also contributed to our trade deficit. Steel imports grew about 70 percent between 1982 and 1984, totaling in 1984, 272,000 tons valued at $73.6 million. This component of Romanian exports will decline, however, over the next five years as a result of the voluntary restraint agreement (VRA) signed by Romania in May.

Romania's economic problems continue. The economy is suffering from the world energy situation, tight credit, slow world economic growth, and internal economic misallocations. Following debt reschedulings in 1982 and 1983 of approximately $2.2 billion, Romania met its 1984 obligations without rescheduling. This was accomplished by the accumulation of hard currency surpluses of over $1.6 billion in each of the last three years.

The Romanian economy is entering another critical period with close to $2 billion of repayments due in 1985 and again in 1986. Thus, we expect that Romania will continue its efforts to expand exports, control the growth of imports, and earn sizeable trade surpluses. This, along with its arrangements with financial institutions, should allow Romania to avoid rescheduling this year.

High level economic visits have continued between the two countries. Commerce Secretary Baldrige met with Romanian Foreign Trade Minister Vasile Pungan for the tenth session of the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission which was held in Washington, December 3-4, 1984.

HUNGARY

U.S. trade relations with Hungary have grown over the past year, as reflected by increased bilateral turnover, the level and number of official contacts, and the increasing frequency of business contacts. As provided by the U.S.-Hungarian Agreement on Trade Relations, mutual extension of MFN tariff treatment is an important factor supporting enhanced economic, commercial, and political relations with Hungary.

Bilateral trade turnover has continued the steady upward trend that has characterized U.S.-Hungarian trade since our Trade Agreement was signed and MFN treatment extended in 1978. Turnover reached a peak of $326.3 million in 1984, due to rapid growth in Hungarian exports to the United States, which increased 43 percent over the 1983 level.

U.S. exports to Hungary last year fell to $85 million from an all time high of $110 million in 1983, due to a decrease in U.S. sales of soybean products.

According to U.S. data, we had a deficit of $135 million with Hungary last year. Hungarian figures for 1984, which include U.S. agricultural products re-exported from West Europe, show that U.S. exports to Hungary totalled $201 million, more than twice the amount indicated by U.S. data.

Since MFN was extended in 1978, U.S. manufactured exports to Hungary have averaged only $50 million per year. The Department of Commerce is working to develop export opportunities for American firms in Hungary. Through our government-to-government Joint Economic and Commercial Committee (JECC), we have sought to develop and disseminate trade leads to U.S. companies. At the April 1985 JECC meeting in Budapest, we received a Hungarian Government commitment to provide advance information on World Bank-funded and other projects. Several American companies already are involved in World Bank projects in Hungary, and many others are discussing possible joint ventures and industrial cooperation proposals.

In addition to our annual JECC meetings, our official dialogue with the Hungarians has been enhanced through high-level commercial visits. One important visit over the past year was that of Ferenc Havasi, Second Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and a leading economic decision-maker, who was received by several major U.S. corporations doing business in Hungary. We will continue to promote such visits to support U.S. firms' marketing efforts in Hungary.

Statement of Robert A. Cornell
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Trade and
Investment Policy
Department of the Treasury

I am pleased to present the views of the Treasury Department in support of the President's recommendation to renew most favored nation (MFN) tariff treatment to Romania, Hungary and the People's Republic of China. While these three countries are very different, as are our relations with them, this Administration believes that continued xtension of MFN treatment will continue to promote the political objectives set forward in Section 402 of the Trade Act. Since my colleagues from the Department of State will comment on how these objectives have been met in the past, and particularly over the last year, I will focus my remarks on the development of our bilateral economic relations.

However, at the outset, I would like to re-emphasize the importance this Administration attaches to waiver of the restrictions contained in section 402 of the Trade Act for another year. We feel strongly that both our foreign policy objectives and economic interests will be furthered by it. The trade agreements that the United States currently has with these countries will stay in force. This, in turn, will permit them to continue to enjoy MFN tariff treatment and access to official U.S. export credits, those provided by the Export-Import Bank and Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC).

Continued access by these countries to MFN treatment and official financing will help to preserve the benefits both we and they derive from our bilateral trade. The ability to sell their goods in the U.S. market on the same basis as other countries enables them to earn foreign exchange; this, in turn, will enhance their ability to purchase American products. The availability of official export financing from Eximbank and CCC enhances the ability of U.S. exporters to penetrate their markets by giving these countries the wherewithal to purchase U.S. goods and services that they otherwise might not be able to afford.

I would now like to comment briefly on our economic relations with Romania, Hungary and China.

Romania

Although a member of the Eastern bloc, Romania has carved out for itself and managed to maintain a high degree of independence in its foreign affairs. Since the U.S.-Romanian Trade Agreement entered into force in 1975, we have encouraged bilateral trade and other forms of commercial activity between our two countries in order to support Romania in this effort. The extension of the Section 402 waiver will enable us to continue to pursue this approach.

Both countries have benefited from our generally satisfactory economic relations. Romania has been a good customer for U.S. agricultural goods and a supplier of petroleum and assorted manufactured products to us. After the conclusion of our trade agreement with Romania in 1975, total U.S.-Romanian trade expanded three-fold, reaching over $1 billion in 1981. It dropped to $594 million in 1982, recovered to $738 million in 1983, and jumped again in 1984 to a record $1.2 billion. These increases were due primarily to a rise in U.S. imports of Romanian goods -- from $371 million in 1982, to $553 million in 1983, and $974 million in 1984. By contrast, U.S. exports to Romania showed a steady decline from 1981 to 1983, from $504 million to $186 million but picked up somewhat, to $246 million last year.

The general decline in Romania's imports from us is part of a general decrease in Romania's imports from the non-Communist world as a whole. This is due primarily to the economic problems it has experienced in recent years and the measures the Government of Romania has taken to deal with them. The second oil shock of 1979 resulted in a rapid increase in the cost of Romania's energy imports. This came on top of a steady growth of its current account deficit from the mid-1970's due to rapid expansion of its domestic demand and neglect of its agricultural sector. To finance these deficits, the Romanians increased their external borrowing, relying heavily on short-term credits.

With its growing debt and continuing deficits, Romania encountered difficulty in meeting its hard-currency debt obligations. In late 1981, it began to take steps to solve its financial and economic difficulties. In mid-1982, the IMF Board approved a new standby program. The Government of Romania also subsequently arranged reschedulings of its debt obligations for 1982 and 1983 with its private and government creditors, respectively. Finally, it took action to correct its hard currency trade imbalance, mostly by suppressing domestic economic activity as well as taking direct action to cut imports. As a result, Romania has run substantial current account surpluses since 1982.

During 1984, Romania enjoyed a more favorable external financial situation because of a decrease in its debt service obligations and its continued austerity program. In January it terminated its standby arrangement with the IMF and did not have to reschedule its debts again. Nevertheless, the Government of Romania continued to keep a tight rein on the domestic economy, in the process continuing to minimize imports, including those from the United States.

At the beginning of this year, Romania experienced significant economic setbacks as a result of a severe winter. Extremely low temperatures and snow produced energy shortages and disruption of transportation facilities. These conditions, in turn, caused temporary plant closures or substantial cuts in production and a consequent squeeze on Romanian exports. Faced with a decline in foreign exchange revenue and an increase in its debt repayment obligations -- as the grace period from its 1982 rescheduling expires -- the Government of Romania may face renewed financial pressures.

Hungary

As I have noted in my testimony in recent years Hungary has a strong interest in becoming an active participant in the international economic system. Hungary is a member of The GATT and has become a signatory to many MTN codes. In May, 1982, Hungary joined te IMF. Prior to and in preparation for taking that step, the Hungarian Government unified its commercial and tourist exchange rates into one partially convertible rate. Hungary subsequently joined the World Bank in July, 1982 and in April of this year it became a member of the International Development Association and the International Finance Corporation. Hungary is planning on moving toward convertibility of its currency over the next few years.

This is part of a program of market-oriented reforms begun in 1968 which has been directed at decentralizing economic activity and increasing the role of market forces in determining prices. In fact, the Hungarians have gone further in implementing economic reform measures than have any of the other CEMA countries. Their efforts to give a major role to market prices, phase out inefficient enterprises, decentralize the decision-making process, increase competition, and, in certain instances, expand the role of the private sector have undoubtedly resulted in greater economic efficiency and a higher standard of living. They have also allowed much greater scope for individual initiative. Although the Hungarian economy is beset with many of the strains facing other Eastern European economies, the situation would be even more difficult, and possible solutions less promising, were the reforms not in place.

1984 represented the last year of stringent readjustment resulting from the large 1978 current account deficit and the 1981-1982 liquidity crisis. While the reform and structural readjustment process continued under the 1984 IMF stand-by program, attention shifted from holding down domestic consumption to realigning investment resources, increasing industrial efficiency, and readjusting the maturity structure of the existing debt burden to produce a repayment pattern more in line with the earnings potential of the projects financed through foreign borrowing. Hungary had a hard currency current account surplus of $330 million in 1984, an increase of about $33 million over the surplus recorded a year earlier. One result of these two consecutive surpluses was that Hungary did not seek another IMF stand-by program in 1985.

Despite this improvement in the hard currency account Hungary's external financial situation remains tight. Gross debt service obligations will exceed $2 billion annually for the remainder of this decade and annual borrowings in excess of $1 billion will be necessary to help meet these obligations. The Hungarians therefore believe they must concentrate on consolidating the external adjustments achieved so far and reduce the level of foreign debt.

The Hungarian's have made minimal use of U.S. export credit and guarantee programs in the past because of their decision to rely primarily on private markets for external financing. However, we believe that continued access to U.S. Government credit and guarantee programs is important to future U.S.-Hungarian trade, because such financing can help U.S. exporters to penetrate or increase their share of the Hungarian marKet. An extension of the existing waiver will permit the continued availability of these credits.

Since the conclusion of the U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement in 1978, overall bilateral trade has increased modestly, from $166 million in that year to $326 million in 1984. We expect U.S.-Hungarian trade to increase slowly but steadily in the future.

China

Our overall economic relations with China have expanded significantly since February 1980, when China first received most favored nation status. In the trade area, for example, two-way trade increased from $2.3 billion in 1979 to $6.4 billion in 1984. Until recently, the United States maintained a merchandise trade surplus with China, but ran small deficits in 1983 and 1984. Nevertheless, the United States is now China's third largest trade partner, and the outlook for bilateral trade is one of resumed growth, if at a slower pace than in the past.

While trade expansion has been an important and highly visible feature of our bilateral relations with China, other aspects of our economic relationship have flourished as well. Since 1980, the U.S. and Chinese governments have met five times under the aegis of the U.S.-China Joint Economic Committee (JEC) to review the development of our economic relations. The Committee's most recent meeting took place in Washington this past June. The U.S. delegation was led by Treasury Secretary Baker and the Chinese side by Finance Minister Wang Bingqian. In addition to a general review of our economic relationship and economic developments in our two countries, we had detailed discussions with the Chinese on their economic reforms and foreign investment policies, and the roles of monetary and fiscal policies in macroeconomic management. The next meeting of the JEC will be held in Beijing.

In the last few years we have signed numerous agreements with the Chinese to provide a framework within which economic ties can develop; these cover our bilateral textile trade, civil aviation operations, consular relations, Eximbank financing, and Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) programs. We are also in the process of negotiating a bilateral investment agreement. Eximbank has loaned or guaranteed private loans to the Bank of China totaling $126 million in support of $157 million of U.S. exports since it began operations there. To date, OPIC has provided political risk insurance to 16 companies covering about $171 million of long term investments in China. The number of U.S. banks with correspondent relations with the Bank of China or with representative offices in China has expanded.

Despite a decrease in foreign exchange reserves, primarily due to increased imports, China's external financial position remains healthy. Total trade for 1984 was $52 billion, and they registered a hard-currency trade surplus of $2 billion. China's foreign debt stands at about $6.5 billion and its debt service ratio at a modest 6 percent of exports. If the central government can continue to pursue prudent financial policies, as decentralization takes place we expect that they will be able to maintain a strong external financial position.

At the same time, China has undertaken an ambitious program of modernization and reform of its economy. An important aspect is greater reliance on market forces and use of indirect means, such as fiscal and monetary policies, to influence domestic economic activity. The net effect of these measures will be to make the Chinese economy function more efficiently and, hence, promote its development.

During his visit to China in April of 1984, President Reagan reemphasized the United States' commitment to developing our economic ties with China and to assisting the Chinese in their modernization effort, to our mutual benefit. In one of his statements, he said, "The United States and China have an historic opportunity. We can expand our economic and scientific cooperation, strengthen the ties between our peoples, and take a step toward peace and a better life . . ." He singled out trade as one of the areas where the prospects for progress appeared particularly promising. Extension of the waiver authority is necessary for us to be able to realize that promise.

Conclusion

I appreciate the opportunity to share the Treasury Department's views. I will limit my concluding remarks to repeating the Administration's belief that renewal of the waivers for Romania, Hungary, and China will promote the development of our economic ties with those countries to the benefit of all concerned and serve our political objectives as well.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
MFN STATUS FOR ROMANIA
JULY 23, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I APPRECIATE YOUR COURTESY IN PERMITTING ME TO OFFER THIS VERY BRIEF STATEMENT TODAY ON THE QUESTION OF MFN STATUS FOR ROMANIA.

AS THE MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE KNOW, IN MAY I VISITED ROMANIA, ALONG WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY. I WOULD ASK THE CHAIR'S PERMISSION TO INSERT IN THE RECORD OF THIS HEARING THAT PORTION OF MY TRIP REPORT COVERING MY STAY IN ROMANIA, FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS.

WHILE IN BUCHAREST, I MET WITH PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AND OTHER ROMANIAN OFFICIALS, WHO UNANIMOUSLY EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THE CONTINUATION OF ROMANIA'S MFN STATUS, WHICH HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT BOOST TO US-ROMANIAN TRADE.

IN RESPONSE, I MADE IT CLEAR THAT I, TOO, SUPPORTED A GROWING TRADE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND ROMANIA, INCLUDING EXTENDING MFN STATUS FOR ANOTHER YEAR, AS LONG AS IT REMAINED CONSISTENT WITH OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY AND OF MUTUAL ECONOMIC BENEFIT. I ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT OUR

TRADE POLICY WAS NOT ESTABLISHED IN A VACCUUM -- THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER THE FULL RANGE OF OUR RELATIONS IN SETTING TRADE POLICY, INCLUDING MFN POLICY.

ONE ISSUE I SPECIFICALLY RAISED WITH CEAUSESCU WAS OUR GREAT CONCERN ABOUT ROMANIAN EMIGRATION POLICY. I PARTICULARLY ASKED ABOUT TWO CASES, THAT OF A ROMANIAN ORTHODOX PRIEST, FATHER GEORGHE CALCIU, AND THE OTHER OF A POET AND WRITER, DORIN TUDORAN. ACCORDING TO WESTERN OBSERVERS, BOTH MEN HAVE SUFFERED MUCH FOR THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS AND BOTH HAVE WANTED TO EMIGRATE FOR A LONG TIME. CEAUSESCU PROMISED TO LOOK INTO BOTH CASES.

BECAUSE I KNOW OTHER SENATORS ARE INTERESTED IN THOSE CASES, AND BECAUSE -- AS I NOTED ABOVE -- THESE KINDS OF ISSUES ARE RELEVANT TO OUR MFN POLICY DECISIONS, I WANTED TO LET THE SUBCOMMITTEE KNOW THAT, AS OF YESTERDAY, I HAVE BEEN ADVISED BY THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT THAT IT HAS DECIDED TO PERMIT THE EMIGRATION OF BOTH FATHER CALCIU AND TUDORAN. I HAVE BEEN ASSURED BY THE ROMANIANS THAT BOTH MEN WILL BE PERMITTED TO DEPART BUCHAREST SOON, AFTER THE COMPLETION OF SOME FORMALITIES, INCLUDING OBTAINING THEIR AMERICAN VISAS.

RESOLVING THESE CASES, OF COURSE, DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE ENTIRE EMIGRATION ISSUE IS RESOLVED. BUT, IF THESE MEN IF

FACT ARE PERMITTED TO EMIGRATE, IT WILL REPRESENT SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT ON THIS ISSUE, WHICH IS SO IMPORTANT TO US AND TO THOSE INTERESTED IN HUMAN RIGHTS EVERYWHERE.

FOR THAT REASON, I WANTED TO LET THE SUBCOMMITTEE KNOW OF THIS ACTION BY BUCHAREST, SO THAT IT COULD BE PROPERLY FACTORED INTO THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S DELIBERATIONS AND DECISION ON THE MFN QUESTION.

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
TRIP TO ROMANIA, MAY 1985
HEARINGS OF TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MFN STATUS FOR ROMANIA

MAJOR IMPRESSIONS OF VISIT

FROM MAY 26-31, I VISITED THREE COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE: HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ROMANIA. I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH THE SENATE THE MAIN IMPRESSIONS I HAVE OF THESE COUNTRIES AND OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM.

FIRST, WHILE WE HAVE FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT VIEWS OF MANY MAJOR ISSUES AND THERE ARE CLEARLY DEFINED LIMITS TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THOSE COUNTRIES, THEY ARE NONETHELESS IMPORTANT TO US, BOTH IN THEIR OWN RIGHT AND IN THE CONTEXT OF BROADER EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IF WE ARE TO DEAL WITH THEM EFFECTIVELY, WE MUST UNDERSTAND THEM BETTER, A PROCESS WHICH IS FACILITATED BY THE KIND OF TRIP WHICH I UNDERTOOK.

SECOND, THE LARGE EMIGRATION WHICH WE HAVE EXPERIENCED FROM THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE THREE WHICH I VISITED, ADDS SPECIAL URGENCY TO OUR RELATIONS. WE CONTINUE TO HAVE EMIGRATION, FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND FREEDOM OF TRAVEL PROBLEMS WHICH ARE OF DEEP INTEREST AND

IMPORTANCE TO MILLIONS OF OUR OWN CITIZENS. THESE ARE PROBLEMS WHICH MUST REMAIN HIGH ON OUR NATIONAL AGENDA.

FINALLY, WHEN YOU TRAVEL IN EASTERN EUROPE, YOU CANNOT HELP BUT BE STRUCK BY THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE COUNTRIES THERE. ALL TOO OFTEN WE TEND TO VIEW THEM AS A KIND OF MONOLITH, WITH LITTLE INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY AND FEW SEPARATE CHARACTERISTICS. IN FACT, EACH COUNTRY IS UNIQUE, IN ITS HISTORY, ITS CULTURE AND, TO SOME IMPORTANT DEGREE, AT LEAST, IN ITS POLCIIES, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL. WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT ALL OF THESE COUNTRIES, EXCEPTING ALBANIA, ARE CLOSELY ALLIED WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND TAKE MANY OF THEIR DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY CUES FROM MOSCOW. BUT, IF WE ARE TO MAXIMIZE THE CHANCE THAT WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS WITH THEM ON THE ISSUES ON OUR OWN AGENDA, THEN WE MUST KEEP THEIR DIFFERENCES IN MIND, AS WELL, AND FINE-TUNE OUR DIPLOMACY ACCORDINGLY.

ROMANIA

MY LAST STOP WAS IN ROMANIA, WHERE I MET WITH PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT NICOLAE GIOSAN AND

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MARIA GROZA. WITH THEM, I HAD WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS OF THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA, SUCH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AS ARMS CONTROL AND THE STATE OF AMERICAN-ROMANIAN RELATIONS. ALL THREE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT OUR RELATIONS WERE GENERALLY QUITE GOOD BUT COULD BE EVEN BETTER. I ESPECIALLY URGED POSITIVE ACTION ON SEVERAL EMIGRATION/HUMAN RIGHTS CASES, WHICH ARE OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO ME AND TO OTHER SENATORS.

THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF MY MEETING WITH CEAUSESCU REFLECTS THE RANGE AND TONE OF MY DISCUSSIONS IN BUCHAREST.

MEETING WITH CEAUSESCU: CEAUSESCU SAID ROMANIA WISHED TO RETAIN THE CORDIAL TIES IT HAS ENJOYED WITH THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. SAYING THAT HE REGARDED RELATIONS AS "GOOD," HE LISTED A NUMBER OF THINGS WHICH COULD BE DONE TO MAKE THEM EVEN BETTER. MOST IMPORTANT, HE SAID, WAS EXPANDED TRADE -- HIS OWN TARGET WAS TO REACH A LEVEL OF TWO BILLION DOLLARS IN TRADE WITHIN TWO OR THREE YEARS. IN PARTICULAR, HE URGED THAT THE UNITED STATES CONSIDER MULTI-YEAR MFN FOR ROMANIA AND A LESSENING OF WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS OUR "RESTRICTIONS ON FREE TRADE," ESPECIALLY QUOTAS ON ROMANIAN IMPORTS AND RESTRICTIONS ON TECHNOLOGY EXPORTS.

I AGREED THAT GREATER TRADE, CONSISTENT WITH OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF OUR COUNTRY. I OUTLINED FOR CEAUSESCU THE STEPS WE ARE TAKING TO REDUCE OUR FEDERAL DEFICITS, WHICH SHOULD ULTIMATELY SERVE AS AN IMPORTANT STIMULUS TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH, BENEFITTING NATIONS SUCH AS ROMANIA.

IN THE NON-ECONOMIC SPHERE, I STRESSED THAT THAT ONE IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD BETTER RELATIONS WOULD BE FOR BUCHAREST TO RESPOND POSITIVELY ON A NUMBER OF EMIGRATION CASES WHICH ARE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO ME AND TO OTHER AMERICANS. IN PARTICULAR, I MENTIONED THE CASES OF FATHER GHEORGHE CALCIU, WHO HAS BEEN JAILED IN THE PAST AND IS STILL DENIED PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE TO THE UNITED STATES, AND DORIN TUDORAN, A PROMINENT WRITER NOW ON A HUNGER STRIKE BECAUSE HE AND HIS FAMILY ARE NOT BEING ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE. WHILE NO PROMISES WERE MADE, I AM HOPEFUL THAT WE WILL SEE FORWARD MOVEMENT ON THESE AND OTHER CASES IN THE FORSEEABLE FUTURE.

FOR THE ROMANIAN SIDE, CEAUSESCU EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT WE WOULD MORE RAPIDLY ISSUE IMMIGRANT VISAS TO "THOUSANDS" OF ROMANIANS WHO WANT TO MOVE TO THE US AND WHO HAVE ALREADY BEEN GRANTED EXIT PERMITS BY THE CZECH GOVERNMENT.

CEAUSESCU ALSO EXPRESSED HIS DEEP INTEREST, AND ROMANIA'S, IN THE GENEVA ARMS CONTROL TALKS. I OUTLINED FOR HIM THE ROLE AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SENATE'S ARMS CONTROL OBSERVER GROUP, INCLUDING THE GROUP'S TRAVEL TO GENEVA FOR THE OPENING OF THE TALKS, IN WHICH I AND THE DISTINGUISHED MINORITY LEADER TOOK PART.

CONCLUSION

MR. PRESIDENT, IN CONCLUSION, LET ME STRESS THAT MY VISIT -- AND THE VISITS OF OTHER SENATORS, EARLIER OR LATER -- SHOULD IN NO WAY BE TAKEN AS ANY SIGN OF APPROVAL OF ALL OR ANY PARTICULAR POLICIES OF THESE GOVERNMENTS. WE HAVE PROFOUND DIFFERENCES WITH THEM ON A HOST OF IMPORTANT ISSUES, MANY OF WHICH I WAS ABLE TO RAISE DURING MY VISIT. THOSE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT GOING TO GO AWAY. AS I SAID AT THE OUTSET, THERE ARE DISTINCT LIMITATIONS ON THE QUALITY

AND BREADTH OF RELATIONS WHICH WE WILL EVER BE ABLE TO HAVE WITH THESE AUTHORITARIAN STATES.

BUT JUST BECAUSE OF SUCH DIFFERENCES IN PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE KEEP DOORS OF COMMUNICATION OPEN AND TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS THESE GOVERNMENTS ON THE ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US.

THOSE OF US WHO HAVE SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR SHAPING OUR FOREIGN POLICIES HAVE A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO BE INFORMED ABOUT THESE COUNTRIES, TO WHICH SO MANY OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS HAVE IMPORTANT TIES. WE HAVE A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO KEEP PUSHING ON ISSUES LIKE HUMAN RIGHTS, EMIGRATION, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, FREEDOM OF TRAVEL AND TRADE.

THE LEADERS OF EASTERN EUROPE WITH WHOM I SPOKE ALL EXPRESSED THE WISH THAT MORE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE VISIT THEIR COUNTRIES. I THINK IT IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST, AND IN THE INTEREST OF OUR COUNTRY, THAT WE DO SO.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR MALCOLM WALLOP
SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE HEARING
ON
MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS
FOR HUNGARY, ROMANIA, CHINA AND AFGHANSITAN
JULY 23, 1985

The Finance Committee is now having its annual hearing to consider most-favored-status (MFN) for Hungry, China, Romania, and Afghanistan. The provisions of the Trade Act of 1974 specifically prohibits the granting of this positive trade benefit to nonmarket economy countries who deny their citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate. Presidential waivers have given MFN status to these countries. This hearing, however, comes just weeks after the Senate voted to take an active role in imposing sanctions to change the behavior of South Africa. In this environment, this committee should examine carefully all trade benefits to countries who have records worse than South Africa in the areas of human and political rights.

Afghanistan clearly deserves no special benfits from this country. I am most pleased to be a cosponsor of the bill introduced by Senator Humphrey to deny most-favored-nation status from Afghanistan. Any government that is cooperating with the Soviet Union to systematically decimate its countryside should not have any trade benefits. That country is occupied by nearly 100,000 Soviet troops. The Soviets, knowing Mao Tse-tung's axiom that guerrillas are the fish that swim in the sea of the rural population, are now trying to drain the sea.

Large-scale carpet bombing have turned the Panjsher Valley into a virtual desert. It has become standard Soviet practice to bombard or even level whole villages suspected of harboring resistance fighters. What is surprising to me is that the Congress and the Administration have not moved faster to deny MFN to Afghanistan.

The case of Romania presents a more difficult problem for this Committee. While the leverage of MFN has brought a more liberal emigration policy, serious problems remain. The Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights reports:

> "Departures (by emigrants) are strongly discouraged by complicate, slow-moving procedures and coercive tactics. Potential emigrants often wait several years after applying before receiving exit permits. During this period, dismissals from job or school, eviction from housing, denial of access to medical treatment, and other sanctions are common."

While the exercise of religious freedom has constitutional guarantees in Romania, it is greatly limited. the government closely monitors all religious groups, licensing clergymen, paying their salaries, and overseeing retirement benefits. It must approve all requests for new church construction, new clergymen, religious publications, and foreign travel by church representatives. The government greatly restricts the availability of bibles and other religious texts.

Some have suggested, with good rational, that the United States government should do everything to encourage close ties to a nation that has been defiant to the Soviet Union. Americans cheered as Romanians refused to accept the Soviet boycott of the Olympics. I suggest that the United States and this Committee examine carefully the relationship between Romania and the Soviet Union. I suggest that we look beyond the symbols alone. Reports from defectors indicate that the Romanian government uses the appearance of independence from Soviet control to leverage favors from the U.S., especially in the area of controlled technology. The reality is that close cooperation with the Soviets does take place, in intelligence, in military activities, and perhaps even some level of support for groups with involvement in terrorism. Defectors have also reported that the Romanian government has been involved in assassination of emigre who have been critical of the Ceausescu regime.

In the face of these questionable activities, Romania has used over $1 billion in U.S. Government-backed credits through the CCC and the Eximbank. They have been the recipients of support from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. I believe that we must question carefully the wisdom of providing such support, and particularly the type of support that is at issue today, most-favored-nation status, to a country that is one of the most orthodox Marxist nations in the world today.

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

JUL 22 1985

Dear Mr. Chairman:

We are responding to your request for the views of the Department of State on S.925, a bill to deny most-favored-nation trade status to Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is not a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and we have no commercial treaty with that country. Consequently, withdrawal of MFN status would not violate any international obligations of the U.S.

However, we believe that the decision to take such action is a foreign policy consideration and, consequently should be made by the President. Imposing the action through legislation would introduce unnecessary inflexibility into our foreign policy process. For example, should the government of that country change its policies in the future, we might wish to restore MFN treatment. A requirement that we seek legislation to do this would be cumbersome, could involve considerable delay, and would add an unnecessary burden to our policy process.

The advisability of allowing the President to make decisions of this nature has been recognized in the past. In the case of Poland, a Presidential determination was made in 1982 to withdraw MFN treatment pursuant to authority contained in the Trade Act of 1974. Also, in the late 1970's when the U.S. terminated Afghanistan's eligibility under the GSP program, President Carter made the decision based on statutory authority. He relied on a discretionary criterion in the GSP law to determine whether the U.S. had "equitable and reasonable access to the markets and basic commodity resources" of Afghanistan. The President, in that instance, determined that the presence of the Soviet military effectively limited such access.

The Honorable
Bob Packwood, Chairman,
Committee on Finance,
United States Senate.

In the proposed action to withdraw MFN status for Afghanistan, we believe that the U.S. Government is confronted with a purely political decision being taken for foreign policy reasons. The draft legislation denies to the President, as the ultimate U.S. foreign policy official, the discretion to make that decision. Therefore, we are opposed to the mandatory nature of the draft bill.

On the other hand, the President's current authority under U.S. domestic law to withdraw MFN status from Afghanistan is limited. We would support provisions designed to give him broader discretionary authority to withdraw MFN status from Afghanistan, but not mandating him to do so.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Wm Ball

William L. Ball, III
Assistant Secretary
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

STATEMENT
OF
JOSEPH A. TORSANI, JR.
VICE PRESIDENT, PRUDENTIAL LINES, INC.
TO THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
U. S. SENATE
WITH RESPECT TO THE MOST FAVORED NATION
STATUS FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

JULY 23, 1985

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Subcommittee my name is Joseph A. Torsani, Jr. I am a Vice President of Prudential Lines, Inc. I have asked to be present today as a member of The United States Business Community engaged in Commerce with the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Prudential Lines, Inc. is a U. S. Flag steamship company operating regular freight liner services between the ports of New York, Baltimore, Newport News, Charleston and ports in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea, including Romania. During the last twelve months, Prudential has carried over $600 million in Romanian cargo. The revenue from this cargo represents approximately 21.40% of Prudential's total revenues, or about 53.81% of the homebound revenue. Continued carriage of this cargo is important to Prudential's operation as a U.S. Flag carrier and Prudential's participation in the U. S. Flag Maritime Fleet as part of the U. S. National Defense.

Furthermore, this cargo is vital to U. S./Romanian trade and the viability of many U. S. businesses involved in that trade. It also provides employment for not only Prudential employees, but also for many dockworkers and employees of U. S. trading firms as well.

Prudential Lines, in close cooperation with Romania, has developed overland trade routes from Bulgaria, Hungary, and

Austria through the port of Constanza. In addition, future expansion plans include the use of the newly built Black Sea/Danube Canal which will benefit U. S. trade with countries neighboring Romania by offering U. S. Flag service via the port of Constanza.

The mutually beneficial trade between our two countries, we believe, is in the best interest of the United States and the U. S. Business Community. Therefore Prudential Lines strongly supports and urges your approval to continue the Most Favored Nation status granted to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to present Prudential's views on this important issue.

Re: Hearings on [illegible]
Set for July [illegible],1985 at 2:P[illegible] in room [illegible]-215

By Rev. [illegible], Director-Founder, Romanian Radio Hour, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. [illegible], President, Romanian-American Baptist Fellowship and George Crisan, Editor of the Christian and Legal Counsel.

For the benefit of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the U. S. Senate Finance Committee, on the Presidential recommendation to continue the waiver applicable to the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to extend the waiver authority under the [illegible] Act of 1974.

[illegible] APPROVAL OF PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION.

The religious organizations we represent are of Romanian-English speaking Baptist believers, with a membership of about 2500, throughout the United States. We do believe that by the extension of the MFN clause to Romania, the United States would benefit, trade wise as well politically.

The Christian, a quarterly, is the mouthpiece of the Romanian-American Baptist Fellowship. It is read by more than 2500 members and is mailed to 26 countries, inclusive Romania.

Rev.Lucaciu and George Crisan, counsel and editor of the Christian,have traveled many times and extensively in Romania, and have personal knowledge that the Romanian Government, in good faith, tries to comply with the Trade Act and the Helsinki Agreements.

We did and still do experience obstacles and hardship in securing authorizations for persons approved by the U. Immigration Services to join their families in the United States. The explanations we were given by the officials at the Romanian Embassy here, were that the local authorities are only too reluctant to approve issuance of passports.Yet,we are persuaded, that eventually, these cases will be cleared, after waiting for years.

In our trips during 1984 we had the opportunity to meet our Romanian Baptist brothers in faith, attended their churches,packed with worshipers,most wonderful choral and instrumental music. Romanian Baptist leaders were allowed to come to the United States and attend our yearly conventions and other church gatherings. The present Executive Secretary of the Romanian Baptist Union in Romania is a graduate of an American Seminary,Louisville, Ky. which he attended for three years.

We also have attended other Christian churches in Romania,such as Orthodox church and the Hungarian Catholic Churches.These churches too were packed with worshipers.

Under Romanian Communist Laws all denominations enjoy the same treatment. Of course, the government regulates the days and hours of worship in conjuntion with the denominational leaders.

The editor of The Christian has traveled through the Hungarian speaking region in Transylvania. It was my impression that the Hungarian ethnics are treated better than the Romanian ethnic people. I have not heard or told or seen any kind of ethnic discrimination. I met Baptist leaders of Hungarian group and talked freely with them of their life and expression of faith and none have ever mention of discrimination. As matter of course, all denominations have to bear the totalitarian,regulated, communistic way of life.

The Romanian nation, since the dawn of its history,looked toward West being of Roman culture and civilization. The Soviet Russia has been, and most likely will for ever be, Romanian greatest threat. Russia looked in the past centuries, and is still looking for open seas,and there is Romania, a stumbling block against her expansion trend toward Mediteranian Sea. After , "Yalta agreement" Romanians were left under "sphere of influence" of the Soviet Russia.

Romania was and still is considered a "Romance Island in a Slavonic Sea."

Today Russia detains two of Romanian provinces,Bassarabia and Bucovina.The communistic regime in Romania was imposed under the Russian occupation and by gross fraud in theelections of 1946.Romanian Government, communistic as it is, is constantly aware that a small mistake by its ally, Romania,the big brother, Russia will occupy Romania, as she did in Czechoslovakia and Poland.Of the communistic block,only Romania is not occupied now by the Russians.

The Romanian President, often expressed independent stance. Romania stood up against the occupation of Czechoslovakia.Romania din not break diplomatic relations with Israel. Romania, the only country of the Communistic block dared,against frightening threats by the Russians,to send an athletic team to the U.S.Olympic games in 1984.

Because of Romania's stance for independence, President Nixon paid a visit to Romania in 1969.He was welcomed with tremendous enthusiasm.President Carter invited the President of Romania for a state visit here,in 1978.Again,this was to keep Romania as a friend, in the communistic block.

It is our belief that by extending the MFN clause to Romania is a friendly sign and profitable to both countries as well.
Rev.Doru Motz,the editor of the "Things New and Old"(Lucruri Noi si Vechi), the translator of the Living Bible into Romanian language, join us in the statement.

[illegible] for this opportunity [illegible] statement and for its consid-

eration [illegible] the Committee's proceedings.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Rev. [illegible]
[illegible] Hunter
[illegible]
[illegible] Ave.
[illegible], [illegible]
[illegible]-8711

Rev. [illegible]
President, [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Mayfair [illegible]
[illegible] Hts.,
[illegible]
(216) [illegible]-2548

[illegible]

Ludovic Osvath
12413 Mt. Overlook
Cleveland, OH 44120
July 18, 1985

To:
Betty Scott Boom
Committee on Finance,
Room SD-219
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

For the record. "Favored Nation Status for Romania"

I am familiar with the present situation in Romania. I also know that the extention of the Most Favored Nation Act to Romania is questionable for the following year. Most people here in America are fighting against Romania, but I ask for your help toward this country by extending the Trade Act.

The following are the reasons for the extension of the MFNA: when the Trade Act was recommended to Romania the Romanian politics was the same as it is now. The absence of the religious freedom, human rights, and minorities rights existed in the past and, in my opinion will exist in the future. The extension of the Trade Act can only help, but its repeal will have a bad effect and will not solve the present problems. My old country, from which I have emigrated, is in a very difficult situation. Now it needs more help than ever before. The extension of the Trade Act will have an effect on the whole population. In my opinion, United States, who is very rich and powerful will not lose anything by helping a poor country with the extension of this act. If we question the existence of the religious freedom, I must say that it exists. Not the written laws decide the freedom, but the people. For example, in America the Hungarian Baptist Church in Cleveland holds the services in the basement of a house without any permit for the last 3 years. This place is not convenient for a church service, and it is even illegal. In this country there is freedom, but people still do things illegaly.

In my old country all the congregations have permit to hold services. I mention this because you can look at things from different angles.

Knowing the difficult situation of my country, I would like to help my people here in this free, democratic country every way I can. Right now this is a good chance for me to express my petition to the American government concerning Romania. Please, help Romania by extending the Trade Act for 1985-86.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ludovic Osvath

STATEMENT

To:
The Honorable JOHN C. DANFORTH
U.S. Senator (R–Missouri)
Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade
of the Committee on Finance
Room SD–219
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

July 20, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS:

I am GEORGE ALEXE of 19965 Riopelle St., Detroit, Michigan 48203, American citizen and a sustaining member of the Republican Party; theologian and literary author; editor-publisher of the "Romanian Communion," a literary herald of Theology, Culture and Art of Detroit, Michigan; co-editor of the "Credinţa-The Faith News," the official newspaper of the Romanian Orthodox Missionary Archdiocese in America and Canada; and member of the Union and League of the Romanian Societies in America and Canada.

Since I cannot attend the hearing, scheduled on Tuesday, July 23, 1985, in Room SD-215 of the Dirksen Senate Building, to testify in person before the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade, I respectfully submit this written Statement for submission and inclusion in the printed record of the hearing, in order to express my support for the wise Recommendation sent to the Congress by our beloved President Ronald Reagan, concerning the continuation of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) Treatment for Romania, China, Hungary and Afganistan.

In motivating my determination to support the Presidential Recommendation to extend the MFN treatment for ROMANIA, for a new period of 12 months ending July 1, 1986, I do not want to repeat the economic or political reasons probably expressed by others, nor in exchange do I make any personal comments on the eventuality of a contradiction between the freedom of emigration condition of MFN treatment and the closing the door to the immigration by the USA.

I am particularly concerned about the strange allegations and historical distortions presented to you by some Hungarian irredentists or by some irresponsible Romanians who, loosing the sense of reality which we are live in, are against granting MFN to Romania. It seems to me that, in fact, Hungarian irredentists, irresponsible Romanians or others, are acting against the American interests in Romania, China, Hungary and Afganistan, being manipulated by someone who always feared the weakness of his sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. I do not want that evil-minded-intriguer, who is now waiting for the success of his diabolic mastery against MFN treatment, to laugh at our naivete from his red shadow!

Certainly, after a decade of gloriuous existence, the MFN treatment transformed itself from a trade and prosperous economic issue into a political and moral debate, an arena of a direct confrontation between East and West, in which the initiative belongs to the United States. Who are against the MFN treatment are against the USA and, precisely, are against the only open possibility for us, as Americans, to improve and to increase our preponderance in Eastern Europe.

In conclusion, it is my strong belief that MFN Status should be granted accordind to the President Ronald Reagan Recommendation, not only to ROMANIA, my dearest country of origin, but also to China, Hungary and Afganistan. If you would have enough reasons for denial, at least, please Mr. Chairman, do not reject the MFN treatment to these countries, and especially to ROMANIA, on the fragile ground of Hungarian irredentist allegations or on Sovietic visible economic subversion.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Members of the Subcommittee.

Very trully yours,

George Alexe

GEORGE ALEXE
19965 Riopelle St.
Detroit, Michigan 48203
Tel. (313) 893-9237

Re.- Support the Presidential Recommendation
of MFN Treatment for Romania

STATEMENT

To:
The Honorable John C. Danforth
U.S. Senator
Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade
of the Committee on Finance
Room SD-219
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

July 20, 1985

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Members:

We are Adam and Anna Zaga of 18345 Bittersweet Street, Fraser, Michigan 48026, husband and wife, American citizens of Romanian nationality born in Yugoslavia, directors and incorporators of the "Romanian Ethnic Heritage of Detroit, Mich." - a non-profit organization which preserve, promote and valorify the ethnic heritage of the Romanian communities, and former directors of the Romanian Cultural Varieties Programs on Radio and TV in Detroit, Michigan.

Not having the opportunity to testify in person before the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance on Tuesday, July 23, 1985, in Room SD-215 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building, we respectfully submit this written Statement for submission and inclusion in the printed record of the hearing, in order to express our views concerning the continuation of most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment for ROMANIA, as recommended by our beloved President of the United States of America; Mr. Ronald Reagan.

Our strong determination to support the Presidential Recommendation to extend to Romania the nondiscriminatory (MFN) trade treatment under the authority of the Trade Act of 1974, is based on our belief that MFN once approved by the Congress will strengthen not only the Romanian independence and economic prosperity - despite of the Soviet sphere of influence -, but also will increase the American influence in Eastern Europe and especially in Romania. For this reason we are deeply concerned that only by prolonging the MNF for Romania, according to the U.S. Presidential Recommendation, the United States of America will enlarge and protect their vital interests not only in Romania, but also in Yugoslavia too, because both these friendly countries are equally threatened in their national and economic independence by the Soviet Union.

Considering the Status of MNF in Trade for Romania as one of the best way to develop the already established bilateral relationships between the U.S.A and Romania, we are very delighted to express, once again, our personal support, as would all Romanians everywhere, to the Presidential Recommendation for Extension of Waiver Authority.

Thank You, Mr.Chairman
and Distinguished Members of the Subcommittee.

Very trully yours,

Adam and Anna Zaga
18345 Bittersweet
Fraser, Mich. 48026

Engineer George Balica
3938 W. Ainslie
Chicago,Ilinois,60625
July,10,1985.

To:TRADE SUBCOMMITTEE SETS HEARING ON MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS
FOR HUNGARY,ROMANIA,CHINA AND AFGANISTAN.

MR. PRESIDENT,

My name is George Balica and I reside in Chicago.I came to this country in December of 1983.I can relate to the rights and liberty of the Baptists of ROMANIA as well as the Hungarian minority.

I worked at an Institute of research Projects in the city Arad up to the time when I left ROMANIA.Inever had to suffer in any way for the fact that I was a member of the Baptist Church.

ROMANIA is considered a Romance Island in a Slavonic Sea.

ROMANIA is a country which fights for a larger independence.

In 1968,ROMANIA was the only eastern Block country which criticized the invasion of the Soviet troups in Czechoslovakia.

ROMANIA did not break the diplomatic relations with Israel and even today,maintains quite friendly relations with Israel,and the Jewish people who want to immigrate to Israel are allowed to do so.

There is a strong bond between the Baptist Communities of ROMANIA the U.S.A. andother countries.In 1984 a delegation of Baptist leaders of ROMANIA participated at the Congress of the ROMANIAN Baptist Association of the CHICAGO,and a delegation of ROMANIAN Baptists from the U.S.A.,participated in an assembly of the Baptist leaders of ROMANIA.

In 1984,ROMANIA was the only country from the Eastern Block to send a delegation to the U.S.Olympic Games in CALIFORNIA.THIS month, July 2-7,a delegation of ROMANIAN Baptists participated at the: CONGRESS MONDIALE DU BAPTISMS -CALIFORNIA,U.S.A

I was a child in 1930-1940 when my father,President of the Baptist Church in the City where I was born(the Church was closed by authorities at the time).He organized a water baptism,for which he was arested

Today the Baptists Of ROMANIA enjoy their liberty.I am enclosing a picture of the baptism which took place May 13th,at the second Baptist Church of the city of ORADEA.SUCH baptism have taken place such as one in the city of Arad,where 50 people were baptized,as well as other Baptist Churches throughout ROMANIA.

About the Hungarian minority in ROMANIA,they sometimes have more rights than the ROMANIAN majority with no discrimination between the rights of the ROMANIANS and the Hungarians.The Hungarians have their Churches,theaters,financed by the State of ROMANIA,as well as: newspapers,magazines in their maternal language,including art,science and culture.But a smoll group of Hungarian nobility,living abroad,agitated for a long period of time and filed complaint at the International Court of Justice in Haag,to be compensated for their lost of land which the ROMANIAN government distributed to the peasantry regardless of their ethnicity.The same type of agitation happens these day in the UNITED STATES by some Hungarians.It is this group of Hungarians in the UNITED STATES that claims that the Hungarian ethnic group in TRANSYLVANIA is deprived of its culture heritage.THIS IS NOT TRUE.

IN CONCLUSION:I RECOMMEND APPROVAL OF PRESIDENTIAL RECOMENDATION. I BELIEVE THAT BY THE EXTENSIONOF THE M.F.N.CLAUSE TO ROMANIA THE U.S.A WOULD BENEFIT,BOTH,TRADEWISE AND POLITICALLY,AND GIVES THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE HOPE FOR A LARGER INDEPENDENCE.

George Balin

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 16, 1985

His Excellency
Stefan Andrei
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
  Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest

Dear Mr. Minister:

We are grateful for the hospitality and courtesies afforded us during our recent trip to Romania.

Like you, we believe that the warm relationship and economic ties which our two nations have enjoyed over the years have reaped important benefits for the people of both the United States and Romania. We recognize the constructive role Romania has played in promoting improved relations among diverse factions in the Middle East. We note with respect that Romania continues to demonstrate in its national price with sovereignty by pursuing an independent foreign policy. On matters relating to emigration, it appears that new protections for potential Romanian emigres will soon be forthcoming as per agreements with U.S. Counselor Edward Derwinski.

We note with deep sadness, however, that religious freedom is far less than it could be in Romania. While there is significant value to continued economic ties between our two countries, we believe that ensuring human rights and religious freedoms is a moral responsibility from which we cannot shrink and is the foundation for any meaningful bilateral relationship. As Members of Congress, we are deeply committed to promoting freedom of thought, conscience, and religion around the globe.

As you well know, in recent months there has been an upsurge in interest in the United States concerning the status of religious liberty in Romania. Numerous reports of religious repression and harassment and the recent resignation of Ambassador David Funderburk are causing many congressmen and others to rethink old notions and opinions.

While we acknowledge that there is the semblance of some religious liberty in Romania, it is clear that the fourteen denominations permitted by the government are largely circumscribed. It is our view, based on authoritative reports and our own personal observations, that religious practice puts some at great risk.

In the hope of underscoring our concerns and pursuing a resolution to these problems, we bring to your attention a few specific examples which are eminently solvable. These include:

1) The immediate emigration of Father Gheorge Calciu to the West.

2) Release from prison for Dorel Catarama of Brasov, Emil Mocanu of Bacau, and Constantine Sfateu of Iasi.

3) Cessation of the demolition of Orthodox churches in Bucharest and the restoration of the Reformed Church of Brazar, the Baptist Church of Bistrita, the Giulesti Baptist Church of Bucharest the Cimpia Turzii Pentecostal Church, and Baptist Church of Blaj.

4) Authorization for the following churches to build new sanctuaries: The Second Baptist Church of Oradea, Hateg Batpist Church, Resita Baptist Church, the Pentecostal Church of Medias, Tirgu-Mures Pentecostal Church, the Baptist Church of Timisoara, the Baptist Church of Marghita, and the Tiganesti Baptist church which we visited in Alexandria.

5) Licenses to the following pastors: Ioan Stef and Benjamin Cocar of Medias, Daniel Cedear and Stancu Dragomir of Deva, Ilie Tundrea of Bucharest, Daniel Chivoiu of Bacau, Viorel Codreanu of Ipotesti-Suceave and Buni Cocar of JulestiBucharest.

6) Authorization for the following churches to function legally: the Second Baptist Church of Brasov, Bethany Baptist in Timisoara, and Voluntari-Fucharest Baptist Church.

7) Restoration of the house built by Mr. Petre Popescu as the sanctuary of the Baptist Church in the village of Gaujani-Rimnicu Vilcea.

8) The Baptist Mrs. Florica Farcas was fired from her position as a French teacher after a 12 year career simply because of her Christian faith. She has not been able to obtain employment for three years. She should be rehired.

10) Explanation and resolution to the problem approximately 80 Romanian Christians experienced on June 17, 1985, when they were prohibited from leaving Otepeni Airport to go to East Germany, a country for which they had received transit visas. In particular, we would like to see the safe emigration of Augustion and Hiriscau Lidia and their children.

11) Meaningful jobs for Zoltan and Elizbeth Egyed (STR 6 Martie #99, Bloc D2 7th floor, Apt. 31, Oradea) and permission to send their daughter to school as they await final approval to emigrate to the United States.

12) Permission to export into your country as a gift, over the course of ten years, 100,000 copies (per year) of the Cornilescu Version Bibiles.

Mr. Andrei, we believe that the state of Romanian-U.S. relations is at a crossroads. As you know, the reauthorization of Most Favored Nation Status (MFN) is under review by the Congress. It is possible that MFN may be permitted for another year thereby continuing to provide Romanian industries with open access to markets in the West and a yearly trade of approximately one billion dollars. But you should be aware that disturbing reports of new arrests of believers -- prisoners of conscience -- continued harrassment of Christians and other violations of the Helskinki Accords have resulted in a serious but not irreversible erosion of American confidence in Romania's commitment to human rights.

Be advised that Congress, unlike in previous years, is now poised to begin a lengthy process of serious review of religious repression in Romania, a scrutiny to which we are strongly committed.

Short of revocation of MFN, Congress has a myriad of options available to it to encourage reforms in Romania. We are presently studying these alternatives, should they be necessary.

We trust you share our concern and hope you will view our comments in the spirit of friendship, candor and truth.

Sincerely,

Tony P. Hall

Frank R. Wolf

TONY P. HALL, M.C.

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, M.C.

FRANK R. WOLF, M.C.

The Center for Russian and East European Jewry
240 Cabrini Blvd., New York, N.Y. 10033
Tels. (212) 928-7451, 795-8867, 799-8902

July 4, 1985

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Sen. Bob PAckwood, Chmn.
Senate Finance Committee
Washington DC.

Dear Mr. Packwood

This is the period during which your Committee usually pays close attention to Romania's human rights record, especially in the area of emigration. As the 1985 hearings will be hels just a few days before the August recess, this is certainly the time to utilize the leverage inherent in Jackson-Vanik.

We are deeply disturbed by the fact thart as of June 30, 1985, only 543 Romanian Jews reached Israel compared with 1,026 during the first six months of 1984. Bucharest may have issued something in the region of 2,000 visas during 1984 and this the absolute minimum acceptable to us. Unfortunately, the number of passports projected for the near future does not arouse optimism.

The halving of Romanian Jewish emigration so far this year requires a firm response from the Senate. In earlier years, formal as well as verbal representations to Bucharest were made in the weeks before the hearings. Your intervention at this time would be most helpful in seeking the necessary concrete assurances that the flow of Jewish emigration will be raised to the levels of the early 1970s when the waiver of Jackson Vanik was originally sought by Romania.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely
Jacob Birnbaum

Our position is supported by two other national organizations - the Rabbinical Assembly of America and the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews.

TRADE ARBED Inc.

825 Third Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Cables: ARBED INC NEW YORK

July 5, 1985

Subcommittee on Int. Trade
Committee On Finance
SD 219 HOB, US House of
Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: Romania
Recommendation to renew the Most-Favored-Nation
Trade Status

Gentlemen:

We have dealt with Romanian steel makers and trading houses for a number of years and have successfully marketed their steel products in the U.S. By doing this we have contributed a small share in helping Romania maintain it's independence which from time to time is quite visibly displayed by the people of Romania.

The Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status played a major role in making it possible for Romania to trade with the U.S.

In the future we would like to see an increase in Romania's political and economic independence, and we feel that such independence is in the interest of all people, especially to the people of Romania.

We sincerely hope that Congress will not block the one year renewal of the Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status recommended by President Reagan.

Yours very truly,

Fernand Lamesch
President

FL/en

atalanta
CORPORATION
445
17 VARICK STREET NEW YORK NY 10013 • 212 431-9000

June 19, 1985

The Honorable Bob Backwood
Committee on Finance
SD 219 House Office Bldg.
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator:

Our company wishes to present to you this testimony in support of President Reagan's recommendation in favor of the continuation of Most Favored Nation tariff treatment by the United States for its imports from Hungary.

ATALANTA has had a longstanding business relationship with Hungary which starts as far back as 1969 when our firm initiated a Veterinary Agreement between the United States and Hungary which resulted in the approval of six meat packing plants in Hungary that are today producing canned pork for export to the U.S. market.

This operation has been immensely successful with an import business of Hungarian canned meat which amounted to $34 million in 1984.

Although canned pork products are not affected by the MFN tariffs, since the duty is assessed on the per pound basis, over the period of these years Hungary has offered us many other food products of high quality and highly acceptable to our market, such as cheeses, fruits, vegetables, sausages, etc., which will benefit from the MFN treatment.

This ultimately will foster more exports of U.S. products to Hungary.

Very truly yours,

George G. Gellert
Chairman of the Board

For Telex communications use services assigned as follows: Shrimp – Lobster – Fish – Cheese Unox RCA 232460 ATA UR ITT 420062 TRADATL
EXPORTS – Imports of Frozen Meat ITT 422005 Communications From Denmark – Norway – Spain – Hungary RCA 22609 ATA UR
ALL BRANCHES IN USA USE Western Union 125187 CABLE ADDRESS TRADATLAN – NEW YORK

atalanta
CORPORATION
17 VARICK STREET NEW YORK N Y 10013 • 212-431-9000

STATEMENT OF:

THE ATALANTA CORPORATION
17 Varick Street
New York, New York 10013

Presented By:

George G. Gellert
Chairman of the Board

To The :

Subcommittee on Trade # 31
Committee on Ways and Means
U.S. House of Representatives

IN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN's RECOMMENDATION

TO CONTINUE "MFN" TREATMENT FOR ROMANIA

HUNGARY AND CHINA

JULY 9, 1985

For Telex communications use services assigned as follows: Shrimp – Lobster – Fish – Cheese Unox RCA 232480 ATA UR ITT 420062 TRADATL
EXPORTS – Imports of Frozen Meat ITT 422006 Communications From Denmark – Norway – Spain – Hungary RCA 22808 ATA UR
ALL BRANCHES IN USA USE Western Union 125187 CABLE ADDRESS TRADATLAN – NEW YORK

atalanta
CORPORATION
17 VARICK STREET NEW YORK N.Y. 10013 • 212-431-9000

STATEMENT OF ATALANTA CORPORATION, NEW YORK, NEW YORK PRESENTED BY GEORGE G. GELLERT, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD in support of continuation of "MFN" for Romania, Hungary and China.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee on Trade
#31 Committee on Ways and Means:

I am pleased to have this opportunity to submit testimony in favor of continuing for Romania, Hungary and China the President's authority to waive the application of subsection (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Trade ACT of 1974 (Public Law 93-618) for an extended period of twelve months. Simply stated, our position, in support of the President, recommends the continuation of the Most Favored Nation tariff treatment for Romania, Hungary and China.

For Telex communications use services assigned as follows: Shrimp – Lobster – Fish – Cheese Unox RCA 232460 ATA UR ITT 420062 TRADATL
EXPORTS – Imports of Frozen Meat ITT 422006 Communications From Denmark – Norway – Spain – Hungary RCA 22606 ATA UR
ALL BRANCHES IN USA USE Western Union 125187 CABLE ADDRESS TRADATLAN – NEW YORK

II. THE ATALANTA CORPORATION

I would like to briefly provide the Committee with background information regarding ATALANTA, which reflects the company's wide experience in East-West trade and which explains its interest in presenting this testimony to the Committee. ATALANTA's involvement in East-West trade spans a period of time exceeding thirty years to the benefit of our U.S. economy.

ATALANTA is a marketing organization for a broad variety of high quality food items that are imported into the United States from 46 countries. Our company distributes these products throughout the United States. ATALANTA's home office is located at 17 Varick Street, New York City, with sales offices in Atlanta, Ga., Boston, Mass., Chicago, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, Dallas, Tx., Detroit, Mich., Indianapolis, Ind., Los Angeles, Ca., Miami, Fla., Milwaukee, Wis., Philadelphia, Pa., Phoenix, Ariz., Portland, Ore., Raleigh, N.C., San Francisco, Ca., and Tampa, Fla.

Specifically, ATALANTA has been importing processed hams and other products of high quality from Romania since 1970. In 1984, our company imported products totaling over $9 million. In addition, ATALANTA serves as a member of the United States-Romanian Economic Council which was organized under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

ATALANTA has also enjoyed a good relationship with Hungary for more than a decade and imports high quality processed hams and pork products, and other food products from that country. In 1984, we also imported $34 million of Hungarian products. ATALANTA is a member of the United States-Hungarian Economic Council which was also organized by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Since the recent time that China received "MFN" treatment, the ATALANTA CORPORATION has commenced importing food products from that country. Our trade in 1984 with China approximated $ 2 million. We expect a long and mutually rewarding trade relationship with China. We look forward to introducing many interesting Chinese food items to U.S. consumers during the next few years.

Doing business with Romania, Hungary and China has been profitable for ATALANTA and, in turn, the United States economy in general. Likewise, it has been profitable for the countries involved which gain dollar earnings that are utilized for the purchase from the United States of manufactured goods and agricultural products. ATALANTA is pleased with the warming of relations between the United States and Romania, Hungary and China. We feel that the continuation of Most Favored Nation ("MFN") treatment is essential to a future increase of trade between the United States and each country involved as well as to a better understanding between respective citizens.

III. POLITICAL BENEFITS

Of paramount importance, the granting of "MFN" and the continuation of this sound policy, has, without question, improved the political relations between our country and Romania, Hungary and China. The same constructive results have been experienced by the United States with respect to Yugoslavia - a country which received "MFN" many years before the three countries which are the subject of your distinguished Committee's attention.

IV. CONCLUSION

For the aforementioned reasons, the ATALANTA COMPANY sincerely supports and urges that your Committee, and the entire Senate, agree with the President that the continuation of :MFN" for Romania, Hungary and China is in the best economic and political interests of our country.

Sincerely yours,

George G. Gellert
Chairman of the Board

FEDERATIA GRUPURILOR ETNICE DIN ROMANIA, INC.
FEDERATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS FROM ROMANIA, INC.
P.O. Box 36, Rego Park, New York 11374

New Yotk, June 20, 1985

Committee on Finance
Ms. Batty Scott-Boom
Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Room SD 219
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Ms. Scott-Boom :

We are approaching once again the review of the bilateral commercial relations between our Country and Romania, as well as the renewal of the "M.F.N. Treatment". This year, the review is taking place under the spell of our President's Report to Congress concerning extention of waiver authority. The Report points out that "the waiver authority has permitted us to conclude and maintain in force bilateral trade agreements ....".

In the year elapsed, the contribution of Romanian leader in promoting a peaceful and pluralistic international system witnessed an upward course. Regarding the political aspects, today's Romanians make efforts to maintain their national integrity and on the international level, they support all actions that carry on the defense and promotion of democratic rights and freedom of all nations in the world. Romania contributed to the American-Chinese dialogue and is the only Eastern Europe country that has diplomatic relations with Israel. However, Romania copes with economic difficulties caused by URSS for its idependent policy, considering the President of the country a strayed away of the Warsaw Pact.

Extanding the current waivers applicable to Romania will improve the area of emigration and, as the Report mentions, "continuation of the waiver applicable to Romania will substantially promote the objectives of Trade Act of 1974, Section 402 (a) and (b)."

I am confident that all American citizens of Romanian ancestry as well as all who have a feeling for Romania and her friendship toward the Americans will look with favor toward Mr. Regan's Report to Congress. I, certainly, am one of them.

May I thank you for your support and consideration.

Faithfully yours,
C. Marinescu
Constantin Marinescu
President

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Dear Sir.

I, EMILIA STANCIU, american citizen by birth of romanian origin, am presenting the Following:

I have lived in TRANSILVANIA,wich is a Romanian province, for several years, thus know the true situation concerning this province.

As a member of the ASSOCIATION: " FRIEND OF TRANSILVANIA " I would like to let the CONGRESS knew the truth concerning this province.

If, for any reason You should have any questions about the documents attached to this resume, please feel free to coll upon me.

My adress is:

Emilia Stanciu
2618 Elmont Str.
Wheaton, MD. 20902
Ph. (301) 933-8692.

Sincerelly Yours.

Emilia Stanciu

Emilia Stanciu

-DECLARATION.-

"DORUL" SOCIETY, N.Y.
"BRANCUSI" SOCIETY, N.Y.

FRIENDS OF TRANSYLVANIA,
CLEVELAND, OHIO

The Constitutions of the United States of America and of Canada guarantee to their citizens liberty and the right of freedom of speech, enabling them to defend their convictions and to defend their personal interests as long as they do not adversely affect those around them.

From such rights and freedom, however, arises the obligation that each one does not abuse this great democratic system by provoking internal discord and thus prejudicing the strategic interests and policies of the United States and Canada.

For many years certain political groups have sought to convince the American authorities that the Hungarians of Transylvania, a minority, are victims of a policy of "genocide" and that the only way to "save them" is to make Transylvania an autonomous province, or, to detach it from Romania and annex it to Hungary. Just how convenient this kind of solution would be for American strategic policy one leaves to the imagination of each, to judge individually.

The highest authorities of the United States and Canada are continually. bombarded by the aforementioned groups with all sorts of writings and appeals which purport to present so-called evidence concerning the alleged discriminatory treatment of Hungarians of Transylvania, and calling for the condemnation, boycott, isolation, punishment and humiliation of Romania.

Even though the United States, through the Administration and the Congress, have rejected such accusations over the years these political groups have nonetheless have not ceased their relentless campaign against Romania and have used every opportunity to promulgate this fictitious problem about the Hungarians in Transylvania.

After repeated attempts to foist Resolution 147 on the Congress without avail, recently Congressman Robert Dornan, of California, introduced Resolution 56, which seeks to cause "the President and the Secretary of State of the U.S.A. to discuss with the Romanian Government, or with other interested nations, issues relating to the rights of the Hungarian population of Transylvania, including the right of autodetermination."

American citizens of Romanian descent should express their profound concern regarding such subversive attempts to incite the Hungarian community of America to engage in activities inimical to our national interests and to peaceful and neighborly relations between Hungarians and Romanians.

Concerned persons believe that the only parties authorized to conduct the foreign policy of the United States are the Administration and the Congress. Furthermore they have the capability to do so because they have the means and resources of obtaining all kinds of information which enables them to make objective and responsible judgments regarding the actual situation which exists between one nation and another.

To present falsehoods and lies to these high bodies contravenes the moral precepts of America and Canada and their citizens, who have obligated themselves to work in the best interests of their respective nations.

Although 67 years have elapsed since the inhabitants of Transylvania voted to re-unite their land with Romania, a political act approved by all nations (including Hungary, in the Treaties of Trianon, 1920 and Paris, 1947), certain political groups continue to deny reality in the belief that they can turn back the pages of history, and for this purpose they campaign unceasingly for support in the U.S.

We must remind them and others that the United States of America has always recognized the justice of the Romanian cause in this regard. A month before the reunion of Transylvania with Romania President Woodrow Wilson declared to Americans of Romanian descent that: "Sympathizing with the movement for national unity and with the desires of Romanians, in all places, the Administration of the United States will not hesitate to exercise its influence at the opportune time in order that the just political and territorial rights of the Romanian people be realized and assured against any foreign attack."

No leading statesman of the United States or Canada has ever expressed any other conviction than that Transylvania legitimately belongs to the Romanian nation. For this reason the U.S. objected to the evil partition plan of Transylvania effectuated by Hitler and Mussolini in August of 1940. Again, on August 23, 1944 the U.S. and Canada welcomed the entrance of Romania into the anti-Hitler coalition, a fact which materially aided in the shortening of the war and which saved the lives of tens of thousands of Allied soldiers. Later, in February of 1947 the U.S. again recognized the Peace Treaty of Paris, which reaffirmed for the second time the will of the population of Transylvania to belong to Romania.

We fulfill our obligations and duty by drawing attention to the fact that those Hungarians who continually pursue their chauvinistic activities against Romania are enemies of the rights, liberty and national interests of democratic America.

Resurrecting today the complaints and resentments of the Romanians, Slovaks and Serbo-Croations of America through calumny, in support of revanchist aspirations, directed against their countries of origin, amounts to the aid of the subversive plans of the KGB, which intentionally works to poison the unity and harmony characterizing the relations between ethnic groups in our society.

Furthermore, by involving American politicians in this revisionist campaign the result can be no other than the loss of faith in the American image of justice for Romanians, Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs, and in consequence, there will be a weakening in their capabilities to resist Soviet communism and imperialism.

For these reasons we make this urgent appeal to all leaders and officials in the U.S. and Canada to intervene and to begin a serious and effective investigation into this situation because we are convinced that the real authors and beneficiaries of this decpetive and insidious campaign aginst Romania, using pretexts based on false accusations concerning the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, are the KGB and its masters, the Russian imperialists of the Kremlin.

Let us oppose the enemies of democracy and freedom and let us seek measures which will no longer permit them to propagate lies and hatred which sow seeds of misunderstanding and discord between nations and peoples by inciting Hungarians against Romanians and vice versa, by the technique of "Divide and Conquer."

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE
OF TRANSYLVANIA

EMILIA STANCIU

2613 Elmont Str.

Wheaton, MD. 20902

Emilia Stanciu

ROBERT R. NATHAN

1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
Telephone 202 393-2700
Telex 248482 Cable NATECON
TWX 710 822 1995

July 23, 1985

Written Statement Of John C. Beyer, Consultant to the Chilewich Corporation, Regarding the Continuation of the Presidential Authority To Waive the Freedom of Emigration Provisions of The Trade Act of 1974

Presented to the Senate Committee on Finance,
Subcommittee on International Trade

My name is John C. Beyer. I am the President of Robert R. Nathan Associates, a firm of consulting economists. My firm has represented the Chilewich Corporation in Washington for over 20 years. In the past I have testified on behalf of the Chilewich Corporation in support of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania, and I am pleased to have the opportunity to testify on this subject again. The United States and Romania are important trading partners and Romania's Most-Favored-Nation trade status is a significant factor in this relationship. I support the extension of Most-Favored-Nation trade status to Romania based on the economic benefits of free trade resulting for both countries.

The Chilewich Corporation is a large international trading company. An important division of their business is exporting cattle hides, the raw material for leather. In 1984, the U.S. exported over 1,000,000 cattle hides, valued at over $40 million, to Romania. This represented 4.1% of

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1. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. U.S. Exports Schedule E Commodity by Country, FT410/Dec 1983 and FT410/Dec. 1984. Schedule E, No. 2111020.

United States cattle hide exports and a significant market for the American cattle hide industry.[1] First quarter figures for 1985 indicate that the recovery of the world economy has increased the demand for cattle hides with 7.5% of the U.S. cattle hide exports going to Romania, compared to 3.4% in the first quarter of 1984.[2]

These exports to Romania constitute a significant contribution to the American cattle and beef industries by providing a market for a by-product generated in excess of domestic demand. This provides revenues for continued growth and prosperity in these industries and helps to decrease the U.S. foreign trade deficit.

In addition to cattle hides, U.S. exports to Romania include soybeans, coal, steam turbines and automated data processing equipment. Total U.S. exports to Romania increased significantly in 1984 to $248.6 million from the 1983 level of $186.1 million.[3] The increase is particularly notable for two reasons: First, the strong value of the dollar in 1984

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2. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census U.S. Exports Schedule E Commodity by Country, FT410/March 1984 and FT410/March 1985. Schedule E. No. 2111020.

3. The Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review of Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Annual Supplement 1984 and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Highlights of U.S, Export and Import Trade, FT990/Dec. 1983 and FT990/Dec. 1984.

generally raised the relative price of American goods abroad, making them less attractive and increasing the U.S. foreign trade deficit. Second, Romania's hard currency debt, caused largely by high oil prices and high world interest rates, reached critical proportions in 1983 when it had to be rescheduled. As a result, the Romanian government, at the suggestion of the International Monetary Fund, has taken steps to decrease imports from hard currency countries.[4] In light of these two factors, the expectation would be for a decrease in U.S. exports to Romania. The fact that there is a significant increase in such exports is, therefore, particularly exceptional.

Romania is an important Eastern Bloc trading partner for the United States. In 1984, 27.5% of U.S. exports to communist countries, excluding the Soviet Union, were to Romania, an increase from the 1983 level of 20.6%.[5]. Poland is the only Eastern Bloc communist country which imports more American goods than Romania.

The United States has traditionally imported more goods from Romania than from any other communist state, including the Soviet Union. Imports from Romania increased dramatically from $513.1 million in 1983 to $892.5 million in 1984.[6] Part of the increase can be attributed to the strength of the dollar, making Romanian products less expensive and, therefore, more attractive. Major imports include petroleum, plastics and steel products, furniture, glassware, pork and chemicals.[7]

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[4] The Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review of Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, No. 1 1985.

[5] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Highlights of U.S. Export and Import Trade, FT990/December 1983 and FT990/December 1984.

[6] Highlights of U.S. Export and Import Trade, FT990/Dec. 1983 and FT990/December 1984.

The U.S. also imported 270,000 tons of steel from Romania in 1984. Pursuant to President Reagan's decision last year to limit steel imports into the U.S. by entering into voluntary restraint agreements with producer countries, Romania acceded to the U.S. request and signed such an agreement in May 1985. The agreement limits steel imports to the U.S. to 360,000 tons for the period between October 1, 1984, and December 31, 1985; to 105,000 tons each year for the years 1986, 1987 and 1988; and to 75,000 tons thereafter.[8]

The United States constitutes a significant portion of Romania's trade with industrialized countries. In 1982, 14.37% of Romania's trade with industralized countries was with the United States, increasing to 17.03% in 1983 and 19.4 in 1984. The United States was second only to West Germany in trade volume with Romania despite the proximity of other

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[7] Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review of Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Annual Supplement 1984.

[8] International Trade Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce

European states.[9]

The general outlook for the Romanian economy and increased United States-Romania trade is good. The 1984 growth figures provided by the Romanian government indicate the highest rate of growth in trade since 1979. The 1985 plan calls for a "net material product" growth rate[10] higher than 10%, indicating an expanding market for U.S. goods.[11] Romania's 1981 financial crisis, caused by the increased price in crude oil, finally appears to be easing with the lowering of world oil prices. The economic hardships, due partly to the severity of the winter and government austerity actions to reduce the hard-currency debt, is lessening. These factors indicate that trade will continue to grow between the U.S. and Romania.

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9. International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Statistics, June 1985. The figures for 1984 are those reported as exports by the industrial countries, rather than information obtained directly from the Romanian government.

10. National accounts in Communist societies are based on the concept of "net material product", defined strictly in terms of productive activity - the output of material goods and services relating to production, transport and distribution. Services such as banking, education and health, public administration and defense expenditure are not considered productive and are therefore not included; thus net material product is not equivalent to GNP/GDP in Western accounting systems. Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review of Romania, Bulgaria, Albania. No. 1 1985.

11. Economist Intelligence Unit, Quarterly Economic Review of Romania, Bulgaria, Albania. No. 1 1985.

The prominence of Romania in the United States-Eastern European trading market was spurred by the signing of a United States-Romanian Trade Agreement in 1975, which accorded Most-Favored-Nation tariff status to Romania and facilitated commercial exchanges. Although there have been a series of other economic agreements and protocols with Romania over the past decade, Most-Favored-Nation status has been a critical ingredient in the United States-Romanian trade picture.

The Romania economy represents a significant market for U.S. goods. It is an important channel for East-West relations that should not be closed. The continuation of U.S. and Romanian trade is dependent upon Most-Favored-Nation status being granted to Romania. The renewal of the President's authority to grant Most-Favorerd-Nation status to Romania will ensure that this trade will continue to thrive to the benefit of both countries. The Chilewich Corporation, cattle farmers and other U.S. exporters, will all gain by such a decision.

The economic factors cited above support the extension of international trade with Romania. Most-Favored-Nation status is the foundation for this trade. On behalf of the Chilewich Corporation, I strongly recommend the extension of Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania.

July 30, 1985

The Honorable John C. Danforth
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
219 Senate Dirksen Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

I am writing to voice my strong opposition to the renewal of Most-Favored-Nation status for Rumania. Although I was only two years old when my family left what was then Hungarian Transylvania, I am compelled by what I recently saw there to speak out against the ruthless dictatorship which presently dominates this area.

I just returned from a visit to the Hungarian-populated regions of Rumania and was horrified by what I witnessed there. The present Rumanian regime is, without a doubt, one of the most cruel and corrupt Stalinist dictatorships which exists behind the Iron Curtain. Moreover, anyone who thinks it acts independently of Moscow is being very naive. Internally, it is a vicious police state which starves its people and tramples on their dignity and human rights. Externally, it is one of the major conduits for western technology transfers to the Soviet Union.

While at Cluj, the major city of Transylvania, I met a member of former Ambassador Funderburk's staff, who supported everything he had said about Rumania and also confirmed my own observations.

It is obvious that there has been no progress in human rights, only intensified repression. The Hungarian minority (among others) is persecuted by the government solely on the basis of race and religion. Although the Rumanian government is destroying the lives of all its citizens, it is especially hostile towards the Hungarian minority, which it is determined to eliminate.

During my visit I confirmed that Hungarians were being victimized by being denied jobs, educational opportunities, and even the right to speak their own language for fear of physical abuse and punishment. In one city with over 20,000 ethnic Hungarians, only two Hungarians were permitted to go on to state universities this year. Hungarians cannot freely associate with other Hungarians because of governmental reprisal.

Every effort is being made to destroy the Hungarian element in Transylvania, which for a thousand years had been associated with Hungary. The Rumanian government is forcibly removing Hungarians from Transylvania and transferring them to the Balkan parts of Rumania for assimilation. Hungarians are denied jobs in the cities and Rumanians are being resettled there to alter the ethnic makeup. Hungarian churches, including the 600-year old Protestant church where my great-great grandfather had been the minister, are prohibited by the Government from making necessary repairs and are collapsing from imposed neglect. Hungarian religious and historical monuments are being destroyed and defaced, and Hungarian documents, including birth certificates and records confirming the Hungarian birth and heritage of the local populace, have been confiscated by the state and in many cases destroyed. One of the major things the border guards look for and confiscate are books written in the Hungarian language. These are denied the Hungarian populace in an official attempt to erase their history and heritage.

Many well-meaning Rumanians are opposed to the barbarous policies carried out by their government, but are helpless to do anything.

Both Rumanians and Hungarians asked me why the United States was helping such a diabolic government. I could only reply that we were too trusting and did not realize what was happening here. They asked me, at great risk to themselves, to carry back their message that American help for this government only prolongs their agony and further undermines their morale.

If our Government continues assisting and appeasing this totalitarian dictatorship, it will continue demeaning the human rights of its citizens.

It is incumbent upon the United States Government to demonstrate that it is aware of and cares enough about the suffering of these helpless people to deny renewal of the Most-Favored-Nation status to the ruthless, corrupt regime presently controlling Rumania.

Sincerely,

Arpad de Kovacsy
Alexandria, Virginia

TESTIMONY
OF
THE HONORABLE RICARDO J. BORDALLO
GOVERNOR OF GUAM

REGARDING S.680

BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

On behalf of the people of Guam, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to submit written testimony on S.680, on a matter of extreme importance to the Guamanian people.

At the outset, I would like to strongly contest Bill S.680 which classifies Guam as a foreign country. The people of Guam adamantly and proudly state that we are Americans, U.S. citizens. We are American in every sense of the word, by custom, by laws, by values and by government. As Guamanian Americans, we have proven our loyalty and allegiance to the United States as much as any other American citizen in the state of the Union. Our men have died in battle for the freedom of America and democracy in World War I, World War II, the Korean War and Vietnam. Today, we continue to make sacrifices to the defense of America by having more nuclear warheads per square mile than any state in the Union. One third of the U.S. territory of Guam is used for defense and federal purposes. As loyal Americans we have made sacrifices in the past and so shall we quickly rise to make sacrifices for the good of the U.S. of which we are an integral part of.

It is most disturbing if not insulting to the people of Guam who are loyal Americans to be treated like a foreign country. S.680 states that Guam is to be classified as a foreign country for the purposes of textile imports. As a foreign country we are not to be properly accorded the same treatment as a state of the United States. Neither are we to be given more favorable treatment than the countries cited in this Bill. Instead, other countries who are not even part of the

U.S., whose inhabitants are not American citizens are to be treated more favorably than the people of Guam.

Canada and the EEC countries are to be generally exempted from the impact of this legislation. The Caribbean Basin Initiative Countries and Mexico are to be specifically exempted from the quotas to be imposed by the legislation. They are exempted because of the recognition of these nations special relationship to trade and the interests of the United States.

The people of Guam do not question the need to create special exceptions for countries who have a special relationship with the U.S., but what about Guam and the other insular possessions who have more than just a special relationship with the U.S., but who are part of the U.S. If the intent of this legislation is to begin taking care of the industries at home in the U.S., this legislation outrageously ignores the fact that Guam and the other U.S. insular possessions are part of the U.S. Furthermore, it masks its eyes to the economic catastrophe it would have on the embryonic industries on Guam. I must stress again that we are as American as any American residing in mainland U.S.A. We are not foreigners.

The effect of the legislations on the U.S. territory of Guam is catastrophic. It would kill Guam's only textile industry, Sigallo Pac, Inc., which employs more than 275 American employees. Sigallo Pac, Inc. represented a light in the tunnel to the Guamanian people. It was the very first light manufacturing industry to take a chance on America's most distant territory in the Pacific. As proud Americans, we wanted and needed light manufacturing industries to provide employment and a diversified economic base. We cared not then, nor now for federal doles. Until Sigalo, however we were unsuccussful in doing so. Sigallo took that chance investing millions of dollars and hiring local Guamanian Americans. It only took that chance because we were an American territory and because of the favorable provisions of Headnote 3a, which permitted them to ship sweaters manufactured in Guam without quota or duty.

Headnote 3a regulations specifically recognized Guam and the other insular possessions unique relationship to the U.S. In enacting General Headnote 3a of the Tariff Schedules of the United Sates (TSUS), Congress recognized the need for special treatment for products of the insular possession. The Headnote 3a program was established to attract businesses to come to the insular possessions, thus creating jobs and revenue from local taxes. Congress knew that Guam's economy needed and deserved special consideration in view of its relationship to the U.S. Pursuant to this tariff provision, specific country-of-origin rules were developed for products of the possessions. The country of origin rules defined by S.680 repeal these special congressional rules and contradict other tariff preferences benefiting the insular possession.

Pursuant to S.680, Guam would be allowed to ship to the U.S. only 6,720 dozen sweaters. Last year alone, Guam 's only textile industry shipped 140,000 dozen sweaters to the U.S. If it were not for the implementation of the new country of origin rules set forth in Interim regulation T.D. 84-171, Sigallo

Pac would have been able to ship 160,000 dozen sweaters. S.680 and its House counterpart H.1562 would devastatingly reduce the numbers of sweaters that could be shipped to the U.S. The consequences being that Guam's only textile industry would be forced to close its doors, lay off its 275 employees, deprieve Guam of a much needed source of revenue, and more importantly, dampen any other U.S. business notions of coming to do business in Guam.

It has been like swimming against a tidal wave in our attempts to establish a viable business atmosphere on Guam. We must attempt to compete against other Asian and Pacific markets while being subjected ofttimes inappropriately to U.S. laws, standards, regulations and requirements. If I may add, rules and regulations which lack consistency, stability, and fail to recognize the unique geographical and economic realities of Guam. In just the last few years, Guam has repeatedly had the rug pulled out from its economic development plans by precipitous federal actions which nullified our attempts to develop a watch-making industry, to promote Guam as a center for international finance companies, and for intermediary financing activities. Federal authorities tell us over and over again to develop our own industry and not to reply on federal handouts. Yet when the opportunity is present for the development of industry on Guam, all too often short-sighted and arbitrary federal actions prevent us from even getting started or stop us once we have. For purposes of the Jones Act, we are domestic. For purposes of telecommunication we are considered foreign. We are classified as different purposes as foreign or domestic, seemingly when it is to our economic disadvantage. S.680 continues in this regard by classifying us as foreign, while simultaneously treating foreign countries better than Guam and the other U.S. possession.

If barriers are to erected against foreign countries to U.S. markets to protect U.S. textile industries and American jobs, I must stress that Guam is a U.S. territory which also has American jobs at risk. If this Committee is to favorably report a Bill that protects American jobs and industries, then it must by moral imperative protect the jobs and the single industry of Guam and the other insular possessions. More importantly, if this committee is to favorably report a bill which recognizes the special interests the U.S. has with foreign countries such as Canada, the EEC, Mexico, and CBI countries, then by the U.S.'s legal, moral, ethical and political relationship to its U.S. territories, the U.S. ought to give at least as equal treatment to its U.S. insular possession. We are after all Americans.

Guam and the other possessions are not colonies. We are not a foreign country. We are politically, economically and socially part of the U.S.and we ought to be treated as such.

In conclusion, Guam and the other insular possessions have been inappropriately defined as foreign for purposes of S.680 and its House counterpart, H.1562. If the U.S. is to recognize the special relationships it has with identified countries in this legislation, then by moral and political imperative it ought to recognize the fundamental relationship it has with Guam and the other U.S. insular possessions.

Furthermore, consistent with the policy and intent of this legislation to protect U.S. jobs and industries, Guam and the U.S. territories should be deemed as an integral part of this interest.

In light of the above, the Government of Guam urges that Guam and the U.S. Insular possessions be classified as a "state" of the U.S. for purpose of this bill, and all other laws, rules, and regulations in regard to imports to the U.S. in accordance with the spirit and intent of Headnote 3a; Or that Guam and the other U.S. insular possessions be specifically exempted from the requirements of S. 680 and its House counterpart H.R. 1562, and all other laws, rules, and regulations pertaining to quotas to the U.S. in accordance with the spirit and intent of Headnote 3a.

Thank you for the opportunity to submit written testimony.

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STATEMENT of DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU,Ph.D.
-President of " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"
-Writer with Pen Name: COSTIN,JUREA
- NOBEL PRIZE nominee for Literature in 1972
- Member of U.N.E.S.CO,s"ACADEMIA INTERNAZIONALE DI PROPAGANDA CULTURALE-
- LETTERE-SCIENZE-ARTI(ROME,ITALY since 1972)
- Founder member of"OVIDIANUM"-SOCIETAS OVIDIANIS STUDIIS INTER OMNES GENTES FOVENDIS-Bucharest, ROMANIA,1970.-
- Former 10 years POLITICAL PRISONER in COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s POLITICAL JAILS and into THE FORCED LABOR CAMP" THE CANAL DANUBE-BLACK SEA"("THE CANAL of DEATH")
- Organiser, participant and SPOKESMAN of " THE HUNGER STRIKERS"

before:

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
U.S.SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
ON:
Tuesday, July 23,1985

* * *

" GOD MADE MAN TO BE FREE"
(Matheus)

* * *

" THERE IS NO POWER ON THE WORLD WHICH CAN STOP THE WHISH OF FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE! "
" THERE IS NO POWER ON THE WORLD WHICH CAN STOP THE WISH OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR HOSTAGE FAMILIES! "
COSTIN, JUREA.-

* * *

HONORABLE Mr.CHAIRMAN,
HONORABLE U.S. SENATORS,**MEMBERS** OF THE COMMITTEE

* * *

First of all there is my duty to thanks to YOU for giving to me the oportunity to speak on the floor of the most democratic FORUM of LAWMAKERS of THE WORLD:THE U.S SENATE!" I came today on U.S. SENATE,s floor,as President of " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" a for non profit CHRISTIAN,ANTI-TERRORIST and ANTI-COMMUNIST ORGANISATION,and as organiser, participant and spokesman of " THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE for FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in THE U.S.A. and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"-that, in my personal name and in the one of THE HUNGER STRIKERS to ask that:

-THE U.S.SENATE DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE"status to the former apprentice shoemaker ,TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,TRAITOR OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE ,WHO SOLD AGAIN TO USSR THE ROMANIAN PROVINCE BESSARABIAin CRIMEIA,1977,

- NOR TO HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT,WHO:

- KEPT HOSTAGES OUR RELATIVES.-

- SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM ON " STATE LIGNE" BY:MILITARY TRAINING,EITHER ON ROMANIAN SOIL OR ON THE ONE OF OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AS ANGOLA,PROVIDE THEM WITH WEAPONS, AMMUNITIONS, FOOD, CLOTHES, MEDICINE .-

-TAKE TO SAFETY IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA BY ROMANIAN MERCHANT AIRLINE"TAROM",s AIRPLANES,COMMUNIST TERRORISTS WHO KILLED INNOCENT PEOPLE IN WESTERN EUROPE BY BOMBING AIRPORTS AND PUBLIC OR PRIVATE BUILDINGS.THEY ARE TAKE TO " TAROM,s" AIRPLANES BY ROMANIAN CONSULS WITH THEIR CARS BEARING "DIPLOMATIC" PLATES AND DIPLOMATIC" IMUNITY" AND DOING SO,ESCAPE OF CUSTOM AND BORDER GUARDS INSPECTION!...

- ROMANIAN CONSULS,KIDNAPP AND DRUG ROMANIAN EXILEE FROM ROMANIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST EXILE IN THE FREE WORLD,INCLUDED THE U.S.A.-DRIVE THEM WITH THEIR CARS BEARING "DIPLOMATIC" PLATES AND IMMUNITY,AND TURN THEM OVER " TAROM,s "AIRPLANES TO BE TAKE BACK HOME IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR PROSECUTION TO POLITICAL JAIL TERMS BY COMMUNIST MILITARY COURTS!...
- ROMANIAN OFFICIALS TRY TO KILL ROMANIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST EXILEE AS DID IN THE US.A. ON MAY 1,1985 in Washington D.C. ,- THE SECOND SECRETARY OF COMMUNIST ROMANIAN EMBASSY, TRAIAN STAMBERT,WHO ASSAULTED A 67 YEARS OLS MOTHER, Mrs MARIA-REGHINA, SZABLYAR,WHO WAS IN HUNGER STRIKE FOR HER DAUGHTER AND NIECE,HOSTAGES IN TIMISOARA CITY, ROMANIA,DEMONSTRATING ON MASSACHUSSETS Ave NW,ON THE SIDE WALK OF HAITI,s EMBASSY, FIVE HUNDRED FEETS AWAY FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY,AS PROVIDED BY PARK POLICE PERMIT ISSUED IN RESPECT OF FIRST AMMENDMENT OF USA,sCONSTITUTION.-

-TRAIAN STAMBERT,sCRIMINAL ATTACK ON Mrs MARIA-REGHINA SZABLYAR WAS STOPPED BY OFFICERS OF SECRET POLICE WHO"FREEZED" AND IDENTIFIED THE CRIMINAL AND THEN REPORTED TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE TRAIAN STAMBERT,sCRIME .-

- WE, THE HUNGER STRIKERS REPORTED TOO THE CRIMINAL ATTACK TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE ,TO THE HONORABLE SENATOR DICK LUGAR, CHAIRMAN OF U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO U.S.SENATORS OF NEW YORK STATE-THE HONORABLES ALPHONSE D,AMATO AND DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN,TO THE HONORABLE SENATORS JESSE HELMS,STROM THURMOND, AND OTHERS AND ASKED THAT THE CRIMINAL SECOND SECRETARY OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY to Washington DC--TRAIAN STAMBERT-TO BE EXPELLED FROM THE U.S.A.!

-WE ARE ASKING TOO THAT THE U.S.SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE WHO IS ANALISYNG THE COMPLIANCE OF ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT WITH " THE HUMAN RIGHTS"PROVISIONS TO CHEK OUT WITH DEPARTMENT OF STATE THE EXPULSION OF THE CRIMINAL SECOND SECRETARY OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY TO Washington DC-TRAIAN STAMBERT,ACCORDING TO HIS " HUMAN RIGHTS"AND " HUMANITARIAN"ACTIVITY ON OUR NATION,sCAPITAL!...

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THE TEN POINTS OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS

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WE ARE FASTING FOR:

1.- THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES;

2.- GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE;

3.- THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS FOR:

A.- Prof. Dr. Reverend GHEORGHE CALCIU DUMITREASA, HIS WIFE AND SON;

B.- VASILE, PREDA, Dr. CANA, and Dr BRASOVEANU, founders of " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE"("S.L.O.M.R."in ROMANIAN language)founded in1978-two years before POLAND,s "SOLIDARITY" ; -

4.- " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS"("S.L.O.M.R.")TO BE REGISTERED WITH ROMANIAN MINISTRY OF JUSTICE IN ORDER TO ACT LEGALLY IN BEHALF OF ITS MEMBERS AS POLAND,s " SOLIDARITY" DID;-

5.- THE ABOLISHEMENT OF PUNISHEMENT WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS FORCED LABOR CAMPS, FORCED RESIDENCE OR FORCED WORK WITHOUT PAYMENT AT ONE,s PLACE WORK - FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE;-

6.- THE YEARS(TERMS) SERVED IN POLITICAL JAILS, PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS,FORCED LABOR CAMPS,FORCED RESIDENCE AND FORCED AND UNPAYD WORK AT ONE,s PLACE OF WORK- BY POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE-TO BE TAKEN IN CONSIDERATION AS " YEARS SERVED IN LABOR,s FIELD"- IN THE RETIREMENT AND PENSION,s PLANS OF INDIVIDUALS,OR-IN THE CASE OF INDIVIDUAL,s DEATH-IN THE PLANS OF HIS WIDOWED WIFE ,OR(AND) ORPHANED CHILDREN;-

7.- ALL U.S.A,s RESIDENTS WHOSE PERSONAL ESTATESWERE NATIONALISED OR TOOK OVER BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT BECAUSETHEY EMIGRATED OR FLEED TO THE U.S.A.- TO RECEIVE DAMAGES FOR THAT ESTATE IN U.S. DOLLARS,AT THE AMOUNT OF A COST OF A SIMILAR ESTATE AT U.S.A.,sREAL ESTATE MARKET VALUE;-

8.- A SPECIAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE U.N.,TO INVESTIGATE THE FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT,BASED ON INFORMATIONS WHICH WE WILL PROVIDE,AND TO RESTORE THE HUMAN RIGHTS OVER THERE;-

9.- TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT-TO STOP RIGHT NOW AND -ONCE FOR EVER-THEIR-STATE DIRECTED SUPPORT-OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY MILITARY TRAINING,WEAPONS, AMMUNITIONS,FOOD, CLOTHES, MEDICINE,s SUPPLIES, EITHER- ON COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s TERRITORY OR OVERSEAS-THE U.S DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

" SPECIAL COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM" CHAIRED BY U.S RET. ADMIRAL L.J.LONG- CONCLUDED AND REPORTED TO U.S. CONGRESS AND TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A ON JULY 1984!-

10.- U.S.SENATE,U.S.CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A. TO DENONCE OFFICIALY AND PUBLIC THE SECRET TREATY OF YALTA OF 1945!-

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HONORABLE Mr.CHAIRMAN,
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HONORABLE SENATORS, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE,
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ANNEXED, DO YOU HAVE THE INDIVIDUAL MEMORANDA OF EACH OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS AND THE LIST OF THE HUNGERSTRIKERS AND THEIR RELATIVES HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

LOOKING AT,YOU CAN SEE THAT,BY THE WAY, Mrs MARIA-REGHINA SZABLIAR and Mr CONSTANTIN FANITA,OF NEW YORK, TRIED TO REZOLVE "PEACEFULL"WITH THE OFFICIALS OF ROMANIAN EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C. THEIR REUNIFICATION WITH THEIR DAUGHTERS, HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA! Mr CONSTANTIN,FANITA, A NATURALISED U.S. CITIZEN, TRIED TO GET FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA HIS DAUGHTERS CLAUDIA-MIHAELA, FANITA AND CARMEN-ELENA, FANITA HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, since FIVE YEARS!ROMANIAN CONSUL CHARLES SAVA AND AMBASSADOR MIRCEA, MALITA SENT HIM EVEN TO BUCHAREST GIVEN TO HIM ALL THE ASSURANCES THAT HIS DAUGHTERS WILL RECEIVE THE EXIT VISAS AT ONCE.BUT IN BUCHAREST, THE SECURITY OF PASSPORT AND VISAS OFFICE ON NICOLAE IORGA STREET, TOLD TO Mr. FANITA...THAT HIS DAUGHTERS WILL RECEIVE THE PASSPORTS....AFTER FIVE MORE YEARS,"IF"THEIR CASE WILL BE APPROVED!...

Mrs MARIA-REGHINA SZABLYAR of New York, TRIED TO WORK OUT THE REUNIFICATION WITH HER DAUGHTER :CAROLA-ELISABETA,SZABLYAR and HER NIECE(CAROLA,s DAUGHTER)CARMEN, JIANU, -PEACEFULLY, TOGETHER WITH CONSUL CHARLES SAVA AND AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITA WHO LIED TO HER THREE YEARS...EACH TWO WEEKS THERE WAS A PHONE CALL TO EMBASSY,s OFFICIALS.EACH TWO WEEK THERE WAS A PHONE CALL TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA.SHE WAS TOO SENT TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA BY AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITA AND CONSUL CHARLES SAVA WHO TOLD HER THAT SINCE HER ENTIRE FAMILY IS OVER HERE AND SHE CAME LEGALLY IN THE USA WITH PASSPORT ISSUE FOR HER FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA BY EVEN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO EVEN ROMANIA,s LAWS,HER DAUGHTER AND NIECE, HOSTAGES IN TIMISOARA MUST RECEIVE THE PASSPORTS.BEING THE SINGLED ONES STILL LIVING OVER THERE FROM THE ENTIRE FAMILY SZABLIAR,OF SIX!...

BUT WHEN Mrs MARIA -REGHINA SZABLYAR ARRIVED IN TIMISOARA CITY AND WENT TO PASSPORTS AND VISAS OFFICE THE COMMANDER TOLD HER THAT HER DAUGHTER AND NIECE WILL GET THE EXIT VISAS

AFTER ONE MORE YEAR AND ONLY IF THE CASE WILL BE APPROVED!...

COLONEL VRABIET, THE COMMANDER OF VISAS AND PASSPORTS OFFICE OF TIMISOARA CITY, TOLD TO Mrs MARIA-REGHINA SZABLYAR THAT SHE ,(WHO LIVED IN THAT CITY SINCE BORN, UNTI UNTILL in 1962 WHEN TURNED 64 AND CAME TO THE USA TOGETHER HER HUSBAND, HER SON AND HER MARRIED DAUGHTER WITH HER HUSBAND,BEARING PASSPORTS FOR FAMILY REUNION ISSUED BY EVEN ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT-THAT SHE IS FORBIDED TO VISIT OR EVEN TO DIAL A PHONE NUMBER TO ANYBODY OF HER FRIENDS FROM THIS CITY.IF SHE WILL DARE TO DO OTHERWISE, WILL BE ARRESTED ,FINED AND EXPELLED TO THE U.S.A WITH THE FIRST MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION! NO MATTER THAT SHE GAVE UP HER ROMANIAN CITIZENSHIP BEING STATELESS AND BEING NOT UNDER COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s JURISDICTION.MORE THAN THAT SHE WAS BEARING AN AMERICAN GREEN CARD AND AN AMERICAN PASSPORT CALLED REENTRY PERMIT!...

NEXT DAY, VOLUNTARYLY Mrs MARIA-REGHINA SZABLYAR LEFT ROMANIA BY PLANE FOR The USA.-

- ON MONDAY, APRIL 29,1985 SHE JOINED IN WASHINGTON D.C." THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"IN BEHALF OF HER DAUGHTER CAROLA-ELISABETA SZABLYAR and of HER NIECE(CAROLA,s DAUGHTER)CARMEN, JIANU,s EMIGRATION TO THE U.S.A TO BE REUNITED WITH.

- ON TUESDAY, MAY 3o,1985 ABOUT 5:30 P.M. SHE WAS ASSAULTED BY THE SECOND SECRETARY OF ROMANIAN EMBASSY -TRAIAN STAMBERT-WHILE PEACEFULLY DEMONSTRATED IN FRONT OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY ON MASSASUCHEST Ave NW,FIVE HUNDREDS FEETS AWAY THE EMBASSY ON THE SIDEWALK OF HAITY,S AND CHILE,s EMBASSIES,AT THE LOCATION APPROVED BY PERMIT OF PARK POLICE ACCORDING TO THE FIRST AMMENDMENT OF THE USA,s CONSTITUTION!...

- THE SECRET SERVICE OFFICERS " FREEZED" AND IDENTIFIED THE CRIMINAL ATTAQUER,-TRAIAN STAMBERT-AND REPORTED THE CRIMINAL ATTACK TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR THE PROCEEDINGS OF CRIMINAL TRAIAN STAMBERT,s EXPULSION FROM THE U.S.A!...

- THE HUNGER STRIKERS REPORTED TO THE CRIMINAL ATTACK OF CRIMINAL TRAIAN STAMBERT TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE, TO HONORABLE U.S.SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN AND ASKED THAT THE CRIMINAL TO BE DEPORTED FROM THE U.S.A!

- WE ARE ASKING THIS COMMITTEE WHO IS INVESTIGATYING THE COMMUNIST ROMANIA,sCOMPLIANCE WITH " HUMAN RIGHTS" TO CHECK OUT WITH DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND TO PERSUADE IT, THAT THE ROMANIAN" DIPLOMAT TO BE EXPELLE FROM THIS COUNTRY,ACCORDING HIS "HUMAN RIGHTS"FACTS!

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- BACK HOME, IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, MrsCAROLA-ELISABETA SZABLYAR of TIMISOARA CITY, WAS SUMMONED TO PASSPORT AND VISAS OFFICE BY COLONEL OF SECURITY VRABIET AND INSTEAD TO BE HANDLED THE PASSPORT FOR HER AND HER DAUGHTER, WAS INVESTIGATED ON" HOW HER MOTHER, FATHER, BROTHER AND MARRIED SISTER WITH HER HUSBAND"LEAVE THE COUNTRY IN 1982,AS THAT OFFICE WHICH ISSUED THEIR PASSPORTS FOR FAMILY REUNION in 1982 DID NOT KNOW NOTHING ABOUT-CAROLA_ELISABETA,s SZABLYAR REJECTION OF PASSPORT AT THAT TIME TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY WITH HER ENTIRE FAMILY FOR THE U.S.A!

- Mrs CAROLA-ELISABETA SZABLYAR WAS" FINED WITH A SERIOUS AMOUNT OF MONEY BY SECURITY BECAUSE HER MOTHER SPOKE TO RADIO FREE EUROPE HER CASE ,OF FAMILY REUNION UNRESOLVED PEACEFULLY BY ROMANIAN EMBASSY,s OFFICIALS SINCE THREE YEARS...

Mrs CAROLA-ELISABETA,SZABLYAR WAS TOLD TO DIAL HER MOTHER IN NEW YORK CITY AND TO TELL HER TO STOP HER HUNGER STRIKE AND ANY ACTION FOR CAROLA-ELISABETA,AND HER DAUGHTER,s ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS,OTHERWISE SHE WILL NOT SEE HER DAUGHTER AND NIECE "NEVER"!...

- THERE IS IN HUNGER STRIKE TOO Mrs DUMITRA, GHIOCA of NEW YORK.HER COUSIN, Mr ION, STEFAN of NY .,THE LEADER OF A "HUMAN RIGHTS" GROUP WHO DID A HUNGER STRIKE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS " IN DRUMUL TABEREI, BUCHAREST in 1978,WAS ARRESTED, TORRTURED, CONFINED THREE TIMES TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL...Mrs DUMITRA, GHIOCA, WITH THE RISC OF HER FREEDOM SUPPORTED MATERIALY AND MORALY Mrs CONSTANTINA, STEFAN, THE MOTHER OF ION, STEFAN AND HER AUNT DURING THE NIGHTMARE, AND CHECHED OUT TOGETHERE HER WHERE AOUTS OF ION, STEFAN, FROM POLITICAL JAIL TO POLITICAL JAIL IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA...

WE, OVER HERE, IN THE USA LEARNED ABOUT ION ,STEFAN,s16 PEOPLE HUNGER STRIKE of 1978 and WE DID OVER HERE IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON D.C A HUNGER STRIKE IN BEHALF OF THEIR RELEASE FROM POLITICAL JAILS AND EMIGRATION TO THE USA. ALL THE HUNGER STRIKERS WERE RELEASED FROM POLITICAL JAILS AND HANDLED PASSPORTS,INCLUDED ION, STEFANs and now are in The USA!

Mr ION,STEFAN AND HIS MOTHER, CONSTANTINA STEFAN, ONCE ARRIVED IN The USA,JOINED THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE in BEHALF OF Mrs DUMITRA, GHIOCA AND HER FAMILY,s EMIGRATION. AFTER...FOUR YEARS, ONLY Mrs DUMITRA, GHIOCA RECEIVED A"VISITOR" PASSPORT WHILE HER ENTIRE FAMILY IS HOSTAGE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

Mrs DUMITRA, GHIOCA, APPLIED FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM WITH I.N.S. DISTRICT OF N.Y AND JOINED THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA AND FOR THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" IN BEHALF OF HER FAMILY!

-THE SECURITY OF GALATI CITY, LAYD OFF HER HUSBAND, TOOK AWAY THE DEED OF HIS APARTMENT,PRIVATE PROPERTY THE ENTIRE FAMILY BEING NOW IN DANGER TO BE TREW OUT ON THE STREET AND HAVING TO SUPPORT THEM SELVES "ONLY WITH ABOUT 2000 LEUS(ROMANIAN CURRENCY) EARNED BY THE TWO OF CHILDREN FROM WHICH THEY HAVE TO PAY FOR HOUSE ABOUT 1500 LEUS(LYONS) AND HAVING TO SURVIVE WITH THE REMAINDER OF 500LEUS KNOWING THAT A CHICKEN IS 100LYONS!HOW CAN A FAMILY OF TWELVE TO SURVIVE WITH A SINGLE CHICKEN AN ENTIRE MONTH?...

FROM THE INDIVIDUAL MEMORANDA AND FROM THE LIST OF HOSTAGE RELATIVES, YOU, HONORABLE SIR, WILL SEE THAT THERE ARE UNRESOLVED CASES FROM YEARS AND YEARS,THAT THE WOULD BE EMIGRANTS ARE UNDER PERMANENT CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT OF SECURITY,THAT THEY WERE LAYD OFF FROM THEIR JOBS AND REMOVED FROM THEIR RESIDENCE OR RELOCATED AWAY FROM THE CITY...

- A NEW KIND OF CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT AND VIOLATION OF "HUMAN RIGHTS" BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s GOVERNMENT IS THAT...AFTER THEY ISSUED THE PASSPORTS,THEY CONFISCATED ITS! ABUSIVE, ILLEGALLY EVEN ACCORDING TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s LAWS.

- SO THEY CONFISCATED IN BUCHAREST THE PASSPORTS OF Mr PERU AND HIS WIFE ,THE BROTHER OF Mr GHEORGHE PERU OF N.Y, AMERICAN CITIZEN, WHO FOUGHT FOR HIS BROTHER PASSPORT ONLY SINCE 1975:TEN YEARS!...

- SO, THEY ARRESTED Mrs GEORGETA GEORGESCU,s HUSBAND AND CONFISCATED HIS AND THEIR 17 YEARS OLS SON ,AND THEIR DAUGHTER ,HER HUSBAND AND ONE YEAR BABY,sPASSPORTS.
THEY DO NOT HAVE EVEN ROMANIAN I.D!THE 17 YEARS OLD BOY WAS EXPELLED FROM HIGH SCHOOL.
THEY DO NOT HAVE ANY MEANS TO SUPPORT THEM SELVES,THEY ARE DAMNED TO STARVE!..

- FOR THE ABOVE MENTIONED VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,sGOVERNMENT
- WE ARE ASKING THAT THE U.S. SENATE TO DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU NOR TO HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT!

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THE HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

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THERE ARE ANY KIND OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA

1.- FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND EXPRESSION

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In COMMUNIST ROMANIA THERE IS ONLY A POLITICAL PARTY" THE COMMUNIST ONE
- ON JULY 14,1947 WAS ABOLISHED THE MOST POWERFUL ANTI-COMMUNIST PARTY" THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY IULIU MANIU and ION MIHALACHE.-THE LEADERS AND TEN OF TAUSENDS OF RANK-AND FILE MEMEBRS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY WERE ARRESTED, TORRTURED, PROSECUTED AND CONVICTED TO POLITICAL JAIL TERMS,THEN AFTER SERVED THEIR JAIL TERMS WERE SENT TO FORCED LABOR CAMPS AND FATER THAT, GIVING FORCED RESIDENCE!
THE LEADERS WHO SURVIVED AFTER SERVED TEN OF YEARS OF POLITICAL JAIL TERMS,WERE AGAIN ARRESTED NOW and PROSECUTED ,CONVICTED TO POLITICAL JAIL TERMS, CONFINED TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS SENT TO FORCED LABOR CAMPS AND THEN WAS GIVING AGAIN FORCED RESIDENCE.

- Dr.CORNELIU, COPOSU,LITIGATION LAYER, FORMER DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL WAS AGAIN ARRESTED AND TORRTURED BY SECURITY AND GIVEN AGAIN FORCED RESIDENCE.-

- THE SAME CRIMINAL ACTIONS WAS TAKEN BY SECURITY IN BUCHAREST CITY TOO AGAINST:

- ION, BARBUS, MIHAIL TARTIA,Dr Eng ION, PUIU,AND AUREL LUDOSANU, AND MIRCEA, CEACU, FORMER LEADERS OF THE YOUTH ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY,WHO ALREADY SERVED TEN OF YEARS OF POLITICAL JAIL TERMS.-

- I.V.POPESCU MEHEDINTI, FORMER EDITOR OF THE IDEOLOGICAL REVUE OF THE PARTY"THE PAYSAN" AND "THE VILLAGE,s JUSTICE" WAS TOO ARRETSTED TORRTURED AND GIVEN FORCED RESIDENCE in BUCHAREST CITY.-

- WHEN " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS("S.L.O.M.R."IN ROMANIAN SPELLING)WAS FOUNDED IN 1978,ITS LEADERS AND TEN OF TAUSENDS OF RANK AND FILE MEMBERS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY WERE ARRESTED, TORTUTRED, PROSECUTED, CONVICTED TO POLITICAL JAIL TERMS AND CONFINED TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS.-

- WASILE PARASCHIV ,ONE OF THE FOUNDERS WAS BURNED ALIVE BY THE PERSONAL ORDER OF TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU.-

- VASILE, PREDA, OTHER OF THE FOUNDERS, WAS CONVITED TO 8 YEARS POLITICAL JAIL,CONFINED SIX TIMES TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS AND TEN KEPT IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AND BEATEN UP THREE TIMES A DAY...

- OTHER TWO FOUNDERS, Dr CANA and Dr BRASOVEANU, AFTER TRORRTURED, CONVICTED TO POLITICAL JAILS, CONFINED TO PSYCHIATRI HOSPITALS,AND FINALY RELEASED, WERE ARRESTED AND TORRTURED AGAIN NOW IN 1985, GIVEN FORCED RESIDENCE AND THEIR PASSPORT APPLICATION REJECTED!..

2.- FREEDOM OF PRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY,sSECTION ON PRESS AND AGITATION IS SUPERVYING ANY PRINTED WORD OF ROMANIAN PRESS AND ANY BROADCASTED WORD OF RADIO OR T.V.

- THERE IS ANY SINGLE MAGAZINE,REVUE, DAILY OR PERIODIC NEWPAPER OR RADIO OR TV PRIVATE STATION OR PRIVATE PUBLISHING HOUSE.IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.EVERY SINGLE PUBLICATION OVER THERE IS EXCLUSIVELY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.-

3.- FREEDOM OF ART AND EXPRESSION

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THE CRATION ACTIVITY IS MONITORED BY COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE LITERARY SECTOR AND IN THE FINE AND PERFORMING ARTS. THE TYPEWRITER MACHINES MUST BE REGISTERED WITH "MILITIA" TO AVOID THE ,SZAMIZDAT" KIND OF LITERATURE,A YOUNG ROMANIAN POET DORIN TUDORAN WHO SENT SEVERAL LETTERS TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AGAINST THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PARTY, DISSAPEARED RECENTELY FROM HIS RESIDENCE AFTER HIS AND HIS FAMILY APPLICATION TO EMIGRATE

WAS FLATELY DENIED SEVERAL TIMES.

- THE PENAL COD PROVIDE POLITICAL JAIL TERM FOR THOSE WRITERS WHO HAVE"UNPUBLISHED"MANUSCRIPTS AND FOR COMPOSER WHO HAVE"UNPUBLISHED" COMPOSITIONS,AND FOR ARTISTS WHO HAVE UNDISPLAYED WORK OF ARTS(SCULPTURES OR PAINTINGS WHO ARE NOT ON"THE PARTY LIGNE")

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- THERE ARE ANNEXED TO THIS WRITTEN STATEMENT CLIPS FROM US NEWSPAPERS ON:

A.- THE USSR,s SPY NETWORK IS LOCATED INTO THE COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY in Washington DC!

B.- ROMANIAN DIPLOMATS EXBELLED FROM WESTERN COUNTRIESFOR ESPIONAGE IN BEHALF OF USSR!

C.- VASILE PARASCHIV-ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS (" S.L.O.M.R." IN ROMANIAN SPELLING)BURNED ALIVE BY TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU" **AS WAS** REPORTED TO THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT,s SIGNATARIES MEETING IN MADRID in 1980 BY Prof. Dr. LAW BEAR,PRESIDENT OF GREAT BRITAIN,sROYAL COLLEGE OF PSYCHIATRY..-

D.- BAPTIST WORSHIPPERS SHOT TO DEATH BY ROMANIAN SECURITY AT SUCEAVA CITY,...BECAUSE THEY WERE READING THE BIBLE FOR THEMSELVES-NOT LOUDY-DURING A TRAIN TRIP!..

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THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT STATE-SUPPORTED INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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THERE ARE ANNEXED CLIPS OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS ON:

-TERRORIST NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,s FULL SUPPORT ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY: PROVIDING MILITARY TRAINING,WEAPONS, AMMUNITIONS,CLOTHES, FOOD, MEDICINE.EITHER ON COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s SOIL OR ON THE ONE OF "BRODERSHIP COMMUNISTS" AS IN ANGOLA.

- ROMANIAN COMMUNISTS USE DRUGS TO FORCE DEFECTORS TO RETURN BACK HOME

- PILOTS OF " TAROM" TOOK TO SAFETY TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA COMMUNIST TERRORISTS WHO KILLED INNOCENT PEOPLE ON WESTERN EUROPE BY BOMBYING PUBLIC PLACES.THEY WERE BROUGHT TO "TAROM"s AIRPLANE BY ROMANIAN CONSULS USING THEIR CARS WITH DIPLOMATIC PLACES AND " IMMUNITY" TO AVOID AND ESCAPE INSPECTION OF CUSTOM INSPECTORS AND BORDER GUARDS...
(SEE THE INTERVIEWS OF FORMER ROMANIAN PILOTS WITH " TAROM" AND STEWADESSES"(GEORGE HIRSOVESCU AND OTHERS) PRINTED IN " THE NEWYORKER DAILY NEWSPAPER" THE NEWSWORLD")

- REPORTS ON DEFENSE DEPARTMENT,s SPECIAL COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, CHAIRED BY U.S.RETIRED ADMIRAL L.J.LONG,- WHO SUBMITTED THE COMMISSION,s FINDINGS ON " COMMUNIST ROMANIA,sSTATE-MONITORED SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM-TO THE U.S. SENATE. THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA, in 1984.-
THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE SUMMONED THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITA AND HANDL TO HIM THE OFFICIAL   IF THOSE STATE-DIRECTED ACTIVE ACTIONS OF SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISMWILL NOT BE STOPED AT ONCE,THERE WILL BE A DRAMATIC CHANGE IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S.A AND COMMUNIST ROMANIA!

HONORABLE Mr CHAIRMAN, US SENATOR JOHN, DANFORTH

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-I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU,WHO ARE A RESPECTFUL AND FAITHFUL MINISTER:FROM A CHRISTIAN WORSHIPPER TO A CHRISTIAN MINISTER:

-AS A CHRISTIAN MINISTER,WOULD YOU AGREE TO GIVE THE AMERICAN TAXPAYERS MONEY,INCLUDED YOURS AND MINE,VIA " THE MOST FAVORED NATION.s CLAUSE STATUS"TO TERRORIST NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT WHO ARE SPONSORING AND SUPPORTING THE INTERNATINAL TERRORISM BY -STATE DIRECTEDACTIVE ACTIONS- AND DEMOLISHE CHURCHES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY BY BULDOZERS AND MAKE TOILLET PAPERS FROM SAINT BIBLES?
YOUR ANSWER, HONORABLE Mr CHAIRMAN JOHN DANFORTH,A RESPECTFULL AND FAITHFULL CHRISTIAN MINISTER,IN THE FACE OF BELOVED GOD,AND TO YOUR PARISHONERS,TO EVERY SINGLE CHRISTIAN AND ALL EVERY SINGLE KIND OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS WORSHIPPERS OF THE WORLD,LET BE THE SINGLE APPROPIATE ONE:

- NO MORE " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE STATUS TO THE WORST EVIL OF THE WORLD TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT!

SO HELP YOU, GOD,Mr CHAIRMAN,RESPECTFUL CHRISTIAN MINISTER AND US SENATOR JOHN DANFORTH!

President of THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE; DIMITRIE C. APOSTOLIU,Ph.D.
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS "SPOKESMAN OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS"   D.C.Apostoliu

" THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"
345 West,86th St # 717
New York City, N.Y.10024
Phone(212)873-9600x717

" THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: FROCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in The U.S.A. and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"
- STARTED:Saturday,March 2,1985(until Sunday, March 10,1985)in New York City,in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s MISSION TO The U.N.-
- Moved on Monday, April 29,1985(until Sunday May 5,1985)in WASHINGTON D.C.,on CAPITOL,s steps, on the side walk of The WHITE HOUSE and in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY.-
RESTARTED on MONDAY,JULY 22,in WASHINGTON D.C.

HUNGER STRIKERS in The U.S.A.	HOSTAGE RELATIVES in COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-
1.-LIVIU, ARJOCA PERMANENT RESIDENT 2.- AURELIA ZAHARIA(sister) Maiden Nae:ARJOCA 3.-THEODOR,ZAHARIA(her husband) 4.- TIBERIU, ZAHARIA(their son,17) U.S.CITIZEN APPLICANTS 226 Hancook Ave # 105 Jersey City, N.J.07307 Phone(201)792-4456-Residence Phone(212)332-4100-LIVIU,s Office in New York	1.- IRINA-PORUMBITA,ARJOCA,M.S.,civil engineer, -SISTER- Born on Nov 15,1935 in TELEGA,District* Prahova,ROMANIA Residing at :Strada Maramures No 25 Campina, Judetul Prahova, ROMANIA(Telefon:(973)37214.- THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO HER APPLICATIONS FORM FOR EMIGRATION in order TO BE REUNITED in The USA with her family.-
ELENA, ARMEANU,M.S. Maiden Name:BRAD 18-19,Rigs Place Washington D.C.20009 Phone(202)328-2217 PERMANENT RESIDENT	1.- ANA,BRAD - SISTER- Of:Bulevardul 13 Decembrie 1918 No53,Bloc P 2,Scara A, Apt22 Etaj 6,Sector 3 BUCURESTI, Cod74747,R O M A N I A Telefon:39-85-67 She tried to apply for EMIGRATION since 1982 when her brotehr in law chemical engineer VICTOR,ARMEANU did a HUNGER STRIKE in Washington DC for his wife ELENA, ARMEANU and his daughter and for herself,ANA,BRAD.VICTOR,s wife and daughter arrived in The USA on Dec 29,1983. ANA, BRAD obtained only The BUTTERFLIES"...after 3 years and applied with on June 1,1985. TO DATE THERE IS ANY ANSWER ABOUT. The SECURITY TOLD HER THAT HER APPLICATION WILL BE NEVER APPROVED AND THAT SHE WILL BE CONFINED TO A PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IF WILL NOT GIVE UP HER EMIGRATION .
6.- GHEORGHE-LEONTE,BUMB 387 Woodword Ave Ridgewood,N,Y,11.385 Phone(718)417-4244 POLITICAL REFUGEE	1.- ADELINA-IULIAN, BUMB,6,- DAUGHTER- Born onAPRIL 4,1979 in TURDA, Judet Cluj,ROMANIA 2.- SUZANA- ALEXANDRINA,BUMB- DAUGHTER- Born on April 26,1981 in Turda,Judetul Cluj, ROMANIA 3.- DORINA, VOICU- FIANCEE and KID,s MOTHER.- Born onAPRIL 16,1951-in ISCRONI Village Jud HunedoaraROMANIA Of: Strada REPUBLICEI No 12, TURDA,. The children already have VISA I 93 approved and received "THE BIG FORMS on MAY ,1985.- Their mother, DORINA, VOICU was told by the GENERAL of SECURITY, the COMMANDER of PASSPORT ,s OFFICE of CLUJ,that she will receive too the passport IF SHE WILL PROVE THAT WAS THE USA,s ENTRY VISAS as her kids have... (HELSINKI AGREEMENT concerning BINNATIONAL MARRIAGES)
7- ELENA,BRICEAG (mother) POLITICAL ASYLUM APPLICANT 8- IONEL-VASILE, CALARASIU (son) 9- NICULINA, CALARASIU(his wife)	1.- ION,ADRIAN(Mrs BRICEAG,sbrother,s SON) Born on October 8,1957 in Bucharest, ROMANIA 2.- IOAN, CRISTINA(Maiden Name KORNAT) ION,s - WIFE- Born on July 7,1957- HIS WIFE-

* * *

ELENA, BRICEAG(mother)
IONEL-VASILE, CALARASIU(son)
NICULINA, CALARASIU(his wife)
THEODOR ,CALARASIU,12,-their son
Phone(212)863-3504
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

3.- IOANA-ANA, ANDREEA,six month baby girl
Born on February 13,1985- their baby girl daughter
Of:Strada EMIL RACOVITA No 20 Scara A, Bloc U 3,
Etaj 3, Apt41, Bucuresti, ROMANIA (Telefon 849947)
Applied for EMIGRATION in 1979 (SIX YEARS)
To date,JULY 8,1985 THEY HAVE ELEVEN REJECTIONS!

* * *

10 - JEAN, HRISTESCU
11.- ELENA, HRISTESCU(wife)
Maiden Name:PETCU
32-39,47th St
ASTORIA, N.Y. 11103
Phone(718)626-5198
U.S.CITIZENS

1.- ANA, ANDRONE(maiden Name HRISTESC)- DAUGHTER-
Born on Nov 4,1951 in Bucharest, ROMANIA
2.-ADRIANpUAL, ANDRONE, her husband
Born on February 23,1951- her husband
3.- ALEXANDRU-ANDREI, ANDRONE,- their son,7,
Born on June 21,1978 in Bucharest, ROMANIA
Of: Strada 10 Mese No 7 Sector 2 Bucuresti, ROMANIA
(Telefon:10-49-59)
UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1977(8 YEARS) since her father JEAN HRISTESCU of NY did a HUNGER STRIKE in NY & Washinton DC in behalf of his HOSTAGE FAMILY. Only Mrs ELENA HRISTESCU, her son and his daughte arrived in The USA ANA ANDRONE OBTAINED " THE BUTTERFLIES" ONLY in 1981 AND APPLIED WITH HER FAMILY WITH.
TO DATE THEY HAVE NOTHING BUT...SIX REJECTIONS...

* * *

12.- ELENA. FANE
PERMANENT RESIDENT APPLICANT
13.- NIK,FANEA(her brother)
U.S. CITIZEN
1 Revolutionary Road
Ossining, N.Y.10562
Phone(914)941-5791

1.- CRISTIAN,CRETU,- SON-
Born on JULY 27,1967 in Uivar Village District Timis
2.- BEATRICE- .CRISTINA. CRETU- DAUGHTER
Born on 4,29 in Uivar Village Daitrict Timis,ROMANIA
Residing at :Bulevardul Cetatei No 1/2,Scara A, Etaj 4,
Apt 19,TIMISOARA,Cod 1900-ROMANIA
3.- EMANUEL, FANEA, BROTHER-
Born on 9,13,63 in Uivar Village District TIMISOARA
4.- DANIEL, FANEA- BROTHER-
Born on January 21,1966 in Uivar Village District TIMIS

* * *

14.- CONSTANTIN, FANITA
43-30,44th St # 1
Long Island City,N.Y.11104
Phone(718)204-0833
U.S.CITIZEN

1.- CLAUDIA-MIHAELA. FANITA- DAUGHTER-
Born on October 8,1966 in Bucharest, ROMANIA
2.- CARMEN-ELENA. FANITA,- DAUGHTER
Born onMarch 2,1968 in Bucharest, ROMANIA
Of: Aleea Terasei No 4, Bloc 2 E Scara 2, Etaj 3,Apt 36,
Berceni, Sector 4, Bucuresti ROMANIA(Telefon:
They tried to apply since 1983 BUT RECEIVED THE BUTTER FLIES" They had ELEVEN REJECTION till April 2o,1985
On APRIL 29,1985 Mr CONSTANTIN, FANITA, Joint THE HUNGER STRIKE in Washington D.C.-
As a result THE DAUGHTERS RECEIVED " THE BIG FORMS" on May 1985.BUT.WHEN FILED ITS UP AND COMEBACK TO BUCURESTI CITY,s OFFICE OF PASSPORTS, TO SUBMIT ITS FOR THE FINAL OF APPROVAL, THE SECURITY REFUSED TO RE - CEIVE"THE BIG FORMS APPLICATIONS"!...

* * *

15.- GABRIELA, GALESCU
Maiden Name : GHEREBEN
48-18,48th St # 6
Sunnyside, NY 11104

1.- TAMARA. GHEREBEN,born on 3,3,1931- MOTHER-
2.- DANIEL, GHEREBEN, born on 2,27,1931-
3.- LIDIA, GHEREBEN,born on 12,18,1955- SISTER-
4.- LAURA, GHEREBEN,born on 1,18,75- SISTER
5.- DANIELA, GHEREBEN,- born ou6,29,64-SISTER-
CRISTINA, GHEREBEN, born on 4,21,73- SISTER-
RUBEN, GHEREBEN,born on 3,21,77- BROTHER
Of: Aleea Egretei No 16, Bloc A V 25 Scara A, Etaj 3,
Apt 7, CONSTANTA, COD 8700 ROMANIA(Telefon 84-86-0)

16.- PAULA,GHEREBEN- sister- 48-18,48th St # 6 Sunnyside, NY 11104 POLITICAL REFUGEE	1.- VALENTIN, COJAN, - COUSIN- 2.- MARCELA, COJAN- his wife- 3.-ANDREI-DAN, COJAN,3, their son Of:Aleea Egretei No 16,Bloc A V 25,Scara A, Etaj 1, Apt 5, CONSTANTA, COD 8700,ROMANIA They tried to apply since 1981 BUT THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO THEM APPLICATION FORMS.-
17.- DUNITRA, GHIOCA Maiden Name: CIOLACU POLITICAL ASYLUM PENDING c/o ION,STEFAN PERMANENT RESIDENT 41-41,44th St # 3 D Sunnyside, NY 11104 Phone(718)937-4218 Mr ION,STEFAN, Leader of a GROUP OF HUMAN RIGHTS, organised a 16 PEOPLE HUNGER STRIKE in 1978 in DRUMUL TABEREI,BUCURESTI City, COMMUNIST ROMANIA.Arrested, torrtured, confined three times to Psychiatric Hospital,convicted to POLITICAL JAIL. THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISED A HUNGER STRIKE in New York and in Washington DC and ALL 16 HUNGER STRIKERS, included their leader and his mother were released from POLITICAL JAILS and ALL OF THEM ARE in The USA...	1.- CONSTANTIN, GHIOCA born on 5,28,41 -HUSBAND- 2.- AURELIA, GHIOCA, born on1,1,63- DAUGHTER- 3.-FLORIN, GHIOCA, bon on 6,16,64 - SON- 4.- DANIELA, GHIOCA, born on 3,16,6o-DAUGHTER- Of.-Strada PARTIZANILOR No 48, Bloc G 2,Apt 22,Tiglina 1 Galati,Cod 52.000-ROMANIA(Telefon(34)33638 5.- LENUTA.LOVIN(Maiden Name GHIOCA)B:10,6,70Daughter- 6.- CONSTANTIN, LOVIN born on 10,25,57- her Husband- 7.- AURELIAN, LOVIN born on12,20,82- their son,3,- Of: Cartierul I.C.Frimu, Bloc D 5,Apt 75 Galati ROMANIA 8.- JEAN,CIOLACU,born on May 1922- BROTHER, Former POLITICAL PRISONER, .- Of: Strada 11 Iunie No 39, GALATI,ROMANIA In 1980 they tried to apply but received only BUTTERFLIE which to date, JULY 8,1985 WERE REJECTED ELEVEN Mr CONSTANTIN GHIOCA WAS REJECTED FROM JOB.THE ONLY MEANS OF SUPPORT;3000LEUS monthly(ROMANIAN currency) of two children who are working.BUT THE DEED OF THEIR PERSONAL ESTATE(an apartment bought on mortage from STATE) was confiscated. Instead THEY STILL ARE PAYNG LEUS 2500 monthly- PERSONAL HOUSE,s rate.- What id left for eat& clothes for a family of four?500 LEUS monthly The price of a chiken is 100 Leus.Can a family of four to live with
18.- GEORGETA, GEORGESCU Maiden Name : PERISAN 115 Heary St PalisadesPark, New Jersey 07650 Phone(201)585-1361 Residence Phone(212)705-2828 or753-9363 PERMANENT RESIDENT	1.- ION,GEORGESCU, born on 4,22,29- HUSBAND 2.- CRISTIAN-IONUT, GEORGESCU,born on 1,16,68- SON- .3- RUXANDRA, GEORGESCU, bon on 9,11,62- DAUGHTER 4.-FLORIN-CONSTANTIN, MIHAILESCU born on 8,8,59 Her Husb. Mrs GEORGESCU did a Hunger Strike in their Emigration,s behalf in 1983 They got the passports [illegible] 1983 .- - On February 6,1984 abusive and illegally colonel of MILITIA,BAJENARU of MILITIA CAPITALEI(Bucuresti) confiscated their passports and arrested Mr ION, GEORGESCU.- The children did not even have ROMANIAN I.D.-CRISTIAN-IONUT,GEORGESCU(the son,17,)was expelled from High School They do not have any means to support themselves.- Mr ION, GEORGESCU was arrested by colonel BAJENARU and since, nobody heard about him...
19.- RADU,IVANIUC 59-21,71st St # 1 Ridgewood, NY 11.385 Phone(718)497-2872 PERMANENT RESIDENT	1.-CRISTIAN,IVANIUC, born on 4,25,68 - SON,17,- Of:CALEA SAGULUINo 34, Scara A Et 4, Apt 19 Timisoara Cod 1900, ROMANIA Expelled from Hig School. Obtained"THE BUTTERFLIES but on 1983 AND GET THREEE REJECTIONS TILL April 1985 when his father RADU, IVANIUC JOINED THE HUNGER STRIKE. As a result of THE HUNGER STRIKE he got"THE BIG FORMS on May 1985 BUT THERE IS ANY RESULT TO DATE (JULY 8,1985) 2.- OCTAVIAN ,IGNATESCU,MS, mining engineer,b:1936 brother in law Of:Bulevardul IOSIF BROZ TITO No 6, Scara D Etaj 8,Ap149, Sector 3, Cod 74363 Bucuresti, Romania(telefon 474171) He tried to apply since Nov 1983 BUT THE SECURITY DID NOT TIVE TO HIM THE APPLICATION FORM.

* * *

20.-NICOLAE, LUCU
21-MARIA, LUCU,- wife-
Maiden Name MARIA, CHIVU
22-NICOLETA,LUCU-daughter
1770 East,14th St # 1 D
Brooklyn, NY 11.229
Phone(718)998-4751
U.S.CITIZENS

1.- DUMITRA, STAN - DAUGHTER-
Maiden Name DUMITRA, CHIVU
Born on 1930
2.- PETRE,STAN- her SON
3.- MARIAN, STAN- Her SON
Of: Aleea Baraj Bicaz No 5, Bloc M3 A-B,Scara 1
Bucuresti.-
UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1979.-

* * *

23.- ECATERINA, BARLADEANU-sister-
24.- AURELIA, ENACHE(daughter)
31-71 Rochambeau Ave # 2 B
Bronx, NY 10467
Phone(212)280-3707 COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
AURELIA,s Office
U.S CITIZEN APPLICANT

1.- VALERIU, BARLADEANU - brother- & his family
Strada STOIAN, MILITARU No 105
Bloc 1, Scara 1, Apt 5 Sector 4 BUCURESTI 7000
They try to apply since 1980BUT THE SECURITY DID NOT
GIVE TO THEM THE APPLICATION FORMS.-

* * *

25.-MANUC, MANUCHIAN(
26.-SIMONA, MANUCHIAN
43-15,40th St # 8E
L.I.C,NY 11104
Phone(212)729-5610
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- GILDA SARAIDARIAN(Maiden Name MANUCHIAN) - DAUGHTER
Born on 7,19,50
2- SARCHIS, SARAIDARIAN, MS- her HUSBAND
ROBERT-EDUART ,SARAIDARIAN,B;10,17,77- Their SON,15
Bulevardul I.G.DUCA No 77,Etaj 7,Apt 31,CONSTANTA,ROMANIA
Telefon 25984
UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1980 when THE MANUCHIAN,s joined
THE HUNGER STRIKE in their DAUGHTER,s EMIGRATION behalf.

* * *

27-_ GHEORGHE, PERU
141- 30,Pershing Crescent St # 5 D
Jamaica, N.Y.11.435
Phone(718)297-5186 Residence
Phone(718) 544-3654 Business
U.S.CITIZEN

1.- ION,PERU, born on 1930 - BROTHER-
2.- MARGARETA PERU(Maiden Name TARBUZAN) - His Wife
Born on 2,29,1932.-
Of:Intrarea Medic Severin No 3, Sector 6 BUCURESTI,
(Telefon : 49-52-67)
UNRESOLVED CASE since 1980 when Mr GHEORGHE PERU joined
THE HUNGER STRIKE in behalf of their emigration.
They RECEIVED VISITORS PASSPORTS on MAY 17,1985 BUT ON
JUNE 4 1985 WERE SUMMONED TO SECURITY AND THEIR PASSPORTS
WERE CONFISCATED. THEY WERE TOLD THAT" THERE WAS A MISTAKE"

* * *

28.ALEXANDRU, RADULESCU
2143 Sterling Ave # 419
Bronx, NY 10462
Phone(212)597-7324
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- ILEANA, RADULESCU(Maiden Name NISTOR) - WIFE-
Born on2,27,38
2.- ION-BOGDAN, RADULESCU- SON-
Born on 1,7,1965
Of: Strada Subcetate No 62-70, Bloc 10, Scara A,Etaj 2,
Apt12,Sectorul 1,Bucuresti (Telefon: 67-93-00)
After Mr ALEXANDRU, RADULESCU joined the HUNGER STRIKE
on March 2,1985, They received"THE BIG FORMS"in June 1985
There is any answer about, to date JULY 8,1985(Can be NO)

* * *

29.-**AUREL, RADULESCU,MS**
54-10, Nurge Ave # 1 LMASPETHY 11378
Phone(718) 381-9120
PERMANENT RESIDENT
EUGENIA, RADULESCU(his mother)

1.- VALENTIN, RADULESCU,- SON & BROTHER-
Born on 1936
2.- DONELA-FLORICA, RADULESCU,29, His WIFE-
Maiden Name: POPESCU
Of: Bloc ANTON PAN, Scara B,Apt8 Zona Centrala
RAMNICU-VILCEA, ROMANIA

* * *

30.- IOANA, STROE- POLITICAL ASYLUM APPLICANT
Maiden Name GONGOROIU
31.- FLORICA ,SIMIONESCU her daughter)
32 ADINA-MARIA, SIMIONESCU,7, Florica,s daughter
43-08,28th Ave # 4
ASTORIA, NY 11103
Phone(718)274-9796 Residence
Phone(212)532-3800x 711,Florica,s Office
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

1.- DUMITRU, STROE, -HUSBAND and father(of Florica'
Born on 3,19,1931
Of:Aleea Gradinitei No 2,Bloc 5 C,Scara C,Et 1,
Apt 67, TOMIS NORD,CONSTANTA,ROMANIA
Telefon 43298

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33.- SIMONA. STANESCU,M.S.
Maiden Name: SIMONA. MATEESCU
34 FLORIAN, STANESCU,M.S.9Husband)
PERMANENT RESIDENTS
61-35,Woodbine St # 2L
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
Phone(718)386-8908
NICULINA, MATEESCU(sister)
U.S.CITIZEN
Phone(718)386-0499

1.- ION,MATEESCU,MS, born on 1,1026 FATHER & brother
2.- ADRIANA-MAGDALEAN, MATEESCU,(Maiden Name RADULIAN)WIFE
Born on Feb 1,1933- MOTHER-
Strada SARADEI No 53-61, Bloc A 9, Scara A,Etaj 4,Sect 1
Bucuresti, ROMANIA(Telefon 67-71-53)
UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1983

* * *

34.-MARETA, , STRUGAR
Maiden Name TIPA
35.- CONSTANTIN,STRUGAR(husband)
SERGIU,STRUGAR(son)
14-43, Overing St # 8D
THE BRONX,NY 10461
Phone(212)792-7308
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

1.- TATIANA. MATACHE,born on 7,26,50- SISTER
Maiden Name TIPA
DUMITRU. MATACHE, born on 4,7,46- her HUSBAND
DRAGOS,MATACHE,born ob 8,8,64- their SON
4.- CRISTINA, MATACHE, born on 7.31 77- their DAUGHTER
Of: Strada EMIL BODNARAS No 65, Bloc D44, Scara 7, Etaj 4,
Apt 104, Sector 6, Bucuresti, ROMANIA(telefon: 78-04,72)
5.- ANDREI, STRUGAR, born on 7,21,71- OUR SON-
Of: c/o GHEORGHE ,STRUGAR(grand parent)Strada Bradului No 32
CAMPU -LUNG MOLDOVENESC, Judetul Suceava, ROMANIA

* * *

36.- ANA, ANTON(mother)
37.- EDUART, ANTON
8306 Kennedy Blvd
North Bergen, N.J.07407
Phone(201) 869-2851 Residence
Phone(201) 792-2400x378 EDUART,s Office
PERMANENT RESIDENT

1.- MIRCEA, ANTON, born on 5,24,1940- SON and BROTHER
2.- CORNELIA, ANTON(Maiden Name POPOVICI)33,his WIFE
- OCTAVIAN, ANTON, 8,- Their SON-
Of : Strada Calimului No 21Sector 2 Bucuresti,ROMANIA
Telefon: 53-66-44)
/UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1983

* * *

SPOKESMAN OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS

* * *

DUMITRIE C. APOSTOLIU,Ph.D
Writer with Pen Name : COSTIN JUREA
NOBEL PRIZE nominee for LITERATURE in 1972
16 years POLITICAL PRISONER in COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s POLITICAL JAILS and into THE FORCED LABOR CAMP"THE CANAL DANUBE-BLACK SEA" ("THE CANAL OF DEATH")
President of " THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"

IN " HUNGER STRIKE"
1.- ELENA, APOSTOLIU(Miaden Name HOFMAN)-MOTHER-
KILLED BY COMMUNIST SECURITY inTIMISOARACity, ROMANIA, in 1955 -
2.- GHEORGHE D. APOSTOLIU,- FATHER-
Killed by COMMUNIST SECURITY in CONSTANTA City, ROMANIA, in 1954
3.- GHEORGHE D. APOSTOLIU,- BROTHER-
Killed by COMMUNIST SECURITY in CONSTANTA City in 1947

DGApostoliu

****
.MARIA-REGHINA, SZABLYAR
16-26 Hancock St # 2
Ridgewood, N.Y.11.385
Phone(718)366-3447
PERMANENT RESIDENT
****

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THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The U.N
Art.13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-
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H O N O R A B L E   S I R,

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I am MARIA-REGHINA, SZALLIAR, born in ROMANIA as mewber of THE GERMAN ETHNIC GROUP living over there and a PERMANENT RESIDENT OF THE USA waiting to be naturalised as US CITIZEN, being eligible for by

As part of THE GERMAN ETHNIC GROUP living in COMMUNIST ROMANIA and being ANTI-COMMUNIST,I was DISCRIMINATED by SECURITY, and HARASSED by on POLITICAL and NATIONAL ORIGIN GROUNDS.-

To escape from, myself and my entire family applied for emigration to The USA to be REUNITED with my husband,s sister CLARA WOLF of New York.-

We strggled hard and finally succeded to get EXIT VISAS FROM ROMANIA AND ROMANIAN PASSPORTS WITH WHICH MYSELF,and my husbandMICSA SZALLYAR, left for good COMMUNIST ROMANIA heading to ROME, ITALY on FEBRUARY 24,1982.-

After several weeks we were joined in ROME, ITALY by our son IVAN SZALLYAR and then with GOD,s help and the HUMANITARIAN one of UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE(U.S.C.C.) all three of us arrived in NEW YORK City on   and settled ourselves in New York City.

Latter we were joined in New York by my married daughter CONSTANTINESCU and her husband.-

Once arrived in The U.S.- WE GAVE UP OUR FORMER COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s citizenship and became : STATE LESS...

In the same with us applied and my other married daughter CAROLA-ELISABETA,SZALLYAR and her daughter CARMEN JIANU whose father was divorced byCAROLA-ELISABETA SZALLYAR since 10 years ago BUT HER APPLICATION WAS DENIED.

THEY HAVE " VISA I 93" APPROVED SINCE SEPTEMBER 1982.-

- On JUNE 1984 CARMEN JIANU,s father in COURT of TIMISOARA city, ROMANIA, GAVE TO HIS DAUGHTER THE APPROVAL TO GO to The U.S.A.-

I got my REENTRY PERMIT and the entry visa by ROMANIAN EMBASSYto WASHINGTON D.C. and I took a trip to TIMISOARA city ROMANIA on JUNE 21,1984 .I went with my daughter and niece to MILITIA of TIMISOARA City to submit the approval of my niece,s father that she is free to go with her mother to The USA, and to speed the issuance of their passports. I receive all the assurances about the issuance of their passport by THE COMMANDER OF TIMISOARA ,sSECURITY,s OFFICE OF PASSPORT. COLONEL OF SECURITY VRABIET and on JULY 21,1984 I cameback to The U.S.A.-

- Once seeing that the time is going on and my daughter did not receive the passports I visited THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C. AND THE ROMANIAN OFFICIALS OVER HERE TOLD ME THAT THEY CAN NOT TO DO NOTHING FOR ME BECAUSE I AM NOT ANYMORE ROMANIAN CITIZEN HAVING GAVE UP MY FORMER COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s CITIZENSHIP ,BUT THAT THERE MUST TO GO MYSELF BACK TO ROMANIA TO THE COMMANDER OF TIMISOARA CITY, COLONEL OF SECURITY VRABIET WHO WILL HELP ME OUT BECAUSE UNDER COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s LAWS THERE IS UNADMISIBLE TO KEEP MY DAUGHTER OVER THERE SINCE " ONLY SHE IS IN ROMANIA AND THE ENTIRE OUR FAMILY IS IN THE U.S.A.! "

- On FEBRUARY 24,1985 ,advised by ROMANIAN EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C. OFFICILAS I TOOK THE SECOND TRIP TO ROMANIA TO TRY TO HELP MY DAUGHTER OUT.WHEN WE WENT TO COLONEL OF SECURITY VRABIET OF TIMISOARA CITY,s SECURITY,s OFFICE OF PASSPORTS HE TOLD US THAT MY DAUGHTER FILE IS IN BUCHAREST TO THE COMMISSION ON VISAS AND PASSPORTS. WE WENT OVER THERE, IN BUCHAREST ON NICOLAE IORGA STREET, AND THEY SAYD...THAT MY DAUGHTER FILE IS NOT OVER THERE, BUT IN TIMISOARA CITY. IN FEW WORDS IT"DISSAPEARED" MYSTERIOUSELY...

WE CAMEBACK TO TIMISOARA AND COLONEL OF SECURITY VRABIET PROMISED TO FIND IT OUT AND TOLD ME TO COMEBACK TO THE USA AND TO WAIT FOR MY DAUGHTER AND NIECE TO JOIN ME SOONLY.-

- ON MARCH 24,1985 I cameback to New York City and after several days I receive a phone call from my daughter of ROMANIA who told me...that the SECURITY TOLD HER THAT SHE HAS TO WAIT MAY BE ONE MORE YEAR TO GET THE PASSPORTS!

- On MONDAY, APRIL 29,1985 in behalf of the EMIGRATION to The USA of my HOSTAGES:
1.- CAROLA-ELISABETA, SZABLYAR,born on January 2o, 1942 in TIMISOARA,ROMANIA- my daughter
2.- CARMEN ,JIANU, born on OCTOBER 13,1967 in TIMISOARA, ROMANIA- her daughter and my niece
Residing at CALEA SAGULUI, Strada INTRAREA MIERLEI No 3, Scara B, Etaj 4, Apt 18, TIMISOARA, Cod 1900, ROMANIA(Telefon: (61)50.129-

- I joined " THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE U.S.A. and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA" started in WASHINGTON D.C.,and I will not leave the HUNGER STRIKE ,s place till my daughter and my niece will land on J.F.KENNEDY airport in New York City and will come to WASHINGTON D.C. to HUNGER STRIKE,s place to relieve me with their hands from!

- Desperately, I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, that in their EMIGRATION,s behalf to sent a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the other similair one to his COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.,MIRCEA MALITA, asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU to respect:" THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The UN"- " BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI ACCORD" and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF"EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA" - condition with which TERRORIST CEAUSESCU perso-nal agreed with The USA upon The TRADE AGREEMENT and THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE status in 1975- 1984 by sending each year his personal ENVOY to The President of The USA to assure HIM that himslef- TERRORIST CEAUSESCU will supervise THE FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in The USA by ordering the issuance of passports to would be emigrants of AMERICAN CITIZENS and residents by ROMANIAN descents, - and-

- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE MY HOSTAGE DAUGHTER AND NIECE BY ISSUYING THEIR PASSPORTS!

- I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR,to sent a personal letter too, to HIS EXCELLENCY DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURG, our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, COMMUNIST ROMANIA, asking that HIS EXCELLENCY with the ocassion of HIS first official appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU to submit to him and THE CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE REUNION IN THE USA OF MY DAUGHTER AND NIECE WITH MYSELF AND OUR ENTIRE FAMILY WHICH IS OVER HERE- IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE ON"HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"

- I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR,to sent a personal letter too to His Excellency THOMAS E. LYNCH Jr.- Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE inWASHINGTON D.C.(Rm5219 Phone(202)632-3298,asking that His Excellency put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION,and my daughter and niece, HOSTAGES in TIMISOARA City, COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

At this point, I have to point out, that our CONSUL TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, when I visited last time THE AMERICAN EMBASSY TO BUCHAREST on MARCH 1985, TOLD ME THAT MY HOSTAGES DAUGHTER AND NIECE ARE ON THE EVIDENCE OF US EMBASSY ON THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA, LIST WITH WHICH OUR AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST HIS EXCELLENCY DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURK IS GOING TO TERRORIST CEAUSESCU FROM THREE TO THREE MONTHS.-

--Knowing very well that ROMANIAN OFFICIALS from COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C. USE TO LIE TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND TO US SENATORS AND US CONGRESSMEN IN THE MATTER OF ROMANIAN EXIT VISAS AND PASSPORTS ISSUANCE TO WOULD BE EMIGRANTS RESIDING IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND HAVING RELATIVES LIVING IN THE USA- PLEASE, HONORABLE SIR TO ASSIGN ONE MEMBER OF YOUR STAFF OF YOUR OFFICE TO WASHINGTON D.C.-TO BE IN TOUCH WITH COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.-MIRCEA,MALITA AND TO PERSUADE HIM TILL TERRORIST CEAUSESCU WILL OREDER THE ISSUANCE OF THE PASSPORTS TO MY HOSTAGE DAUGHTER AND NIECE, AND FINALY THEY WILL LAND ON J.F.KENNEDY airport in New York City!

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

DESPERATELY and RESPECTFULY YOURS,
MARIA-REGHINA,SZABLYAR,
Maria R. Szablyar

JEAN, HRISTESCU
ELENA, HRISTESCU(wife)
32-39,47th St
ASTORIA, N.Y.11103
Phone(718)626-5198
U.S.CITIZENS

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H O N O R A B L E   S I R ,

We are JEAN,HRISTESCU and wife ELENA, HRISTESCU(Maiden Name PETCU) -ROMANIAN born and NATURALISED as US CITIZENS. (Jean ,Hristescu in Sept 1984,Elena,Hristescu in Oct 1984; both by US Deitrict Court of Brooklyn, New York)

- In our native country The Kingdom of ROMANIA which unfortunately became COMMUNIST ROMANIA by DECEMBER 30,1947- being ruled since by COMMUNIST MOSCOW,s appointed pupets, being ANTI-COMMUNISTS we , and our entire family were under permanent surveillance of SECURITY(COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE of USSR,s "K.G.B" type)-
- Jean Hristescu, arrived in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEE on JULY 30,1975 by the HUMANITARIAN HELP of World Council of Churches.He settled himself in New York City where became step by step PERMANENT RESIDENT and was NATURALISED as US CITIZEN bySEptember 1984.-
- On 1977 JEAN, HRISTESCU joined " THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in The USA andfor THE RESTORATION of HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM of RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA" as a result of JEAN ,HRISTESCU,s HUNGER STRIKE in New York City and in WASHINGTON D.C., arrived in The USA for our FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION:ELENA, HRISTESCU (Maiden Name PETCU, JEAN,s wife, and our son THEODOR,HRISTESCU,on NOV 15,1978.-

But our daughter and her family are still HOSTAGES over there:
1.- ANA. ANDRONE(Maiden Name HRISTESCU)born onNOV 4,1951 in Bucharest,Romania-DAUGHTER-
2.- ADRIAN-PAUL, ANDRONE, born on FEB.23,1951- her HUSBAND
3.- ALEXANDRU-ANDREI, ANDRONE, born on JUNE 21,1978.-their SON,7,
Of: Strada lo MESE No 7,Sector 2 BUCURESTI, R O M A N I A (Telefon: 10-49-59)

Our daughter and her HOSTAGE FAMILY, tried to apply for be REUNITED with her father since 1977 when he, JEAN HRISTESCU DID THE HUNGER STRIKE in The USA in our EMIGRATION,s behalf. MY SELF, ELENA, HRISTESCU and our son THEODOR,HRISTESCU(now 37 years,ANA,s brother)obtained the passports and arrived in The USA on 1978.BUT ANA, ANDRONE, obtained"THE BUTTERFLIES " FOUR YEARS AGO,in 1981 and applied with,BEING LAYD OFF FROM HER JOB SINCE THAT VERY MOMENT! -To date, JULY 7,1985 THEY HAVE NOTHING BUT SIX REJECTIONS!...

Therefore, in their EMIGRATION,s behalf WE JOINED on JULY 7,1985 in Washington D.C.: " THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE U.S.A, and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA" organised by Dr. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU of New York, President of THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"

- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to sent in their EMIGRATION,s behalf, a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the other simila one to his COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.:NICOLAE GAVRILESCU, asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU to respect " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMN RIGHTS of The U.N."-"BASKET THREE"o HELSINKI AGREEMENT" and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF"THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE" status,: THE CONDITION OF EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- condition with which TERRORI CEAUSESCU personal agreed with The USA upon THE TRADE AGREEMENT and"THE MFN " sending year by year since 1975-1984,his personal envoy to The PRESIDENT of The USA to assure HIM, that CEAUSESCU PERSONAL WILL SUPERVISE THE IMMEDIATE APPROVAL OF EVERY SINGLE APPLICATION OF EMIGRATION TO THE USA FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION OR FOR A BINNATIONAL MARRIAGE, and
  - TO ISSUE IMMEDIATELY THE PASSPORTS TO OUR DAUGHTER ANA, ANDRONE, HER HUSBAND AND HER SON, 7, HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST ROMANIA!
- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR to sent a personal letter too, tollis Excellency our USA ,s AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that His Excellency during the first official appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESC, to submit to him and the case of FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE REUNIFICATION OF OUR HOSTAGE DAUGHTER ANA, ANDRONE, HER HUSBAND AND THEIR SON,7, UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 1977!

EIGHT YEARS OF CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT DISCRIMINATION AND TERROR BY ROMANIAN SECURITY! THERE IS ENOUGH!WHAT HUMAN BEING CAN SUPPORT A NIGHTMARE LIKE THIS ONE?AND WHAT FOR: BECAUS THE ONLY SINGLE DAUGHTER OF TWO PARENTS , AMERICAN CITIZENS, WANTED TO BE REUNITED WITH HER PARENTS AND BROTHERS,-THE ENTIRE FAMILY OF HER-WHO IS LIVING IN THE USA AS US CITIZENS!...

Therefore, please to write to our AMBASSADOR to submit this case to TERRORIST CEAUSESCU in to be RESOLVED AT PLACE " ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS!"

- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR to sent a personal letter too to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH Jr, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT of STATE in Washington D.C. (Room # 5219,- Phone:202-632-3298)asking that His Excellency put on THE LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in The USA and the names of ANA, ANDRONE(Maiden Name) our DAUGHTER, her husband ADRIAN-PAUL,ANDRONE,34, and their son,7 ALEXANDRU-ANDREI, ANDRONE,- all of them residing atStrada 10 Mese No 7, Sector 2, Bucuresti, ROMANIA(Telefon:10-49-59) AS THE DAUGHTER OF TWO PARENTS
- AND AN UNRESOLVED CASE SINCE 8 (EIGHT YEARS) 1977-1985!

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- FOR THE ABOVE MENTIONED FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT AND POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION BY COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE HELPLESS DAUGHTER OF TWO AMERICAN CITIZENS AND SISTER OF TWO AMERICAN BROTHERS,WE ARE ASKINK THAT:
  - THE U.S. SENATE DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s"status to TERRORIST PRESODENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA NOR TO HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT WHO VIOLATED ANY KIND OF HUMAN RIGHTS,DEMOLISHED CHURCHES BY BULDOZERS AND DID TOILLET PAPERS FROM SAINT BIBLES!...

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

Sincerely YOURS,
JEAN,HRISTESCU
Jean Hristescu
ELENA, HRISTESCU,
Elena Hristescu

****
CONSTANTIN, FANITA
43-30,44th St # 1 J
Long Island City, NY 11104
Phone(718)204-0833
U.S. CITIZEN
****

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HONORABLE SIR,
****

I am CONSTANTIN, FANITA, ROMANIAN born, arrived in The USA on SEPTEMBER 1977 and naturalised as US CITIZEN by 1983.-

Being ANTI-COMMUNIST and a GREEC ORTHODOX worshiper, I tried hardely to escape from COMMUNISM.

And finaly I get the opportunity in 1970 when I left COMMUNIST ROMANIA by a truck as driver for T.I.R.(ROMANIAN STATE,s TRUCKS COMPANY)heading for West Germany with marchandise for FRUCT EXPORT(ROMANINA STATE,s **FRUITS**Company)

In West Germany I defected and I asked and I was granted POLITICAL ASYLUM by The High COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OF THE U.N. of GENEVA(SWITZERLAND).-

- On SEPTEMBER 1977 I arrived in New York City where in 1978 I married an US CITIZEN and I settled myself for good in New York City where I was naturalised as US CITIZEN in 1983.-
- Unfortunately when I succeded to left COMMUNIST ROMANIA in 1970 as a driver for T.I.R., heading for West Germany where I defected,I WAS FORCED TO LEFT BEIHND AS HOSTAGES:

1.-CLAUDIA-MIHAELA, FANITA, bon in Bucharest on OCTOBER 8,1966- my daughter.-
2.- CARMEN-ELENA, FANITA, born in Bucharest on MARCH 2,1968- my daughter.-

Both of them residing at : ALEEA TERASEI No 4, Bloc 2 E, Scara 2, Etaj 3,Apt 36 BERCENI, Sector 4, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA .-

- My daughters tried to apply for EMIGRATION to The USA in order to be REUNITED with me over here, BUT THE SECURITY GAVE TO THEM ONLY " THE BUTTERFLIES" in 1983.-
- Myself I tried to resolve MY FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION in THE USA,"PEACEFULLY" with ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT.-

BUT THE ROMANIAN OFFICIALS ONLY LIED TO ME. IN ORDER " TO GAIN TIME" AND TO KEEP MY DAUGHTERS STILL HOSTAGES OVER THERE.-

MY FORMER WIFE GAVE TO THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES HER WRITEN APPROVAL AND CONSENT THAT MY DAUGHTERS TO JOIN ME . RECENTELY I WAS IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA AND I PAYD A HIGH FEE TO COMMUNIST ROM ANIA,s AUTHORITIES TO LEGALISE MY FORMER WIFE,s CONSENT ON THE MATTER.-

BUT COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AUTHORITIESAAFTER RECEIVED THAT BIG FEE FROM ME,STILL REFUSED TO GIVE TO MY HOSTAGE DAUGHTERS THE "BIG FORMS" AND, OF COURSE THE PASSPORTS!...

" ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!" BUT IN THIS CASE OF COMMUNIST ROMANIAN LIARS THAT IS MORE THAN "ENOUGH MY DAUGHTERS HAVE PETITION VISAS APPROVED AND WHAT THEY NEED TO BE REUNITED WITH ME HERE IN NEW YORK, THERE ARE " THE PASSPORTS! "

SINCE 1983 TO DATE,-I MEAN TWO YEARS,-ROMANIAN OFFICIALS FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C. -LIED TO ME WITHOUT SHAME! THEY MAKE ME TO GO TO ROMANIA TO PAY A BIG FEE FOR " THE SO CALL " PROCEEDINGS OF MY FORMER WIFE,s CONSENT THAT MY DAUGHTERS TO JOIN ME IN NEW YORK CITY"--AND FINALY TO SEE THAT " THEIR DIRTY MONOUEVRES WERE "EMPTY LIES"!...

- FOR THE ABOVE REPORTED REASONS, MY PATIENCE WENT OUT AND MY CONFIDENCE IN MY INTENTION TO RESOLVE " PEACEFULY" THIS HUMANITARIAN MATTER OF THE REUNIFICATION IN THE USA WITH MY TWO DAUGHTERS,VANISHED FOR EVER, THE LIES OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s OFFICIALS FROM WASHINGTON D.C. AND THOSE OF ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA DISGUSTED ME .

THEREFORE, I WILL JOIN " THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE U.S.A. AND FOR THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" WHICH WILL RESTART ON APRIL 29,in WASHINGTON D.C. on CAPITOL,s steps, on the sidewalk of THE WHITE HOUSE and in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C..-

AND I WILL NOT LEAVE THE HUNGER STRIKE PLACE UNTIL MY DAUGHTERS ,NOW HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,WILL COME OVER TO RELIEVE ME FROM HUNGER STRIKE!-

- I APPEAL TO YOU, HONORABLE SIR,TO SENT A PERSONAL LETTER DIRECTELY TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,- ASKING THAT, IN RESPECT OF: " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF The U.N."- of " BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI ACCORD"AND OF THE EXPRES CONDITION OF" EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA, CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST

PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AGREED WITH THE USA UPON " THE TRADE AGREEMENT" and " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE"status-

- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE MY DAUGHTERS HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST ROMANIA, BY ISSUIYNG TO THEM THEIR PASSPORTS AND EXIT VISA FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA IN ORDER TO BE REUNITED OVER HERE, IN NEW YORK CITY, -U.S.A.- WITH MYSELF, THEIR NATURAL FATHER.
- I APPEAL TO YOU, HONORABLE SIR, TO SENT A PERSONAL LETTER TOO, TO HIS EXCELLENCY DAVID BRITTON, FUNDERBURK,-OUR AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, ASKING THAT HIS EXCELLENCY WITH THE OCASSION OF THE FIRST OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT WITH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO SUBMIT AND THIS CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s GOVERNMENT, IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED AT ONCE" ON HUMANITARIAN
- PLEASE, HONORABLE SIR, SENT A PERSONAL LETTER TOO, TO HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS LYNCH Jr,- CHAIRMAN OF ROMANIAN AFFAIRS WITH DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN WASHINGTON D.C.(Room 5219, Phone(202)632-3298)- ASKING HIS EXCELLENCY TO PUT ON DEPARTMENT OF STATE,sLIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA-AND MY HOSTAGE DAUGHTERS FROM BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, AS DAUGHTERS OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN(MYSELF)!...
- PLEASE, HONORABLE SIR, TO SUBMIT THIS CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE NATURAL DAUGHTERS OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN-TO AMERICAN DELAGATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT,s SIGNATAIRES,WHICH RESUMED ON APRIL 23,1985 IN OTTAWA, CANADA AND IS STILL GOING ON!
- KNOWING THAT ROMANIAN OFFICIALS FROM WASHINGTON D.C ARE NOTHING MORE BUT"DIRTY LIARS" PLEASE, HONORABLE SIR TO ASSIGNE ONE MEMEBER OF YOURS WASHINGTON D.C,s STAFF TO BE IN PERMANENT TOUCH WITH ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.-MIRCEA, MALITA, AND TO PERSUADE HIM TO GET THE ANSWER FROM TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU-I MEAN THE PASSPORTS FOR MY HOSTAGE DAUGHTERS!

-AND TO WORK WITH, BEING WARNED THAT HE MUST NOT BELIEVE NOTHING FROM AMBASSADOR,s LIES, AND TO CLOSE THE CASE " ONLY WHEN MY DAUGHTERS WILL LAND ON J.F.KENNEDY AIRPORT IN NEW-YORK CITY!...

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM.
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT

SINCERELY YOURS

CONSTANTIN, FANITA
U.S. CITIZEN

NICK,FAMEA
1 Revolutionary Road
OSSINING, New York 10.562
Phone(914)941-5792
US CITIZEN

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including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR,

I am NICK FAMEA, ROMANIAN born, former POLITICAL PRISONER in COMMUNIST ROMANIA, arrived in
The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEE on May 8,1978 and naturalised as US CITIZEN by CERTIFICATE of
NATURALISATION No 11735648 issued by SUPREME COURT of WHITE PLAINS, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW
YORK STATE on DECEMBER 13,1984.-
In my native country, COMMUNIST ROMANIA, being ANTI-COMMUNIST together my entire family, I wa
always under PERMANENT SURVEILANCE of SECURITY (COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE of USSR,s
" K.G.B." type) being DISCRIMINATED AND PERSECUTED ON POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUNDS.-
To escape from, with the risc of my life I tried to cross illegally the ROMANIAN-JUGO-SLAVIA
border twice: in 1973 and in 1974 BUT I WAS CAUGHT BY BORDER GUARDS AND SECUTIY,s PATROLS . I
was hard beaten up , prosecuted and convicted twice to POLITICAL JAIL by MILITARY COURT.
Released after I served my POLITICAL JAIL terms I was more under SECURIRY SURVEILLANCE.-
BUT, DESPITE SECURITY,s SURVEILLANCE, third time on NOV 1,1977 I succeded to cross illegally
The ROMANIAN-JUGO-SLAVIAN border and then THE JUGO-SLAVIAN-AUSTRIAN one, and I reached VIENNA
AUSTRIA where I asked and I was granted POLITICAL ASYLUM by THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEE
of The UN of SWITZERLAND.-
Then, I arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA on May 8,1978 I settled myself in OSSINING,
and step by step I was granted PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS and Finaly I was naturalised as US
TIZEN by SUPREME COURT of White Plains, Westchester County, NY on Dec 13,1984.-
Over here I succeded to work from the forst day of my arrival and since several years I have
my personal business and I have too my own house(real estate) in OSSINING, N.Y...
Unfortunately, when with the risc of my life I succeded (after two prvious failed attempts)
to cross illegally THE ROMANINA- JUGO-SLAVIAN and The JUGO-SLAVIAN- AUSTRIAN bordes in 1977
and finaly I arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA on May 8,1978, I WAS FORCED TO LEFT
BEHIND AS HOSTAGES:
1.- FAMEA, EMANUEL, born on Sept 13,1963 in UIVAR Village District TIMIS, ROMANIA, my brothe
2.- FAMEA, DANIEL, born on January 21,1966 in UIVAR Village District TIMIS, ROMANIA, my brot
Both of them residing at 182 COMUNA UIVAR, Judetul TIMIS, ROMANIA....
Since 1973 and 1974 attempts of mine of crossying illegally the border when I was caught by
border guards and security,s patrols, hard beaten up, prosecuted and convicted to POLITICAL
JAIL and finaly since I succeded to cross The ROMANIAN and JUGO-SLAVIAN border and then The
JUGO-SLAVIAN and AUSTRIAN ones and I arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA, - SECURITY,s
DISCRIMINATION and HARASSEMENT against my brothers INTENSIFIED...
They tried year by year to apply for EMIGRATION TO THE USA TO BE REUNITED WITH ME OVER HERE
IN THE USA. BUT since 1978 to date, YEAR BY YEAT, THEYR APPLICATIONS WERE PERMANENTELY REJEC
TED BY SECURITY, WHICH DID NOT GAVE TO THEM NEVER" THE BIG FORMS" BUT ONLY" THE BUTTERFLIES"
Finaly, my NATURALISATION as US CITIZENSHIP approached(I was naturalised on DEC 13,1984)
MY BROTHERS TRIED TO APP Y AGAIN FOR EMIGRATION TO THE USA TO BE REUNITED WITH ME OVER HERE.
BUT INSTEAD TO GIVE TO MY BROTHER FAMEA EMANUEL" THE BIG FORMS" THE LOCAL SECURITY(TIMISOA-
RA CITY ,s PASSPORTS SERVICE)ORDERED HIM...TO MILITARY DUTY...HE WAS SENT TO A MILITARY UNI
OF " GENIUM" IN INDEPENDENTA Village District of CONSTANTA, ROMANIA and normaly will be re-
leased(discharged) on AUGUST 1985...He was incorporated on February 1984 UNLAWFUL AND ABUS
IN VIOLATION OF EVEN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s LAWS WHICH PROVIDED THAT" ON
INDIVIDUAL WHO APPLIED FOR EMIGRATION TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY CAN NOT BE INCORPORATED IN THE
ARMY(HE DID NOT HAVE " THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO JOIN"THE PARTY,sand PEOPLE,s ARMY" BECA
SE AS A WOULD BE EMIGRANT MEANS TO BE" A TRAITOR FO PARTY, USSR AND ROMANIAN PEOPLE")...

2.- My other brother DANIEL, FANEA, instead to receive " THE BIG FORMS" ...WAS ARRESTED ON DECEMBER 1984 ON FALSE AND CONCOTED CHARGES, PROSECUTED BY CRIMINAL COURT OF TIMISOARA TO SERVE ONE YEAR OF JAIL...HE WILL BE RELEASED FROM JAIL PROBABELY ON AUGUST 1985, after SIX MONTHS OF FORCED LABOR...

***

Therefore, THERE WAS A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND EVEN OF THE LAWS OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA CONCERNING THE EMIGRATION TO THE USA OF MY TWO HOSTAGES BROTHERS,
INSTEAD TO GIVE TO THEM THE" BIG FORMS"AND FINALY THE EXIT VISAS AND THE PASSPORTS, -ONE OF THEM WAS UNLAWFUL INCORPORATED IN THE ARMY,(IN VIOLATION OF EVEN ROMANIAN LAWS WHICH PROVIDED THAT " ONE INDIVIDUAL WHO APPLIED FOR EMIGRATION TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY CAN NOT BE ONCORPORATED IN THE ARMY)AND THE OTHER ONE BROTHER WAS ARRESTED, PROSECUTE AND CONVICTED TO ONE YEAR OF JAIL, ON CHARGES CONCOTED BY LOCAL SECURITY AND LOCAL MILITIA._
- In behalf f their EMIGRATION TO THE USA FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION, I joined " THE NINETEENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA" started in New York City in Front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s MISSION TO THE UN on MARCH 2,1985.-
- As AMERICAN CITIZEN, I filed out PETITION VISAS for my two brothers with INS District of at 26 Federal Plaza, NY,NY 10278, on Feb 22,1985 and I sent them affidavit of support.-
- As AMERICAN CITIZEN, I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to sent a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESDIENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA(by the two ways" with His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT of STATE in WASHINGTON DC: Room 5219 and Phone(202)632-3298) and by COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.: MIRCEA MALITA) asking Terrorist CEAUSESCU to order that my brother FANEA, EMANUEL who despite the fact that BEING AN WOULD BE EMIGRANT TO THE USA, WITH APPLICATIONS SUMBITED TO TIMISOARA SECURITY,S SERVICE OF PASSPORTS SINCE...1978 to date...WAS UNLAWFUL REGISTERED WITH THE ARMY SERVICE IN FEBRAURY 1984(EVEN THE ROMANIAN LAW PROVIDED THAT ONE WHO APPLIED FOR EMIGRATION CAN NOT BE INCORPORATED IN THE ARMY)- TO BE DISCHARGED AT PLACE FROM THE UNIT OF " GENIU" OF INDEPENDENTA VILLAGE DISTRICT OF CONSTANTA AND ISSUED THE PASSPORT.-

and

That my brother DANIEL, FANEA, WHO WAS PROSECUTED AND CONVICTED TO SERVE ONE YEAR JAIL FOR A " THEFT" CONCOTED BY SECURITY AND MILITIA,BEING ARRESTED ON DEC 1984 AND EXPECTED TO BE RELEAS ON AUGUST 1984,- TO RECEIVE " A PARDON" IN ORDER TO BE IMMEDIATELY RELEASED FROM JAIL AND TO HAVE THE PASSPORT ISSUED!...
Please sent a SERIOUS PROTEST TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA FOR HIS SECURITY,s DISCRIMINATION AND PERSECUTION OF AMERICAN CITIZEN,s RELATIVES LIVING OVER THERE AND WOULD BE EMIGRANTS TO THE USA FOR THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA ASK TERRORIST CEAUSESCU THAT IN RESPECT OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT,s BASKET THREE and of " THE MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE,s STATUS CONDITION OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA" TO INVESTIGATE WHO VIOLATED THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF EMIGRATION OF MY HOSTAGE BROTHERS, AND WHO VIOLATED EVEN ROMANIAN LAWS CONCERNING THE INCORPORATION IN THE ARMY OF ROMANIAN CITIZENS KNOWYING THAT ROMANIAN LAWS FORBID THE INCORPORATION IN THE ARMY OF " WOULD BE EMIGRANTS"...TO PUNISH THEM EXEMPLARELY,TO ORDER THAT MY BROTHER EMANUEL FANEA TO BE DISCHARGED IMMEDIATELY FROM " GENIUS" UNIT OF INDEPENDENTA Village District of CONSTANTA AND THE OTHER BROTHER DANIEL, FANEA to be released from jail, and TO ISSUE FOR BOTH OF THEM, IMMEDIATELY STATELESS APSSPORTS FOR THE USA!
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, TO SEND A PERSONAL LETTER TOO, TO HIS EXCELLENCY DAVID BRITTON FUNDEBURG, OUR AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, ASKING THAT HIS EXCELLENCY WITH THE OCASSION OF HI FIRST OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT WITH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO SUBMIT TO HIM THE FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND EVEN OF ROMANIAN LAWS BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE CASES OF MY HOSTAGE BROTHERS, IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE " ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"!
- Please, sent a similar letter to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C., asking His Excellency to put my HOSTAGE BROTHERS on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA, as brothers of an US CITIZEN(myself)
- Down Terrorism!
- Down Communism!
- Long Live to Freedom!
- GOD bless AMERICA!
- GOD bless YOU, HONORABLE SIR and YOUR FAMILY for YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

Sincerely YOURS
NICK,FANEA
Nik Fanea

ELENA, FANE
Maiden Name: FANE
c/o Nick FANEA(brother)
1 Revolutionary Road
OSSINING, NY 10562
PERMANENT RESIDENT APPLICANT
as sister of an US CITIZEN(Nick Fanea)
Phone (914)941-5791

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of UN
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,

I am ELENA, FANEA(Maiden Name FANEA) ROMANIAN born, arrived in The USA as VISITOR B 2, on December 19,1984 and applicant for change of my status of VISITOR into PERMANENT RESIDENT of Th USA as sicter of and AMERICAN CITIZEN(my brother Nick Fanea, of Ossining , NY, who is too my sponsor in The USA)
I applied for change of STATUS with INS District of New York on February 22,1985.-at: 26 Federal Plaza, New York City, NY 10278...The proceedings are going on...
In my native country today COMMUNIST ROMANIA, myself and my entire family being ANTI-COMMUNISTS were under permanent surveillance of SECURITY(COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE of USSR,s " K.G.B" type)
When my brother NICK FANEA tried with the risc of his life two times to cross illegally the ROMANIAN-JUGO-SLAVIAN border in 1973 and 1974 and was caught, by BORDER GUARDS AND SECURITY, PATROLS, hard beaten up, prosecuted and convicted to POLITICAL JAIL TERM(twice) SECURITY,s DISCRIMINATION and HARASSEMENT against us, his relatives, intensified...
This POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION intensified more, when in 1977 my brotherTHIRD ATTEMPT OF CROSSYING THE ROMANIAN-JUGO-SLAVIAN berder SUCCEDED and finaly in May 8,1978 he saw his DREAM ACCOMPLISHED: HE ARRIVED AS POLITICAL REFUGEE ON J.F.KENNEDY AIRPORT in New York City. But, after years and years of denials, finalp, myself SUCCEDED TO GET A TOURIST PASSPORT BEARING A B2 VISITOR VISA and with it I landed myself on J.F.Kennedy airport on DEC 19,1984!
On FEBRUARY 22, 1985 I applied with INS District of New York FOR MY FREEDOM AND THE ONE OF MY CHILDREN(For change of my status of VISITOR into PERMANENT RESIDENT as sister of an U.S. CITIZEN: my brother Nick Fanea of Ossining , NY....)
UNFORTUNATELY, WHEN I SUCCEDED TO LEFT COMMUNIST ROMANIA WITH A TOURIST PASSPORT AS A VISITO TO MY BROTHER IN THE USA on DECEMBER 19,1984, I WAS FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND AS HOSTAGES:
1.- CRISTIAN, CRETU,born onJune 27,1967 in UIVAR VILLAGE, District TIMIS,ROMANIA- my son
2.- BEATRICE-CRISTIANA, CRETU, born on APRIL 29,1974 in TIMISOARA City, ROMANIA- my daughter
Both of them residing together at: Bulevardul CETATEI No 1/2 Scara A, Etaj 4,Apt 19, TIMISOARA, Cod 1900, ROMANIA.-
BOTH OF THEM HAVING ANY MEANS TO SUPPORT THEM SELVES.-
BOTH OF THEM BEING HARASSED BY SECURITY SONCE I DID N OT CAMEBACK TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA ,IN JANUARY OR FEBRUARY 1985 AS I WAS ESPECTED TO BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s SECURITY...
- In behalf of THEIR EMIGRATION TO THE USA, I joined" THE NINETEENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN TH USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- started in New York City, in front of COMMUNIS ROMANIA,s MISSION TO THE UN,- on MARCH 2,1985.-
- I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to sent a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA, asking that in respect of " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMNA RIGHTS of THE UN, of BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT and of THE EXPRESS CONDITIO of " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROM ANIA" CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AGREED WITH THE USA UPON " TRADE AGREEMENT" and upon"THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUS STATUS" in 1975-1984 by sending year by year his personal envoy to THE PRESIDENT of THE USA t assure HIM of HIS compliance with the above mentioned INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS and TREATIES,
- and TO ISSUE IMMEDIATELY THE STATELESS PASSPORTS FOR THE USA TO MY HOSTAGE CHILDREN!

Please, HONORABLE SIR, to send a personal letter too to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBU our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that His Excellency with the ocasion of His firs offiáial appoint,ent with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU, to submit to him and the case of my HOSTAGE CHILDREN, in order to be resolved at place " ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"..."

- Please, sent a personal letter too, to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman
of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS WITH DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN WASHINGTON D.C.(ROOM 5219,-Phone:
(202) 632-3298,- asking that His Excellency put my children on DEPARTMENT OF STATE.s
LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA,- as children
of a mother PERMANENT RESIDENT of The USA and as nephew and niece of an US CITIZEN(my
brother Mr Nick Fanea, businessman of OSSINING, NY, their uncle.-)
- My brother filed PETITION VISA for myself change of status from VISITOR into PERMANENT
RESIDENT,- with INS District of NY, on February 22, 1985, In this application of PETITION
VISA, there are included and my children, above mentioned.-
- My brother sent to my HOSTAGE CHILDREN, affidavits of support on FEBRUARY 22,1985 too.-
- Down Terrorism!
- Down Communism!
- Long Live to Freedom!
- GOD bless AMERICA!
- GOD bless YOU, HONORABLE SIR and YOUR FAMILY, for YOUR HUMANITARIAN and LEGAL support!

Respectfulv YOURS
ELENA,FANE

Elena Fanea

FROM:
GEORGETA, GEORGESCU
115 Henry Street
Palisades Park,New Jersey 07650
Phone(201) .585-1361 Residence
Phone(212)705-2828 or 753-9363 Business
POLITICAL REFUGEE
A24-078-470
Social Security No# 007-64-2457

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,
****

I am GEORGETA,GEORGESCU(Maiden Name: PERISAN)ROMANIAN born and POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA since JUNE 12,1984.-

I arrived in The USA on J.F.Kennedy airport with a TOURIST Passport bearing a VISITOR B2 Visa, on AUGUST 25,1980.-

I applied fpr POLITICAL ASYLUM with INS District of New York, then I moved to New-Jersey State at 115 Henry Street, Palisades Park, New Jersey 07650, and my INS file was transfered over there.-

Finaly, my POLITICAL ASYLUM REQUEST, was approved on JUNE 12,1984!...(It took 4 FOUR years for the legal proceedings, my INS file getting lost several times since transfered to New Jersey...

- When I succeded to get exit visa on a TOURIST PASSPORT, I WAS FORCED TO LEFT behind, as HOSTAGES:

1.- ION GEORGESCU, born in ROMANIA, on APRIL 22,1929 whom I married in BUCHAREST, ROMANIA on JANUARY 3,1962- my husband.-(arrested on JANUARY 11,1984 by LITIA of BUCHAREST)

2.- RUXANDRA, GEORGESCU,born on SEPTEMBER 11,1962- our daughter(married onJULY 14,1983 at Sector 3 BUCHAREST,s City Hall and religious on AUGUST 1983, withFLORIN-CONSTANTIN, MIHAILESCU,born on AUGUST 8,1959. After marriage she maintained her maiden name of GEORGESU

- On SEPTEMBER-OCT 1983 she got ROMANIAN PASSPORT # B-53253 which was confiscated by: MILITIA COLONEL BAJENARU of MILITIA CAPITALEI(CITY,s MILITIA) on February 1984.-

3.- CRISTIAN-IONUT, GEORGESCU, born on JANUARY 16,1968 - our son.-

- He got ROMANIAN PASSPORT# B 43604 on FEBRUARY 1982 which was condiscated abusiv and illegally by MILITIA,s COLONEL BAJENARU of MILITIA CAPITALEI(BUCHAREST CITY,s MILITIA) on FEBRUARY 1982.-

Now, after JULY 14,1983 marriage of my daughter RUXANDRA, GEORGESCU, there is one more relative of mine, her husband, my son in law FLORIN-CONSTANTIN, MIHAILESCU born on AUGUST 8,1959 , who got ROMANIAN PASSPORT # B 53253 on SEPT-OCT 1983, which was confiscated abusive and illegally by MILITIA COLONEL BAJENARU of MILITIA CAPITALEI(BUCHAREST CITY,s MILITIA) on FEBRUARY 1984. He was arrested by since APRIL 2,1984- AUGUST 31,1984,when was released without charge against him.-He was TORRTURED BY COLONEL BAJENARU TO STATE THAT MY HUSBAND BRIBED SOMEONE OF PASSPORT OFFICES AND SO HAPPENED THAT WE ALL OBTAINED ROMANIA PASSPORTS(my daughter, my son, and himself)AND WE KEPT ITS FOR TWO YEARS TILL THE POLITICAL ASYLUM of Mrs GEORGETA GEORGESCU WAS APPROVED, and VISA I 93 was filed out for all of us. In fact we payd the legal fee for extension of our passport, like tens of others would be emigrants to The USA to be REUNITED in THE USA with their FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES and are expecting THE ENTRY VISA in THE USA.

***

On 1983 I joined " THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA" in behalf of my REUNION in The USA with my husband, daughter and son.

Supported by US SENATORS, by US CONGRESSMEN and even by Mr President RONALD REAGAN, who interceded directely with TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA, in thei EMIGRATION,s behalf, after CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS on MOST FAVORED NATION,s status for COMMUNIST ROMANIA, they obtained the Passports on SEPT-OCT 1983

I.have to point out THAT THEY WERE HARASSED AND POLITICAL DISCRIMINATED BY SECURITY
sine I defected in The USA and I applied for POLITICAL ASYLUM.
My daughter RUXANDRA, GEORGESCU, WAS LAYD OFF FROM HER JOB SINCE GOT THE PASSPORT :1982.-
My son CRISTIAN-IONUT, GEORGESCU,16 years old, WAS EXPELLED FROM HIGH SCHOOL on MAY 1984.-
Since MAY 1984 HE DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO ATTEND ANY SCHOOL IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.
HE DOES NOT HAVE EVEN THE RIGHT TO GET A ROMANIAN ID(BULTIN de POPULATIE)as EACH HABITANT OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA HAS(That means that HE DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO BONUS FOR BREAD, SUGAR, OIL AND MEAT...)
He is helped out, together my daughter and my son in law,- to survive by the father of my son in law Mr CEZAR,MIHAILESCU of CALEA MOSILOR No 300, Apt 40, BUCHAREST...
All of them (my daughter , her husband aud my son in law)are residing together at:Strada CADEREA BASTILIEI No 30,Sector 1, BUCURESTI, (Tel:59-53-53)

All of them visited The US EMBASSY to BUCHAREST concerning their ENTRY VISA in The USA, before their PASSPORT were issued, after their father was arrested andtheir PASSPORTS WERE ABUSIVE AND ILLEGALLY CONFISCATED BY COLONEL BAJENARU of MILITIA CAPITALEI(BUCHAREST City,s MILITIA) on FEBRUARY 1984.-
At US EMBASSY they contacted Mr VICE-CONSUL LOREN URLY.-
After my POLITICAL ASYLUM WAS APPROVED on JUNE 12,1984, I filed out VISA I 93 with INS .Their VISA I 93 WAS APPROVED ON JULY 1984.-
MY HUSBAND ION,GEORGESCU WAS ARRESTED ON JANUARY 11,1984 being under investigation by COLONEL BAJENARU of MILITIA CAPITALEI(BUCHAREST CITY,s MILITIA) and charged that... he bribed somebody from PASSPORT OFFICES and so my relatives(daughter, son and son in law) obtained their passports and kept their passports for...two years(In fact there are tens of would be emigrants to The USA who have EXIT VISA from COMMUNIST ROMANIA, and are paying a fee for the extension of that visa till the legal proceeding of ENTRY VISA in The USA are accomplished.My HOSTAGE FAMILY WAS IN THE SAME LEGAL SITUATION UNDER ROMANIAN LAWS, expecting the approval of my POLITICAL ASYLUM to be eligible for entry visa(VISA I 93)...
- Then were arretsed abusive and ilegally: my husband sister on OCT 16,1984;my son in law: APRIL 2- AUGUST 31,1984.- They were torrtured by MILITIA COLONEL BAJENARU to give false statement (that my husband bribed somebody from PASSPORT OFFICE to get the passport for my son, daughter and her husband, and then to maintain these passports two years) to have THE MAIDE UP ALLEGATION OF COLONEL BAJENARU SUPPORTED AGAINST MY HUSBAND. BUT THEY RESISTED COLONEL BAJENARU,s TORRTURES and WERE RELEASED WITHOUT BE PROSECUTED...

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HONORABLE SIR,
****

I appeal to YOUR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT in asking that to interced directely with TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, TO PROTEST AGAINST THIS NEW FORM OF CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT OF ROMANIAN SECURITY AGAINST WOULD BE EMIGRANTS TO THE USA FOR THEIR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA AND TO ASK THAT COLONEL BAJENARU OF MILITA CAPITALEI TO BE EXEMPLARY PUNISHED FOR HIS ABUSE AND ILLEGALIES CRIMINAL ACTIONS AGAINST A HONEST FAMILY WHO DID NOTHING ILLEGAL ,BUT, IN RESPECT OF ROMANIA,s LAWS, OBTAINED THE PASSPORTS AT THE INTERVENTION OF US.SENATE CONCERNING "M.F.N" STATUS TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA, AND THEN, PAYD THE LEGAL FEE TO GET THEIR PASSPORT EXTENDED TILL THEIR ENTRY VISA TO THE USA WILL BE LEGAL PROCEEDED!
PLEASE, ASK TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO ORDER TO COLONEL BAJENARU OF MIL TIA CAPITALEI TO GIVE BACK THEIR PASSPORTS, ISSUED EVEN BY TERRORIST CEAUSESCU ORDER!...
- Please sent a letter to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURG., our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that His Excellency to do A DIPLOMATIC PROTEST TO TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONALLY, AGAINST THIS NEW CONCOTED CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT AGAINST WOULD BE EMIGRANTS WHO OBTAINED THEIR PASSPORTS LEGALLY, EVEN BY TERRORIST CEAUSESCU,s PERSONAL ORDER!...
- Please sent a letter of protest to ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON DC, MIRCEA MALITA, asking to be sent by directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU!
- Please, write a personal letter,too, to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in Washington DC(Room 5219,phone 202-632-3298)
- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!

G Georgescu

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
970 Broad Street
Newark, New Jersey

PLEASE REFER TO THIS FILE NUMBER
A24 078 470

June 13, 1984

Georgeta Georgescu
~~5 Oakwood Drive~~ 115 Henry St
~~Parlin, N.J.~~ 08859 Palisades Pk.
N J 07650

Dear Georgeta Georgescu:

Reference is made to your request for political asylum. It has been concluded that political asylum should be granted because of special circumstances presented in your case. You are permitted to remain in the United States until June 12, 1985 **. At that time you will be eligible to apply for permanent residence or an extension beyond that date. Employment will not affect your immigration status.**

You should promptly report any change in your residence.

Sincerely,

Nathan W. Gordon

Nathan W. Gordon
Immigration Judge

cc: Travel Control
cc: Trial Attorney
cc: Steven Lyons, Esq.

DUMITRA, GHIOCA
Maiden Name CIOLACU
c/o ION, STEFAN
41-41,44th St # 3D
Long Island City, NY 11104
Phone(718)937-4218
POLITICAL ASYLUM PENDING

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The UN
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement
and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country in-
cluding his own and to return to his country

H O N O R A B L E   S I R,

I am DUMITRA, GHIOCA, (Miaden Name: CIOLACU)ROMANIAN born and a POLITICAL ASYLUM PENDING with
INS District of New York since DECEMBER 24,1984.when I applied for.
I arrived in The USA with a TOURIST PASSPORT bearing a B2 VISITOR VISA on DEC 19,1984 on J.F.
Kennedy airport in New York City.-
I applied for POLITICAL ASYLUM with INS District of New York on DECEMBER 24,1984 and I had the
INTERVIEW for my POLITICAL ASYLUM REQUEST on February 4,1985.-
My status is therefore POLITICAL ASYLUM PENDING waiting the final letter of confirmation and app
APPROVAL of MY POLITICAL ASYLUM STATUS in The USA,- by DEPARTMENT OF STATE.-
- In my native country, THE KINGDOM OF ROMANIA where I was born in GRECI Village District of
TURNU-SEVERIN , on OCTOBER 24,1941-and which unfortunately became COMMUNIST ROMANIA under Soviet
Moscow,s appointed COMMUNIST RULERS SINCE December 30,1947,-myself and my entire family being
ANTI-COMMUNISTS- were under permanent surveillance pf SECURITY(COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE
of USSR,s " K.G.B" type)
- Aftergraduated by JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL in GALATI City, I worked in COMMERCEof STATE as accountant
and salesman, I REFUSED TO JOIN THE YOUTH ORGANISATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY in 1955and then I REFU
SED to join THE COMMUNIST PARTY as every single one worker in STATE,s COMMERCE in COMMUNIT ROMA
NIA has to.-I was criticised for by PARTY organisation of my place pf work and by SECURITY which
threatened me with prosecution.-
- My brother JEAN,CIOLACU born on May 28,1952 in GALATI City,BEING CAUGHT WHENTRIED TO CROSS
ILLEGALLY THE ROMANIAN-JUGO-SLAVIAN border was arrested, torrtured by border gusrds and SECURITY
patroles, prosecuted and convicted to POLITICAL JAIL by MILITARY COURT.-
- I openly protested about, and I was interviewed under hard pressure and threatened by SECURITY.
investigattors of GALATI City, s SECURITY.-
-My cousin, ION, STEFAN of BUCHAREST(now in New York City)as leader of an underground group of
HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS organised a HUNGER STRIKE for HUMAN RIGHTS in DRUMUL TABEREI, BUCHAREST,
ROMANIA in 1978, with 16 people. All HUNGER STRIKERS, including their leader, my cousin ION,STE-
FAN,were arrested, torrtured by SECURITY, sent to FORCED LABOR CAMP and prosecuted and convi ted
by COURT OF BUCHAREST to POLITICAL JAIL YERMS,
The leader of the group, my cousin, ION, STEFAN,was confined three times to PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS
and kept in solitary confinement to different POLITICAL JAILS. He was sent too to GALATI CITY,s
POLITICAL JAIL..He did in JAIL an EIGHT MONTHS having 30 Kilogrames.Of course that I tried to
help him out, together his mother Mrs CONSTANTINA, STEFAN.-
The SECURITY of GALATI City threatened me with confinement to PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL and with pro-
secution by MILITARY COURT OF BUCHAREST and conviction to POLITICAL JAIL if I will continue to
help out my cousin ION, STEFAN and my aunt, his mother Mrs CONSTANTINA, STEFAN.
- After I resisted 23 years(since 1955-1978) refusing continuesely to join THE COMMUNIST PARTY
under GALATY City, s SECURITY,s PERMANENT HARASSEMENT and THREATHTS in 1978 in order to escape
from POLITICAL JAIL SENTENCEand to can to help out my arre[illegible] cousin ION, STEFAN and his mother
CONSTANTINA, STEFAN,I joined THE COMMUNIST PARTY as a simple rank-and-file member,my only one
" ACTIVITY" being to pay FORCED TOO a monthly FEE subscribtion to the PARTY,BUT IN THE SAME TIME
I CONTINUED TO HELP OUT MY ARRESTED AND CONVICTED COUSIN ION, STEFAN and his mother CONSTANTINA,
STEFAN.
" THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"of New York City, learned about THE
16 PEOPLE,s HUNGER STRIKE organised by my cousin ION, STEFAN in DRUMUL -TABEREI, BUCHAREST City,
ROMANIA and what happened to HUNGER STRIKERS, and Dr DIMITRIE G, APOSTOLIU, President of THE
AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" organised in New York City and in WASHING-
TON D.C. in behalf of THE RELEASE OF 16 HUNGER STRIKERS included my cousin, and of issuance of
their passports of EMIGRATION TO THE USA.-
With US SENATORS and CONGRESSMEN,sHUMANITARIAN HELP and strong interventions DIRECTELY TO TERRO-
RIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,- THE GROUP OF 16 HUNGER STRIKERS FOR HUMA
RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMQNIAAND ITS LEADER, MY COUSIN ION, STEFAN,- and his mother my aunt CONSTA
NA, STEFAN,(mymother,s sister)WERE RELEASED FROM POLITICAL JAILS AND GRANTED EXIT VISAS AND
SSPORTS TO EMIGRATE TO THE USA.-

My cousin, ION, STEFAN,and his mother CONSTANTINA, STEFAN once arrived in The USA,joined in New York City and in WASHINGTON D.C. ,in behalf of my self and of my entire family,EMIGRATION to The USA- THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA AND FOR THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"

- Instead to get the passports for EMIGRATION TO THE USA,all of us were treathened by GALATY CIT SECURITY with CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS, PROSECUTION AND CONVICTION TO POLITICAL JAIL BY COURT...BUT NONE OF US GIVE UP THE INTENTION TO EMIGRATE TO NEW YORK City, USA- FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION in The USA with my cousin ION, STEFAN and his mother CONSTANTINA STEFAN.....

After several years since my cousin ION, STEFAN and his mother CONSTANTINA, STEFAN did THE HUNGER STRIKE in USA - in our EMIGRATION,s behalf- FINALLY I get a TOURIST PASSPORTTO VISIT THEM FOR A SHORT PERIODE OF TIME.-

I have to point out that MY PASSPORT FOR EMIGRATION TO THE USA WAS DENIED FIVE CONSECUTIVE YEARS AND INSTEAD I GOT THIS TOURIST PASSPORT ONE)

- When I left COMMUNIST ROMANIA with a TOURIST PASSPORT bearing a B2 Visitor Visa,I WAS FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND, AS HOSTAGES:

1.- CONSTANTINA, GHIOCA born on May 28,1941 in GALATI City, ROMANIA- my HUSBAND-
2.- AURELIA, GHIOCA, born on JANUARY 1,1963 in GALATI City, ROMANIA- our daughter-
3.- FLORIN, GHIOCA, born on June 16,1964 in GALATI City,- our SON-
4.- DANIELA, GHIOCA, born on MARCH 16,1970 in GALATI City, ROMANIA-our DAUGHTER-

All of them residing at: Strada Partizanilor No 48, Bloc G 2, Apt 22 ,TIGLINA 1,GALATI,Cod 6200C ROMANIA - Phone(34)33638

5.- LENUTA, LOVIN(Maiden Name:GHIOCA)born on OCTOBER 7,1960 our -DAUGHTER-
6.- CONSTANTIN, LOVIN, born on OCTOBER 25,1957- her HISBAND-
7.- AURELIAN, LOVIN, born on DECEMBER 20,1982 - their SON-

Residing at : CARTIERUL I.C.,Bloc D5, Apt 75,GALATI-ROMANIA

8.- JEAN, CIOLACU, born on May 28,1952 in GALATI City, ROMANIA,my BROTHER- FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER.-
9.- MARIA, CIOLACU(Maiden Name GHEORGHIU) born on AUGUST 26,1953-in GALATI City, his WIFE-
10,- ELENA-DIANA, CIOLACU, born in GALATI City, ROMANIA on AUGUST 6,1976- their DAUGHTER-

Of: Strada ii IUNIE no 39 GALATI ,ROMANIA and /or/MICRO R 40 Bloc T 3 Apt 91 GALATI,ROMANIA

All 10 of them tried to obtain PASSPORTS FOR EMIGRATIONTO THE U.S.A SINCE FIVE YEARS AGO BUT THEIR APPLICATION WERE DENIED BY GALATI SECURITY.

They were treathened with confinement to PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS with PROSECUTION oan CONVICTION TO POLITICAL JAIL BY COURT IF THEY WILL NOT GIVE UP THEIR INTENTION TO BE REUNITE WITH ME IN N.Y Despite SECURITY,s HARASSEMENTS AND TREATHS, THEIR DETERMINATION TO EMIGRATE TO THE USA FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION in The USA IS STRONGER THAN EVER.

- In behalf of their EMIGRATION TO THE USA, I joined in New York City and I Washington DC,"THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA- organised by Dr. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU of NY, President of THE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"- the same one who organised and THE HUNGER STRIKE in NY and Washington DC for the immediate release of passports of THAT GROUP OF 16MPEOPLE,HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST who leaded by my cousin ION,STEFAN, did a HUNGER STRIKE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS in BUCHAREST,ROMANIA in 1978, and as a result of THE HUNGER STRIKE DID IN The USA- NOW ARE ALL OF THEM IN THE USA WAITING TO BE NATURALISEC AS U.S.CITIZENS....

- After MY HUNGER STRIKE IN NEW YORK CITY AND THEN IN WASHINGTON D.C.(March and APRIL-May 1985) THEY RECEIVED " THE BUTTERFLIES " BUT ONLY on June 1985.- AND APPLIED WITH.-

MY HUSBANDCONSTANTIN, GHIOCA WAS LAYD OFF FROM HIS JOB since FEBRUARY 1985.-

In the family of 4 ONLY TWO CHILDREN ARE WORKING(AURELIA, GHIOCA and FLORIN,GHIOCA)

We are owner of a three bedrooms apartment building which we bought from STATE in 1970.-

THE SECURITY TOOK AWAY(CONFISCATED) APARTMENT,s DEED FROM MY HUSBAND, AND NOW MY FAMILY IS IN DANGER TO BE TROW ON THE STREET BY THE ABUSIVE AND DISCRIMINATORY ACTIONS OF ROMANIAN SECURITY WHICH ARE EVEN AGAINST ROMANIAN CONSTITUTION,s PROVISIONS WHICH WERE VIOLATED BY SECURITY.

THE SECURITY TOLD TO THEM THAT THERE IS PROHIBIT FOR THEM TO GO TO PASSPORT,s OFFICE TO SEE WHAT THE SITUATION OF THEIR APPLICATION IS . THEY HAVE TO STAY AT HOME AND TO WAIT, BECAUSE- "IF" THEIR APPLICATIONS WILL BE APPROVED THAT WILL HAPPENED ONLY AFTER TWO YEARS SINCE NOW. BUT THE OPINION OF SECURITY, S OFFICER OF GALATI CITY,s OFFICE OF PASSPORTS WAS THAT"I AM QUIET SURE THAT YOUR APPLICATION WILL BE REJECTED. ONCE FOR EVER. "

- I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR that in behalf of their EMIGRATION, to sent a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEASESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the similar one to COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.- asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO RESPECT " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The UN" - "BASKET THREE OF GELSINKI AGREEMENT" and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF " THE M.F.N" OF" EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA" CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU, PERSONAL AGREED WITH THE U.S.A UPON THE TRADE AGREEMENT AND THE MFN"status in 1975-1984, by sending year by year his personal envoy to THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA to assure him that CEAUSESCU PERSONAL WILL SUPERVISE THE APPROVAL OF PASSPORTS AND ISSUANCE OF TO ALL HOSTAGE RELATIVES OF U.S.A CITIZENS AND /or/RESIDENTS - WHO WOULD BE EMIGRANTS TO THE USA FOR REUNIFY OVER HERE THEIR FORCED SEPARATE FAMILIES- and

- TO ISSUE IMMEDIATELY THEIR PASSPORTS.-
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, to sent too a personal letter to our USA AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST,ROMANI asking that His Excellency, our AMBASSADOR with the occasion of His first official appointment with TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU to submit to him and THE CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE EMIGRATION TO THE USA OF MY HOSTAGE FAMILY- THE UNRESOLVED ONE CASE SINCE FIVE YEARS(1980)in order TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE ON"HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"...
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, to sent a personal letter too to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH Jr, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT of STATE in Washington D.C.- (**Room #** 5219- Ph(212)632329 asking that His Excellency to put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNIOJ in The USA, and THE NAMES OF MY HOSTAGE HUSBAND ,CHILDREN AND BROTHER,as the cases unresolved since 5 (FIVE) YEARS, in order to help us out ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"too
- For the above mentioned reasons and for the facts that:

THERE OS ANY KIND OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-
TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU KEPT OUR RELATIVES HOSTAGE OVER THERE.-
TERRORIST CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IS HELPING OUT ON STATE LIGNE THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY SUPPLYING THEM WITH MILITARY TRAINING, AMMUNITIONS, MEDICINE, FOOD AND SO ON.-
TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT DEMOLISHE CHURCHES WITH BULDOZERS AND MAKE TOILLET PAPERS FROM SAINT BIBLES -

*I AM ASKING THAT THE U.S. SENATE TO DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE"THE MOST FAVORED NATION,S CLAUSE"
----
status TO TERRORIST ROMANIAN PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, NOR TO HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT!

- DOWN TERRORISM.
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM.
- GOD BLESS AMERICA.
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY, FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT.

DUMITRA,GHIOCA

JULY 8,1985

VICTORIA, IONESCU
Maiden Name:
30-69,32ndSt # 2F
ASTORIA, N.Y.
Phone(718)

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The UN.
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence wothin the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,

I am VICTORIA, IONESCU(Maiden Name: IONESCU) ROMANIAN born, former POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA since DECEMBER 15, .,now PERMANENT RESIDEN of The USA, waiting to be NATURALISED as US CITIZEN, being eligible for by DECEMBER 15,1986.-

- In my native coutry The Kingdom of ROMANIA where I was born on JANUARY 1,1944- country which unfortunately became COMMUNIST ROMANIA under SOVIET MOSCOW,s appointed COMMUNIST rulers(since DEC 30,1947)myself being ANTI-COMMUNIST I was discriminated and harassed on POLITICAL GROUNDS by SECURITY(COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE of USSR,s"K.G.B" type) Being a designer with TIMPURI-NOI Factory(NEW TIMES FACTORY) in BUCHAREST, the SECURITY used to have myself on PERMANENT SURVEILLANCE and to HARASSE me.-
To escape from SECURITY,s HARASSEMENT, I joined a group of 9 HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS,in a HUNGER STRIKE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS on JULY 1980.WE ASKED TO GET THE PASSPORTS TO EMIGRATE TO THE USA.Of course that THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO US THE SO CALLED"BIG FORMS" AND MAINTAINED THE REJECTION OF OUR PREVIOUS APPLICATION BY " BUTTEFLIES"
- On the month of FEBRUARY 1981 about 8:30 AM, when TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU came to His CENTRAL COMMITTEE,s OFFICE on CALEA VICTORIEI in BUCHAREST City, I JUMP BEFORE HIS CAR.together my son DRAGOS-ROBERT,IONESCU, that time 12 years old.
I WAS AT ONCE ARRESTED BY TERRORIST CEAUSESCU,s BODY GUARDS,SEARCHED IN AN SECURITY,s OFFICE OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE,s HEADQUARTER,...BUT I SUCCEDED TO HANDLE MY MEMORANDA CONCERNED MYSELF AND MY SON EMIGRATION TO THE USA...
- ON DECMBER 1,1981 with a STATELESS PASSPORT,TOGETHER MYSON DRAGOS-ROBERT,IONESCU, I headed to ROME, ITALY where I asked and I was granted POLITICAL ASYLUM by The High COMMISSIONER for REFUGEES of The UN of GENEVA(SWITZERLAND) Then with GOD,s HELP and THE HUMANITARIAN ONE of TOLSTOY FOUNDATION, I arrived together my son in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEES on . Over here we settled our selves in New York City where my son is attending THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL and my self I am working to support both of us. We were granted PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS and now we are waiting to be NATURALISED AS US CITIZENS,being eligible for by DECEMBER 15,1986.-
- Unfortunately when with the risc of my life and the one of my son that time ,12, I JUMP in front of TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,s CAR AND I SUCCEDED TO GET STATELESS PASS - PORTS WITH WHICH WE BOTH, MOTHER AND SON, ARRIVED IN THE USA on DECEMBER 15,1981 AND STARTED A NEW LIFE IN FREEDOM BY ENJOYNG THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THIS COUNTRY BLESSED BY GOD-
- I WAS FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND,AS HOSTAGES,THE DAUGHTER OF MY SISTER WHO WAS GREW UP BY MYSEL AND SHE IS FOR ME AS MY DAUGHTER,(AS THE SISTER OF MY OWN SON.)
  1.- VASILICA, DRAGUSIN(maiden Name: IONITA)born onJULY 30,1955 in Bucharest,my sister,s daughter and my niece.-
  2.- VALERIU-DAN,DRAGUSIN, [illegible] and artist, born on MAY 10,1957 in CRAIOVA,her husban Residing at STRADA DRUMEAGULUI [illegible] 65,Sector-3, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA(Telefon:20-04-70)
  Since I succeded to left for ever COMMUNIST ROMANIA together my son, with LEGAL STATELESS PASSPORTS ISSUED BY EVEN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AUTHORITIES, SECURITY,s POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSEMENT AGAINST MY NIECE VASILICA DRAGUSIN(Maiden Name IONITA) and her husband VALERIU,DRAGUSIN, intensified.
  My niece WAS FORBIDEN TO PLAY VOLEYBALL, HERSELF BEING A DETERMINATED AND FAMOUS SPORTIVE WITH ROMANIAN TEAM OF WOMEN...SHE IS WORKING SINCE, AS A CHEMICAL OPERATOR...in a factory.
  Her husband VALERIU, DRAGUSIN, a talented graphician and artist with lots of prizes in the field of arts WAS FORBIDEN TO HAVE PERSONAL EXHIBITIONS AND WAS FORBIDEN TO PARTICIPATE TO ANY KIND OF ARTISTIC EXHIBITION,OR TO WORK AS A FREE LANCE ARTIST WITH ROMANIAN REVUES OR MAGAZINES OR NEWS PAPERS, OR TO WORK AS FREE LANCE ARTIST AS INTERIOR DECORATOR WITH ROMANIA,s THEATERS OR T.V.... ./.

They tried to applied for EMIGRATION BUT THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO THEN EVEN THE SO CALLED" BUTTERFLIES" AND THREATENED THEM WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSICHIATRIC HOSPITAL IF THEY WILL NOT GIVE UP THEIR INTENTION TO EMIGRATE. DESPITE SECURITY,sTHREATS AND HARASSEMENT ON POLITICAL GROUNDS, THEIR DETERMINATION TO JOIN ME OVER HERE FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION, BECOME STROGER THAN EVER!

- In their EMIGRATION,s behalf I JOINED ON SATURDAY,MARCH 2,1981 in fornt of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,S MISSION TO THE UN in NEW YORK CITY" THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"

I mailed to them AFFIDAVITS OF SUPPORT, issued by my husband FLORICA ,BULIGA, taxicab owner and AMERICAN CITIZEN by NATURALISATION.-

An AMERICAN COMPANY ISSUED AN AFFIDAVIT THAT THEY NEED HIM HARDELY AS GRAPHICIAN AND ARTIST AND IS OFERING TO HIM A JOB, SINCE THE VERY MOMENT WHEN THEY WILL ARRIVE IN The USA.-

- I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, that, in their EMIGRATION,s behalf to send a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA, and the other similar one to his COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C., MIRCEA, MALITA, asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU torespect " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The UN"- " BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT"and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AGREED WITH The USA UPON " THE TRADE AGREEMENT"AND " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CALUSE STATUS" in 1975-1984, -and
- TO ORDER THE IMMEDIATE ISSUANCE OF STATELESS PASSPORTS TO MY HOSTAGE RELATIVES!
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, to send too a personal letter to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURK, OUR AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that His Excellency with the ocassion of the first official appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU, TO SUBMIT TO HIM AND THE FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,sGOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE EMIGRATION TO THE U.S.A OF MY HOSTAGE RELATIVES, IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE " ON HUMANITARINA GROUNDS"."
- Please, HONORABLE SIR,SEND TOO A PERSONAL LETTER TO His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH,Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT of STATE in WASHINGTON D.C.(Room 5219- Phone(202)632-329 asking that His Excellency to put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA AND MY HOSTAGE RELATIVES ON" HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS" AS RELATIVES OF AN US CITIZEN(MY HUSBAND) AND OF A" LIKE A NATURAL MOTHER"(MY SELF) AND AS A SUBSTANTIAL CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF AN FAMOUS ARTIST AND A SPORTIVE WHO WERE FORBIDEN BY ROMANIAN SECURITY TO WORK IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL FIELD OF ART AND SPORT..
- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

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P.S.
--- HONORABLE SIR
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Please, report this FLAGRANT CASE OF VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF TWO FAMOUS PERSONALITIES ONE IN THE FIELD OF ART AND THE OTHER ONE IN THE FIELD OF SPORT,WHO ARE TERRORISED AND HARASSED BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s SECURITY ON POLITICAL GROUNDS- to THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE SIGNATAIRES OF " HELSINKI AGREEMENT" OF APRIL 23,1985 in OTTAVA, CANADA.

***

Sincerely YOURS

VICTORIA,IONESCU

RADU, IVANIUC
.59-21,71st St # 1
Ridgewood, N.Y.11.385
Phone(718)497-2872
POLITICAL REFUGEE

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The U.N
Art.13.-
1.-Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,

I am RADU,IVANIUC, ROMANIAN born and a POLITICAL REFUGEE in The U.S.A. since NOV 3,1983 applicant for PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS,for which I am entitle by NOV.3,1984 the proceedeings going for.-

In my native country, COMMUNIST ROMANIA, being ANTI-COMMUNIST,I was always under permanent surveilance of SECURITY(COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE of USSR,s"K.G.B" type).- To escape from I struggled hard. Finaly, I succeded to be sent tp work as auto-mechanic for a ROMANIAN STATE COMPANY in LYBIA. I left COMMUNIST with a service passport on January 19,1983 heading to LYBIA where I worked as auto-mechanic for a ROMANIAN STATE,s CONSTRUCTION COMPANY in the city of MISURATA.-

- Once arrived in LYBIA I succeded to do not submit my passport to our POLITICAL COMMISSAIRE, I went to ITALIAN EMBASSY in TRIPOLI and I get a visitor visa, and then I bought an airplane tiket TRIPOLI-ROME,ITALY.-

- Our AMBASSADOR TO TRIPOLI, tried to arrest me and to sent me disciplinaire back toCOMMUNIST ROMANIA by ROMANIAN airline TAROM. They took my by force to TRIPOLI airport to sent me back to COMMUNIST ROMANIA,BUT ON THR AIRPORT I FLEED AND I BOARDED AN ALLITALIA airplane. I submited my passport to the COMMANDER of airplane and I sayd that I AM ASKING POLITICAL ASYLUM on the airplane. The COMMANDER of ITALIAN,sairplane, with his teamsearched me to see if I have weapons and if I am not trying to kidnap the airplane. When they saw that I do not have any weapon(gun or other kind of weapon)he believed me, makemy confortable in a passengers seat,and told me TO DO NOT BE AFFRAID BECAUSE HE WILL FLY ME TO ROME, ITALY, where I will become FREE FOR EVER...

- When we landed on FUMICINO airport in ITALY,even on the airport I ASKED POLITICAL ASYLUM. The ITALIAN commander of that ALLITALIA airplane reported to ITALIAN authorities that I am an honest man and that I crossed in TRIPOLI with the risc of my life the so called" border line and I fleed for freedom boarding the ITALIAN plane(for which I already had the tiket)

- I was granted POLITICAL ASYLUM in ROME, ITALY by The High Commissionaire for Refugees of The U.N. of GENEVA(SWITZERLAND and then, with GOD,s help and The HUMANITARIAN one of W.CC (WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES)I arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEE in New York City ON THE DAY OF NOVEMBER 3, 1983.-I settled myself in New York City where I started to work and to enjoy THE SAINT FREEDOM which I missed completely in my native country COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-

I applied for PERMANENT RESIDENT status for which I am eligible by NOVEMBER 3,1984 and the proceedings for are going on.

- When in my struggle for FREEDOM I succeded to left FOR EVER COMMUNIST ROMANIA makyng my first step to by flying with a service passport as auto- mechanic to LYBIA on January 23, and then on MAY 25,1983 I boarded an ALLITALIA airplane and I was granted POLITICAL ASYLUM in ROME,ITALY -I WAS FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA as HOSTAGES:

1.- CRISTIAN, IVANIUC, born on APRIL 25,1968,- my son,17
of:CALEA SAGULUI No 34,Scara A, Et 4,Apt 19,TIMISOARA, Cod 1900,ROMANIA.-

He was expelled from HIGH SCHOOL since I arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA onll,3,19 He tried to apply for EMIGRATION to be reunited with myself his father,in New York city, since 1983 BUT GOT ONLY " THE BUTTERFLIES". His application WAS DENIED BY SECURITY and HE WAS THR ATENED BY WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IF HE WILL NOT GIVE UP HIS INTE TENTION TO EMIGRATE TO THE USA TO REUNIFY OVER HERE OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY.

- Despite SECURITY,s CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT AGAINST HIM,HIS DETERMINATION TO COME OVER HERE IS STRONGER THAN EVER AND HE TRIED TO APLLY AGAIN, AND AGAIN...

2.- OCTAVIAN, IGNATESCU,M.S.(mining engineer) born on 1936- my brother in law
Residing at:Bulevardul IOSIF BROZ TITO No 8,Scara D, Etaj 8,Apt149,Sector 3, Cod 74363 BUCURESTI,ROMANIA(telefon:47-41-71)

He tried to apply for EMIGRATION to The USA since NOVEMBER 7,1983 BUT THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO HIM EVEN " THE BUTTERFLIES"and threatened him too with confinement to PSYCHIATR HOSPITAL. if he will not give up his intention to emigrate to The USA to REUNIFY OVER HERE OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY.-

- In their EMIGRATION, s BEHALF I JOINED ON APRIL 29,1985 , in WASHINGTON D.C." THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA and for THE

RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA!"

-I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to sent in their emigration,abehalf a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the other one similar letter to COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C., MIRCEA MALITA, asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU to respect " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS" of The U.N. -"BASKET THREE of HELSINKI AGREEMENT"and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF"EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- condition with which TERRORIST CEAUSESCU personal agreed with The U.S.A.- upon THE RADE AGREEMENT and THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE status in 1975-1984,by sending year after year his personal ENVOY to The PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. to assure HIM that himself will supervise THE FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA and that him personaly will order the issuance of EXIT VISAS FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA and THE STATE LESS PASSPORTS FOR WOULD BE EMIGRANTS FOR FAMILIES REUNION IN THE U.S.A.,-and

- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE MY HOSTAGE SON AND BROTHER IN LAW BY ORDERYING THE IMMEDIATE ISSUANCE OF THEIR PASSPORTS!-

- Please, HONORABLE SIR, to sent a personal letter too to His Excellency DAVID FUNDERBURK, our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that with the first official appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU to submit to him and the case of FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS by ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS FOR MY HOSTAGES SON AND BROTHER IN LAW, and-THE CASES TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE ON " HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"

- Please, HONORABLE SIR, to sent a personal letter too to His Excellency THOMAS E. LYNCH Jr Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C.(room 5219- Phone (202) 632-3298) asking that His Excellency to put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION AND THE NAMES OF MY HOSTAGES SON AND BROTHER IN LAW,ON " HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"too

-Please, HONORABLE SIR, to informe as soon as possible THE AMERICAN DELEGATION to THE CONFERENCE OF HELSINKI ACCORD,sSIGNATAURES which is going on since APRIL 23,1985 in OTTAVA CANADA, asking our OFFICIAL DELEGATION TO RESOLVE YHIS CASES AT PLACE DURING THE CONFERENCE

- Being very well know that THE ROMANIAN OFFICIALS FROM ROMANIAN EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C. USE TO LIED TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND AMERICAN SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN IN THE MATTER OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE U.S.A.-please, HONORABLE SIR, to assign one member of YOUR staff from YOUR WASHINGTON D.C. to be in permanent touch with COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C. MIRCEA MALITA AND TO PERSUADE HIM TO GET THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS FOR MY HOSTAGES SON AND BROTHER IN LAW.-TILL THEY BOTH WILL LAND ON J.F.Kennedy airport in New York city.-

My son already have THE ENTRY VISA IN THE U.S.A. since 1984...

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

Respectfuly YOURS,

RADU, IVANIUC.-

FROM:
NICULAIE, LUCU
MARIA ,LUCU -wife
Maiden Name: MARIA,CHIVU
NICOLETA, LUCU-daughter
1770 East,14th St # 1D
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11.229
Phone(212) 998-4751
U.S.CITIZENS

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of mpvement and reisdence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,

I am NICULAIE LUCU, ROMANIAN born, former POLITICAL REFUGEE in the USA since 7,21,1977,and naturalised as U.S.CITIZEN

- Myself and my entire family being ANTI-COMMUNISTS were PERMANENTELY HARASSED and DISCRIMINATED on POLITICAL GROUNDS by SECURITY(COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE of USSR,s "K.G.B" type.)

- Myfather STEFAN LUCU of BUCHAREST was convicted to serve 10 years of HARD LABOR as POLITICAL PRISONER and was released from POLITICAL JAIL after THE FIRST POLITICAL "MERCY"(not AMNESTY)ISSUED ON APRIL 1964 by the late GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ,GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

After released from POLITICAL JAIL he was given FORCED RESIDENCE, being from time to time took by SECURITY at SECURITY,s HEAD QUARTER in BUCHAREST, ROMANIA and being interviewed over there under hard pressure on alleged undrground ANTI-COMMUNIST ane ANTI-SOVIETIC ACTIVITIES...

But when my father was first time arrested torrtured, prosecuted and convicted,ALL OUR FAMILY -MYSELF INCLUDED GOT ON " BLAK MAIL LIST" OF ENEMY OF ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND OF ROMANIAN PEOPLE, ANTI-SOVIETICS AND "UNDERCOVER C.I.A.s AGENTS AND SPIES"...and WERE ,FOR THE REST OF OUR LIVES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA-DISCRIMINATED ON POLITICAL GROUNDS...

MYSELF I WAS FORBIDEN TO ATTEND ANY KIND OF UNIVERSITY IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA.I was forced to become a simple worker and I became a painter.

From time to time I was taken by SECURITY to SECURITY,s HEADQUARTER in BUCHAREST and interviewed under hard pressure on myfather,s alleged UNDERCOVER ANTI-COMMUNIST AND ANTI-SOVIETIC ACTIVITIES like the ones for THE NATIONAL INDEPENDANCE OF ROMANIA FROM USSR AND BY RETURN BY SOVIET MOSCOW OF ROMANIAN PRVINCES BASSARABIA AND NORTH OF BUCOVINA WHICH WERE ANNEXED BY FORCE BY USSR on 1940-activities for which previousely my father was convicted by MILITARY COURT OF BUCHAREST to 10 years of HARD LABOR as POLITICAL PRISONER.

Of course that I remained silent onmy father nationalistic,s activities(the underground ones) and THE SECURITY must to release me by LAK OF PROVES ...But my life over there was a real NIGHTMARE.Having a family to support, having kids who as their fathers WERE FORBIDEN TO GET SUPERIOR EDUCATION IN THEIR NATIVE COUNTRY,and beind always DISCRIMINATED AND HARASSED BY SECURITY...I tried hard to escape from.

- On JUNE 29,1976 I succeded to get a service passport to go to SWITZERLAND as painter with a ROMANIAN STATE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY.I succeded to defect in AUGSBURG, WEST GERMANY,WHERE I ASKED AND I WAS GRANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OF THE U.N. of GENEVA(SWITZERLAND)

-I arrived in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEE on JULY 21, 1977 and I settled myself in New York City where I am working since. Step by step I was granted PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS and I was naturalised as US CITIZEN in 1983.-

- I 1979, due to U.S. SENATORS and U.S. CONGRESSMEN,s strong intervention in their EMIGRATION BEHALF, TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA WAS FORCED TO ISSUE THE EXIT VISA TO MY FORCED SEPARATED RELATIVES FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA:
1.- MARIA, LUCU- maiden name MARIA,CHIVU- my wife, and
2.- NICOLETA.LUCU,- our daughter.

The rest of our family and close relatives who remained still HOSTAGES IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, CONTINUED TO BE HARASSED AND DISCRIMINATED BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST SECURITY, THE HARASSEMENT AGAINST THEM INCREASED SINCE I BECAME AN U.S. CITIZEN BY NATURALISATION.

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1.- DUMITRA. STAN(Maiden Name DUMITRA CHIVU)-born on 1930-mywife,s sister
2.- PETRE,STAN, tool die maker, her son born on
3.- MARIAN ,STAN, her son born on.....
Residing together at ALEEA BARAJ BICAZ No 5,Bloc M3 A-2, Scara L, Apt BUCURESTI,

WERE THREATENED WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSICHIATRIC HOSPITALS IF THEY WILL NOT GIVE UP THEIR INTENTION TO EMIGRATE TO THE USA FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN NEW YORK CITY,U.S.A.
NICULAIE STAN, Mrs DUMITRA STAN,s husband and the father of her above mentioned sons, FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER, DIED in 1975 after comeback home from A SECURITY,s"INTERVIEW" WHERE HE WAS TORRTURED TO GIVE " TIPS" ON HIS UNDERGROUND ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES"- AND OF COURSE THAT HE REMAINED SILENT ABOUT.
AND THE SECURITY" SILENCED" HIM FOR EVER!...

***

- On JULY 1984, we joined in their EMIGRATION,s behhalf" THE SEVENTEENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA" organised by Dr DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU of NEW YORK City, our spokesman.-
- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to sent in their EMIGRATION,s BEHALF a personal letter, directelly to,TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA, and the similar one to his COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHONGTON D.C.,MIRCEA MALIAT, asking the TERRORIST CEAUSESCU ,to respect" THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of THE UN,-"BASKET THREE of HELSINKI AGREEMENT" and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA"-condition with which TERRORIST CEAUSESCU personal agreed with the USA upon THE TRADE AGREEMENT and THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSESTATUS in 1975-1983.-by sending each year his SPECIAL ENVOY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA TO ASSURE HIM ABOUT THE COMPLIANCE OF HIM PERSONALLY AND OF HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS AND WITH ANY KIND OF PROVISION CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS, FAMILY REUNION AND BINNATIONAL MARRIAGES-
AND THAT IN RESPECT OF, TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION in NEW YORK CITY.-
- Please sent a personal letter too, to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURK, our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA,asked that His Excellency with the occassion of HIS FIRST OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT WITH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO SUBMIT TO HIM AND THIS CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF THE MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE,s STATUS by COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT,- and
- TO ISSUE AT ONCE THE PASSPORTS TO OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES" ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS!"..
Please TO PROTEST WITH DETERMINATION AGAINST THE CRIMINAL HARASSEMENT AGAINST CLOSE RELATIVES OF U.S.A. CITIZENS AND U.S.A. RESIDENTS, BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT AND ASK THAT COMMUNIST SECURITY,s TERROR AGAINST RELATIVES OF USA CITIZENS WOULD BE EMIGRANTS IN RESPECT OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS SIGNED OUT BY TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AND BY HIS GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS,-TO BE STOPED ONCE FOR EVER!...
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, sent a personal letter too, to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C.(Room 5219-Phone(212)632-3298 asking that His Excellency to put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in THE USA, and our HOSTAGE RELATIVES OF BUCHAREST, ROMANIA,as CLOSE RELATIVES OF U.S.A. CITIZENS.-
Down Terrorism!
Down Communism!
Long Live to Freedom!
GOD BLESS AMERICA!
GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR and YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT!

Sincerely YOURS,
NICULAIE LUCU,

Nicolae Lucu

FROM:
MANUC MANUCHIAN (father)
[illegible] MANUCHIAN(mother)
43-15,4 th St # B6
Long Island City,NY11104
(212)729-5610 Residence
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Art 13
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the border of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR,

We are MANUC MANUCHIAN and wife [illegible] MANUCHIAN(Maiden Name APCARIAN) ARMENIAN, part of ARMENIAN etnic group living in ROMANIA,and PERMANENT RESIDENTS of the USA,being arrived in as POLITICAL REFUGEES from COMMUNIST ROMANIA on NOVEMBER 18,1980 and waiting to be naturalised as US CITIZENS, being eligible for by NOVEMBER 18,1985.-
As ANTI- COMMUNISTS our life and the one of our family in COMMUNIST ROMANIA WAS A REALY NIGHTMARE.To escape from,we applied for EMIGRATION and after a lot of rejections of our applications, finaly we succeded to obtain EXIT VISAS from COMMUNIST ROMANIA's authorities.With LEGAL PASSPORTS issued by ROMANIAN authorities, we left for ever COMMUNIST ROMANIA on NOVEMBER 3,1980 and headed for ROME, ITALY where we asked and were granted POLITICAL ASYLU by THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES of THE U.N. of GENEVA(SWITZERLAND)
Then, with GOD's help and THE HUMANITARIAB one of INTERNATIONAL REASQUE COMMITTEE(I.R.C) we arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEES in THE USAon NOV.18,1980 We settled ourselves in NEW YORK CITY where we are workink, were granted PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS and are waiting for our naturalisation as US CITIZ

- Unfortunately,when we left for ever COMMUNIST ROMANIA with LEGAL PASSPORT issued by even ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES on NOV 3,1980-WE WERE FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND AS HOSTAGES:
1.- GILDA SARAIDARIAN(Maiden Name MANUCHIAN) born on JULY 19,1950 in Constanta City, ROMANIA, graduated by TEACGER's COLLEGE of BUCHAREST UNIVERSITY with MS as an ENGLISH and ROMANIAN teacher,- our daughter
2.- SARCHIS SARAIDARIAN, MS,born on APRIL 2,1948 in CONSTANTA,civil construction engineer,- her husband
3.- ROBERT- EDUARD SARAIDARIAN,7, born on OCTOBER 17,1977,in CONSTANTA City, ROMANIA,- their son.-
All three of them residing at:Bulevardul I.G.DUCA No77, Etaj 7, Apt 31, CONSTANTA City, ROMANIA.- Telefon: 25984.-
-After we left COMMUNIST ROMANIA with LEGAL PASSPORTS issued by even COMMUNIST ROMANIA's authorities,SECURITY's TERROR against them, intensified.
- We joined THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE in their EMIGRATION behalf for our FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION in THE USA, on MAY 17,1982.-
- They received "THE BUTTERFLIES" during the CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS onMFN status for COMMUNIST ROMANIA, on JULY 1982, but "THE BIG FORMS" and the written approval of their application ONLY ONE YEAR LATER, on JULY 1983.-
They were told that their passports will be issued on SEPTEMBER 30,1983.-
(after THE CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON " M.F.N" WERE OVER!...)

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Manuc Manuchian

- WHEN THEY REPORTED TO SECURITY's "PASSPORTS AND VISAS OFFICE"of NICOLAE IORGA STREET in BUCHAREST to pick up the passports WERE TOLD BY SECURITY....TO SIGN OUT AN SECURITY'sPREPARED STATEMENT,WHICH READ THAT:"THEY RENONCE TO EMIGRATE TO THE USA...BECAUSE THEIR PARENTS(MEANING MYSELF AND MY WIFE)WILL REPATRIATE THEMSELVES TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,- THEREFORE THERE IS NO REASON TO BE " REUNIFIED WITH IN THE USA! " THEY WERE THREATENED WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IF THEY WILL NOT SIGN OUT THAT STATEMENT PREPARED BY SECURITY!...

UNDER SECURITY's PRESSURES AND THREATS, THEY SIGNED THE SECURITY8sPREPARED STATEMENT on OCTOBER 1983... FOR THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY AND THE ONE OF THEIR 7 YEARS OLD SON!...

- BUT, NOW, in 1984 THEY APPLIED AGAIN FOR EMIGRATION TO THE USA TO REUNIT OVER HERE, IN NEW YORK CITY, OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY!

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- WE ARE READY TO JOIN AGAIN IN THEIR EMIGRATION BEHALF" THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES IN THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"which is prepared now by Dr. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU.-

- Desperately we PROTEST AGAINST THIS NEW KIND OF ROMANIAN SECURITY's HARASSEMENT AGAINST RELATIVES OF U.S. RESIDENTS WHO WANT TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR PARENTS IN THE USA!

- We appeal to YOUR HUMANITARIAN HELP, asking that YOU, HONORABLE SIR,to sent a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the similar one to his COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR to WASHINGTON D.C,- MIRCEA MALITA, asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU, to respect THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of THE UN"- BASKET THREE o HELSINKI AGREEMENT"- and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA - condition with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU personal agree with THE USA upon " THE TRADE AGREEMENT" and " THE M.F.N" in 1975-1983, an
    - TO GRANT IMMEDIATELY THE EXIT VISA TO OUR DAUGHTER GILDA SARAIDARIAN AND HER FAMILY,HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA!

- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR,to sent a personal letter too, to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURG,our AMBASSADOR to BUCHAREST,ROMANIA, asking that His Excellency,during the first official appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU, to submit to him and the case of FLAGRANT VIOLATIO OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF USA-ROMANIAN AGREEMENTS by COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT concerning THE FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNIONOF OUR DAUGHTER GILDA SARAIDAIRIAN, X HER HUSBAND AND THEIR SON 7,HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, in order TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE " ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"!...

- Please, sent too a personal letter to His Excellency JOHNATAN RIKERT, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT of STATE in WASHINGTON D.C., asking His Excellency to put and the case of our daughterGILDA SARAIDARI English teacher, her husband and their son,7, HOSTAGES in BUCHAREST,ROMANIA, on DEPARTMENT OF STATE's LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES IN THE USA, as DAUGHTER and close relatives of PARENTS, PERMANEN RESIDENTS, and , of course ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS,TOO!...

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT!

Sincerely YOURS,

MANUC MANUHIAN
SION MANUHIAN

Manuc Manuhian

GHEORGHE, PERU
141-30,Pershing Crescent St # 5D
Jamaica, N.Y.11.435
Phone(718)297-5186-Residence-
Phone(718)544-3654 Business
U.S.CITIZEN

" THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS"ofThe UN"
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own ,and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,

I am GHEORGHE, PERU, ROMANIAN born, arrived in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEE on Aug.28,1973 and NATURALISED as U.S.CITIZEN by CERTIFICATE of NATURALISATION No10838689 issued by U.S. District Court of BRONX, New York City on MARCH 14,1979.-
- My brother ION,PERU, born at BRANICU VILLAGE, District DOLJ, ROMANIA and his wife MARGARETA PERU(Maiden Name:TARBUZAN) born on 2,29,1932 in ROMANIA too, and residing together at: Intrarea Medic Severin No 3, Sector 6, Bucuresti, ROMANIA(Telefon:49-52-67)
tried to apply to come to the USA for OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION,since 1980.-
In behalf of OUR REUNION IN The USA, I joined The ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA since 1980.-Year, by year, they struggled with COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s SECURITY over there, and myself I struggled with TERRORIST PRESDIENT CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA, over here, by joined THE HUNGER STRIKE and by appealing, year by year, -SINCE 1980- 1985 FIVE YEARS!-
- They have THE ENTRY VISA IN THE USA AS RELATIVES OF AN U.S. CITIZEN(MYSELF) AND THEY ARE on 'DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPREZENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA".-
- THEY FINALY RECEIVED ONLY VISITOR,s PASSPORTS ON MAY 17,1985. THEY GOT THE ENTRY VISA ON FROM U.S. EMBASSY TO BUCHAREST AND WERE TO COME TO THE USA BY PLANE, HAVING SKEDULED THE DEPARTURE FROM OTOPENI AIRPORT, BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, ON JUNE 5,1985!
  - BUT ON JUNE 4,1985 THEY WERE SUMMONED BY SECURITY AND MILITIA, WHICH CONFISCATED THEIR PASSPORTS, WITHPUT ANY EXPLANATION EXCEPT THAT"THERE WAS A MISTAKE"YOU HAVE TO GIVE TO US THE PASSPORTS AND IN CHANGE YOU WILL RECEIVE YOUR I.D.CARD(ROMANIAN ONES)"AND SO WAS DONE BY " MILITIA"...
  THEY APPEALED SECURITY,sDECISION TO CONFISCATE THEIR PASSPORTS AND WERE GIVEN TERM TO APPEAR TO THIE INTERVIEW AT JUNE 30,1985(After CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON "M.F.N" TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA WILL BE OVER AND TO ACT, OVER HERE, I HAVE TO SPEND A NEW ENTIRE YEAR BY WAITING THE 1986 EVENTUALLY HEARINGS ON " THE MOST FAVOURED NATION,sCLAUSE for COMMUNIST ROMANIA...)
- I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, TO INTERCED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE DIRECTELY WITH TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA, BY A PERSONAL LETTER,ASKING THAT ONCE THE PASSPORTS WERE ISSUED TO MY HOSTAGE BROTHER AND HIS WIFE,NOW, BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON "THE M.F.N"TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA,HOW COME THAT, DESPITE NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,sPERSONAL ORDER OF ISSUANCE, THE SECURITY OF BUCHAREST,CONFISCATED THE PASSPORTS,ONE DAY BEFORE MY BROTHER AND HIS WIFE DEPARTURE TO THE USA?WHO,s WHO IN THAT COUNTRY?CEAUSESCU IS IN COMMAN OR THE COMMANDER OF SECURITY,s OFFICE ON VISAS AND PASSPORTS?AND PLEASE ASK, THAT THE PASSPORTS TO BE GIVE BACK TO MY BROTHER AND HIS WIFE.BUT, PLEASE,SENT THE LETTER BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON " M.F.N." WILL BE OVER!
- Please, sent a similar letter to COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.-MIRCEA MALITA,- and the other one to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE(Room 5219- Phone 202-632-3298) asking that His Excellency to urge Mr. CONSUL JOHN VESSEY III,- to invite by phone 49-52-67-my brother ION ,PERU to The EMBASSY,to get his written testimony about THE CONFISCATION OF HIS PASSPORT(and the one of his wife) AND TO INTERCED IMMEDIATELY WITH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU AND SECURITY,s OFFICE ON VISA AND PASSPORTS AND EVEN DIRECTELY WITH THE ONE MILITIA COMMANDER WHO CONFISCATED ILLEGALLY ITS, IN ORDER TO BE HANDLED BACK TO MY HOSTAGE BROTHER ION, PERU AND HIS WIFE.-
- Please to report this case of NEW KIND OF HARASSEMENT AGAINST RELATIVES OF U.S. CITIZENS PERPETRATED BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s MILITIA AND SECURITY EXACTELY BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL HEARIN ON " M.F.N" TO U.S. CONGRESS COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE"AND TO US,s DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENTS SIGNATAIRES WHICH IS GOING ON AT OTTAVA, CANADA,THAT THE NEW KIND OF VIOLATION TO BE PROTESTED AND THE CASE RESOLVED AT PLACE!"
- Down TERRORISM!
- Down COMMUNISM!
GOD BLESS AMERICA!
GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT!

Gheorghe Peru
GHEORGHE,PERU.

FROM:
ALEXANDRU, RADULESCU
2143 Starling Ave # 419
BRONX, N.Y. 10462
Phone(212) 597-7324
PERMANENT RESIDENT APPLICANT

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
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2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.

HONORABLE SIR,
****

I am ALEXANDRU RADULESCU, ROMANIAN born and a POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA, applicant for PERMANENT RESIDENT status by change of status as brother of an U.S.CITIZEN.-

In my native country The Kingdom of ROMANIA which unfortunately became since 1944 after USSR,s invasion of EUROPE-COMMUNIST ROMANIA,-myself and my entire family were ANTI-COMMUNISTS and under PERMANENT SURVEILLANCE of SECURITY(COMMUNIST PARTY,s SECRET POLICE of USSR,s "K.G.B." type).Myself I studied a special technical HIGH SCOOL an became a LIBRARIAN,being grafuate by with academic bacalaureate diploma in 1955 After graduated I started immediately to work as lybrarian and I did so since 1956- AUGUST 1984 when I left the country.-

To escape SECURITY,s HARASSEMENT and POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION against our family, my brother GEORGE RADULESCU,- who is deaf- succeded to obtain a visitor passport for VIENNA,AUSTRIA.He left COMMUNIST ROMANIA with that TOURIS PASSPORT in the summer of 1974.Arrived to VIENNA,he asked and was granted POLITICAL ASYLUM by THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES of THE U.N. of VIENNA, AUSTRIA and then arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA and settled himself in NEW YORK City, where was naturalised as US CITIZEN by CERTIFICATE of NATURALISATION No10999030 of DECEMBER 3,1980, issued by US District COURT of NEW YORK .-

- After my brother GEORGE RADULESCU of N.Y. defected in VIENNA,(AUSTRIA) and then came as POLITICAL REFUGEE in The USA,SECURITY,s DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSEMENT AGAINST MYSELF AND MY FAMILY,INTENSIFIED:In 1980while working as chief of department (library)I WAS LAYD OFFfrom PEOPLE,s COUNCIL of SECTOR 6(City Hall of BOROUGH 6 BUCURESTI,s libraryan chief of)and threatened with prosecution by MILITARY COURT because ...my brother is a"TRAITOR" Of PEOPLE AND PARTY AND USSR!.. After several months from when I was layd off finally I succeded to find out a j job with a factory (I.U.P.S. BUCURESTI)...

- After four years since I was layd off(1980-1984) and after lots of insuccesfuly attempts, I succeded to get a VISITOR PASSPORT with B2 VISA to come to see my brother, GEORGE RADULESCU of New York , an US CITIZEN by NATURALISATION...

In my struggle for FREEDOM I left for ever COMMUNIST ROMANIA with that TOURIST PASSPORT heading to New York City on JULY 13,1983.-

- I applied for POLITICAL ASYLUM with INS District of New York on and after the proceedings were over MY POLITICAL ASYLUM REQUEST WAS GRANTED ON AUGUST 4,1984!...

- I applied too with INS District of New York for CHANGE OF STATUS FROM POLITICAL ASYLUM APPLICANT INTO PERMANENT RESIDENT AS NATURAL BROTHER OF AN U.S.A. CITIZEN(MY BROTHER GEORGE RADULESCU OF NEW YORK WITH WHICH I AM LIVING AND TO WHOM I CAME AS VISITOR WITH A B2 VISA in NEW YORK) BUT, TO DATE, AUGUST 15,1984 THE PROCEEDINGS ARE NOT ACCOMPLISHED AND I AM STILL WAITING FOR MY PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS...

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- When I left for ever COMMUNIST ROMANIA with a TOURIST PASSPORT with a B2 VISITOR VISA to come to my brother GEORGE RADULESCU of New York, U.S.CITIZEN, on 1983, I WAS FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND, AS HOSTAGES:

1.- ILEANA RADULESCU (Maiden Name NISTOR) born on FEBRUARY 27,1938 in POENARI-VULPESTI VILLAGE COUNTY of SNAGOV-ROMANIA,- my wife.-
2.-ION-BOGDAN,RADULESCU born on JANUARY 7,1965 in BUCURESTI,ROMANIA- our son.-

Residing together at:Strada Subcetate No 62-70,Bloc 10,Scara A, Etaj3, Apt 12, Sectorul 1, BUCURESTI, ROMANIA (Telefon:67-93-00)

- Since myself I defected in New York City and I applied for POLITICAL ASYLUM and for change of STATUS from POLITICAL ASYLUM APPLICANT INTO PERMANENT RESIDENT AS BROTHER OF AN U,S CITIZEN-SECURITY,s HARASSEMENT AGAINST MY WIFE AND SON HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, COMMUNIST ROMANIA,INTENSIFIED.THEY ARE ALWAYS UNDER SECURITY,s PERMANENT SURVEILLANCE,INTERVIEWED BY UNDER HARD PRESSURE, ALL THE NIGHT LONG AND HAVING TO REPORT THE NEXT DAY IN THE MORNING TO THEIR PLACE OF WORK. THEY WERE THR ATENED WITH PROSECUTION AND CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IF THEY WILL NOT

Alexandru Radulescu

GIVE UP THEIR INTENTION TO EMIGRATE TO THE USA IN ORDER TO JOIN ME OVER HERE IN NEW YORK CITY FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA!

OF COURSE THAT TO DATE, AUGUST 4,1984 THE SECURITY,s SO CALLED:"OFFICE FOR PASSPORTS AND VISAS" OF NICOLAE IORGA STREET in BUCURESTI CITY,-REFUSED TO GIVE TO THEM APPLICATIONS...

- I JOINED IN THEIR EMIGRATION,s BEHALF:"THE SEVENTEENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR: FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA"organised by Dr DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU of New York City.-

- Desperately I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR,that in their EMIGRSTION,s behalf- to sent a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEASESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND THE SIMILAR ONE TO HIS COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.-MIRCEA MALITA, asking by that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO RESPECT: " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE U.N."- "BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT" and " THE EXPRESSS CONDITION OF EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA" CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AGREED WITH THE U.S.A UPON " THE TRADE AGREEMENT" AND " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE STATUS since 1975-1983, - and:

TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE MY WIFE ILEANA RADULESCU AND OUR SON ION-BOGDAN RADULESCU,
****

HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA!
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- I appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, tosent too a personal letter to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURG, our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that HIS EXCELLENCY with the ocassion of His Excellency,s first official appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU to submit to him and the case of FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OFTHE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE STATUS" by THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, CONCERNING THE IMEDIATE ISSUANCE OF ROMANIAN PASSPORTS TO MY HOSTAGE WIFE ILEANA RADULESCU AND TO MY SON ION-BOGDAN, RADULESCU-IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE " ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS! "...

- PLEASE, sent a personal letter too to HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS LYNCH, CHAIRMAN OF ROMANIAN AFFA AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C.(Room 5219, Phone(2o2-632-3298) asking HIS EXCELLENCY TO PUT AND THE NAME OF MY HOSTAGE WIFE AND SON ON " U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF " FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE U.S.A" as WIFE AND SON OF AN POLITICAL REFUGEE IN THE USA WAITING FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE STATUS...

- Please to assigne one of YOURS assistrats of WASHINGTON D.C. OFFICE to check out permanentely with ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR MIRCEA MALITA ,either by mail and by phone calls, till MY HOSTAGE WIFE AND SON WILL LAND ON J.F. KENNEDY AIRPORT IN NEW YORK, being very well knew ROMANIAN OFFICIALS " STRATEGY" OF LIES WITH US SENATORS AND US CONGRESSMEN CONCERNING THE APPROVAL OF FAMILIES REUNION,s CASES in THE USA...

- I AM ASKING THAT THE US SENATE AND THE US CONGRESS TO DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE"THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE" STATUS TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND T HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT TILL " THE TEN POINTS OF HUNGER STRIKERS" WILL BE ENTIRELY ACCOMPLISHED!...

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT!

Sincerely YOURS,
ALEXANDRU RADULESCU
Alexandru Radulescu

FROM:
SIMONA, STANESCU,M.S.(daughter)
Maiden Name:SIMONA, MATEESCU
FLORIAN, STANESCU,M.S.(husband)
POLITICAL REFUGEES
61-35 Woodbine St # 2L
Ridgewood, NY 11.385
Phone(718)386-8906
NICOLINA, MATEESCU(sister)
U.S.CITIZEN
Phone(718) 386-0499

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,
****

We are SIMONA, STANESCU,M.S.(Maiden Name SIMONA,MATEESCU)together husband FLORIAN, STANESCU and with NICOLINA, MATEEESCU(US CITIZEN, my father,sION MATEESCU,MS, sister)all of us ROMANIAN born.-

We, SIMONA STANESCU,MS and FLORIAN STANESCU,MS left COMMUNIST ROMANIA with VISITOR PASSPORTS and headed to ITALY, to my sister who married an ITALIAN national.In ROME, ITALY we asked and were granted POLITICAL ASYLUM by THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OF THE UN of GENEVA (SWITZERLAND). Then with GOD,s help and the HUMANITARIAN one of TOLSTOY FOUNDATION we arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEES in The USA on DECEMBER 5,1983 and settled ourselfes in New York City. On October 1984 we were joined by our two sons 2, and 5 years old...

When we succeded to left COMMUNIST ROMANIA with TOURISTS PASSPORTS issued by even COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT on AUGUST 17,1983, beside our minor kids, WE WERE FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND AS HOSTAGES:

1.- ION MATEESCU, agricultural engineer, born on JANUARY 10,1927,- my father.-
2.- ADRIANA-MAGDALENA MATEESCU (Maiden Name RADULIAN) born on Feb 1, 19333 in PARIS, FRANCE my mother

Both of them residing at:Strada SARADEI No-53-61, Bloc A 9, Scara A, Etaj 4, Sector 1, BUCURESTI,ROMANIA(Telefon: 67-21-53)

- Since my father,s sister NICOLINA,MATEESCU defected in THE FREE WORLD, arrived in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEE and then step by step became PERMANENT RESIDENT and finaly was naturalised as US CITIZEN, COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s SECURITY,s HARASSEMENT AND POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION, against our family and the one of mine, INTENSIFIED.

- To escape from these SECURITY,s "INVESTIGATIONS UNDER HARD PRESSURE WITH THREATES OF BEING PROSECUTED AND CONVICTED TO POLITICAL JAIL,after lot of unsuccesful attempts, finaly we succeded to get A VISITOR TOURIST PASSPORTS to visit my sister who married an ITALIAN NATIONAL.We these passports we left COMMUNIST ROMANIA onAUGUST 17,1983.After granted POLITICAL ASYLUM in ROME, ITALY and after arrived in The USA and settled ourselves in NEW YORK CITY, SECURITY,s TERROR against my HOSTAGE PARENTS, intensified, more and more, and more.-

-To escape from, they tried to apply for EMIGRATION but THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO THEM EVEN THE APPLICATION FORMS AND THREATENED THEM WITH CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL...

- In their EMIGRATION,s behalf for OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA, we are ready to join THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA and FOR THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- which is prepared now by Dr. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU of New York City.

- We appeal to YOU, HONRABLE SIR, to sent - in my HOSTAGE parents EMIGRATION,sbehalf- a persònal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the other one to his COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.-MIRCEA,MALTA, asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO RESPECT: " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE U.N."-"BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT" CONCERNING FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA and "THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA TO THE USA"CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AND CLOSE AGREED WITH THE USA, UPON"THE TRADE AGREEMENT" AND " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE" status in 1975-1984, and

- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE MY PARENTS HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA."

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- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to sent too a personal letter to His Excellency DAVID-BRITTON, FUNDERBURG, our AMBASSADOR TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA asking that with the first ocassion of His Excellency,s personal and official appointment- twith TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU,to submit to him and the case OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN THE CASE OF MY HOSTAGE PARENTS EMIGRATION TO THE USA, IN ORDER TO BE REOLVED AT ONCE ON " HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS!"...

- Please sent too a personal letter to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C.(Room 5219, Phone: 202- 632-3298)asking that His Excellency to put the names of my parents HOSTAGES in BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION of FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in THE USA, as(my father) brother of an US CITIZEN: Mrs NICOLYNA MATEESCU of Ridgewood, NY.
Mrs NICOLINA MATEESCU filed out PETITION VISA with INS District of New York in behalf of his brother ION MATEESCU of BUCHAREST(my father) on Nov 1,194.-
- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIFE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY, FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT!

Sincerely YOURS,
SIMONA, STANESCU
FLORIAN,STANESCU,
NICOLINA, MATEESCU

Nicolina Mateescu
Stanescu Simona

************************************ **

IOANA, STROE(WIFE) Maiden Name :GONGOROIU.
POLITICAL ASYLUM APPLICANT
FLORICA SIMIONESCU(DAUGHTER)Maiden Name:STROE
ADINA-MARIA, SIMIONESCU,7, - DAUGHTER
43-08,28th Ave # 4
ASTORIA, NY 11103
Phone(718)274-9796 Residence
Phone(212)532-3800x211 Office of FLORICA

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The U.N.
ART 13.-

1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-

2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

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H O N O R A B L E   S I R,

****

I am IOANA, STROE, (Maiden Name: CONGORORIU) born in ROMANIA ,in the village of NEGRU-VODA DISTRICT of CONSTANTA,on November 1,1933- aud a POLITICAL ASYLUM APPLICANT with INS District of New York, since JUNE 25,1985.-

- I am a victim of COMMUNIST TERROR in my native country COMMUNIST ROMANIA.-
- In 1947, THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST REGIME, nationalised the 50 acres of land, agricultural machines, cows, poultry,the house with all belongs of my father land lord anf farmer GHEORGHE, GONGOROIU and of my mother DUMITRA, GONGOROIU, of NEGRU-VODA village, and TREW US ON THE STREET. That time I WAS ONLY 14 YEARS OLD...
- In 1950-1953 my fabher GHEORGHE GONGOROIU of NEGRU-VODA village District of CONSTANTA, was arrested and sent TO THE FORCED LABOR CAMP " THE CANAL DANUBE-BLACK SEA"(" THE CANAL OF DEAT In 1953 when THE CANAL DANUBE BLACK SEA was closed down.- my father retuned to NEGRU-VODA, and was giving with FORCED RESIDENCE having to report to SECURITY HEADQUARTER in CONSTANTA City and to SECURITY,s LOCAL STATION every week. He use to return from hard beaten up...
- The SECURITY summoned myself and my mother for interview At SECURITY,s HEADQUARTER in CONSTANTA CITY,where we WERE INTEROGATED UNDER HARD PRESSURE ON MY FATHER ANTI-COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES. Of course that WE REMAINED SILENT ABOUT AND WERE RELEASED.-
- MYSELF ON POLITICAL GROUNDS AND RELIGIOUSES ONES, I WAS FORBIDEN TO ATTEND ANY HIGH SCOOL IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, and THEREFORE FORCED TO BECOME A SIMPLE WORKER TO SUPPORT MYSELF.
- In 1952 I got married with a clerck of CONSTANTA HARBOR,DUMITRU, STROE, my actualy husband.
- In 1974, the daughter of my husband,s brother- GONGOROIU, a litigation lawyer and MAYOR OF NEGRU-VODA under KING MICHAEL I of THE KINGDOM OF ROMANIA.-DOINA SPIRIDON(Maiden Name GONGOROIU)and her husband STEFAN SPIRIDON,settled them selves as POLITICAL REFUGEES in LAUSANNE City, SWITZERLAND, where they live since.
- THE SECURITY OF CONSTANTA CITY SUMMONED ME FOR INTERROGATION AND I WAS INTERVIEWED UNDER HARD PRESSUREBY SECURITY,s OFFICERS AND THREATENED WITH PROSECUTIONFOR MY ANTI-USSR AND ANTI-COMMUNIST STAND ANDAS A" DAUGHTER OF AN PEOPLE,s ENNEMY(MY FATHER) WHO WAS LIVING ON FORCED RESIDENCE AND WORKING TEMPORARELY WHERE HE SUCCED TO GET A JOB AS WORKER....
- In 1980, the husband of my daughter FLORICA,SIMIONESCU, came in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGE I WAS AGAIN SUMMONED TO CONSTANTA CITY,s HEAD QUARTER AND INVESTIGATED AND THREATENED...
- In 1981 my daughter FLORICA, SIMIONESCU,went to The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEE. I WAS AGAIN SUMMONED TO SECURITY,s HEADQAURTER OF CONSTANTA CITY AND INTERROGATED AND THREATENED... BEING A "SIMPLE UPHOLSTEERER WITH CONSUM COOPERATION OF CONSTANTA CITY,SINCE MAY 13,1968... and the wife of a simple clerk with CONSTANTA HARBOR, THE SECURITY CAN NOT TO PROSECUTE ME...
- In 1984 I apply for a VISITOR PASSPORT TO SEE MY DAUGHTER FLORICA SIMION in New York City. MY APPLICATION WAS REJECTED TWICE.
- In March 1985 after lot of applications I FINALY SUCCEDED TO GET A VISITOR PASSPORT TO COME TO MY SISTER,AND I WAS HANDLED A TORUSIT PASSPORT FOR 30 DAYS(APRIL 1o,1985-MAY 10,1985) Arrived on J.F. Kennedy airport in New York City, on APRIL 10,1985 IGOT A'90"Days- three months AMERICAN B2 VISITOR B2 VISA! I extendet it by mailing my passport to COMMUNIST ROMANI EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON D.C AND I GOT A VISA TILL NOVEMBER 10,1985...IN ORDER TO DO THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM IN THE USA WITH INS DISTRICT OF NEW YORK AND TO APPEAL TO US SENATE AND US HOUSE OF REPRESENATATIVES , TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA AND TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION TOINTERCEB WITH TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA TO FORCE HIM THAT IN RESPECT OF INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND AGREEMENTS AND OF"THE MOST FAVORED NATION,CLAUSE STATUS"-TO SET FREE MY HOSTAGE HUSBAND:DUMITRU, STROE OF CONSTANTA CITY, IN ORDER TO BE REUNITED OVER HERE, IN NEW YORK WITH MYSELF, HIS WIFE AND OUR DAUGHTER, FLORICA, SIMIONESCU AND HER DAUGHTER ,7, ADINA-MARIA SIMIONESCU,PERMANET RESIDENTS OF THE USA.-
- On July 8th 1985, together my daughter FLORICA, SIMIONESCU,and myniece ADINA-MARIA ,SIMIONESCU,7, I JOINED IN WASHINGTON D.C. " THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA AND FOR THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGIO

IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- organised by Dr. DIMITRIE G. APOSTOLIU of New York, President of " THE AMERICAN -ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS".-

- We joined THIS HUNGER STRIKE for THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF:

1.- DUMITRU, STROE, born on March 19th, 1931 MY HUSBAND AND FLORICA,s FATHER Residing at:ALEEA GRADINITEI No 2, Bloc 5 C,Scara C, Etaj 1, Apt 07 TOMIS-NORD, CONSTANTA, ROMANIA, (telefon:43298)

- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, that in his EMIGRATION ,s BEHALF FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED REUNION IN THE USA, -to sent a personal letter to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA, and the similar one to ROMANIAN COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.-
- asking that TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO RESPECT " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE U.N."- " BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT" and The EXPRESS CONDITION OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- condition with which TERRORIST CEAUSESCU CLOSED AGREED WITH THE USA UPON " THE TRADE AGREEMENT " AND"THE MOST FAVOURED NATION,s CLAUSE" STATUS in 1975-1984,- and
- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE MY HOSTAGE HUSBAND AND OUR DAUGHTER,s FATHER DUMITRU STROE of CONSTANTA CITY!
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, sent a personal letter too, to our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST ROMANIA asking that His Excellency with the first appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU, to submit to him and THE FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS PERPETRATED BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN THE MATTER OF OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE USA- IN ORDER THAT MY HUSBAND DUMITRU, STROE, AND THE FATHER OF OUR DAUGHTER FLORICA ,SIMIONESCU, TO GET IMMEDIATELY THE ROMANIAN EXIT VISA AND PASSPORT FOR THE USA- on " HUMANITARIAN GROUND".-
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, Sent a personal letter too to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C., asking that His Excellency to put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in The USA, and the case of our HUSBAND and FATHER, DUMITRU STROE , HOSTAGE in CONSTANTA City ROMANIA, and to persuade our CONSUL to BUCHAREST to intercede with COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GOVERNME IN BEHALF OF HIS EMIGRATION TO THE USA.-
- WE ARE ASKING THAT THE US SENATE AND US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE TO DO NOT GRANT ANYMORE " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE" status to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU and his COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, who VIOLATED THE HUMAN RIGHTS,ARE DEMOLISHING CHURCHES AND ARE DOING TOILET PAPER FROM SAINT BIBLES!...
- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOURS HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

Sincerely YOURS:
Stroe Ioana
IOANA, STROE

Florica Simionescu
FLORICA, SIMIONESCU,

Adina Simionescu
ADINA-MARIA, SIMIONESCU,!.

HARETA, STRUGAR
Maiden Name: TIPA
CONSTANTIN, STRUGAR,M.A.(husband)
SERGIU, STRUGAR(son)
14-43,Overing St # 8D
THE BRONX,NY 10461
Phone(212) 792-7308
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The UN
Art 13.-
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2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,
****

We are HARETA, STRUGAR(Miaden Name TIPA)CONSTANTIN ,STRUGAR, M.A. in English- husband and SERGIU, STRUGAR, -son- all of us ROMANIAN born ,arrived as POLITICAL REFUGEES in The USA on JULY 26,1983,were granted PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS and are waiting to be NATURALISED as U.S.CITIZEN, being eligible for by JULY 26,1988

- On MARCH 1977,my husband succeded to get a SERVICE PASSPORT and went to SYRIRIA were till MRACH 1983 worked as chief of translators bureau in the field of IRRIGATION in RAQQUA City.

- On November 1977 I succeded to be trasfered from PROJECT INSTITUTE of BUCHAREST where I worked as an dessigner in architectural field, to SYRIA,RAQQUA City, were I worked as designer in irrigation field, being together my husband over there with a SERVICE PASSPORT PORT too.-

- On September 1978, our son SERGIU,STRUGAR jined us in RAQQUA City, SYRIA. Except our another son ANDREI,STRUGAR born on JULY 2,1971 in BUCHAREST,ROMANIA, and which was kept as HOSTAGE over there ,our family was reunited in RAQQUA City, SYRIA.-

This,one was our first step in oyr struggle for FREEDOM.-

- On MARCH 1983, we, all three left SYRIA for COMMUNIST ROMANIA. But in ISTAMBUL(TURKEY) we took the plane for Vienna(AUSTRIA, were we asked and were granted POLITICAL ASYLUM by the High COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES of The U.N. of GENEVA(SWITZERLAND.

We lived since MARCH 24,1983 till July 25,1983 in THE SPECIAL CAMP FOR REFUGEE of TRAIKIRKEN,(AUSTRIA)

- On JULY 26,1983, with GOD,s help we arrived in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEES and settled our selves in New York City, where we are working, we enjoy THE SAINT FREEDOM which we missed totaly in our native country COMMUNIST ROMANIA. We were granted PERMANENT RESIDENTS STATUS and we are waiting to be NATURALISED as US CITIZENS being eligible for by 7,26,1988.

- Since we defected and choose THE FREEDOM arriving as POLITICAL REFUGEES in The USA on JULY 26,1983, SECURITY,s DISCRIMINATION and HARASSEMENT on POLITICAL GROUNDS INTENSIFIED DAY by DAY, against our RELATIVES, HOSTAGES OVER THERE:

1- ANDREI, STRUGAR, born on 7,21,1971 in Bucharest City, our son
Of c/o GHEORGHE, STRUGAR (my husband father)Strada BRADULUI No 32,CAMPU-LUNG MOLDOVENESC, Judetul SUCEAVA, ROMANIA.-
2.-TATIANA, MATACHE, born on JULY 26,1950 in BUCHAREST, ROMANIA- my married sister.-
3.-DUMITRU,MATACHE, born on APRIL 7,1946 in STEFANESTII DE JOS VILLAGE,ROMANIA, her husband
4.- DRAGOS, MATACHE, born on AUGUST 8,1967 in BUCHAREST City, ROMANIA- their son
5.- CRISTINA, MATACHE, born on JULY 31,1977 in BUCHAREST City, ROMANIA,- their daughter

All of them residing together at STRADA EMIL BODNARAS No 65,Bloc D44,Scara 7, Etajul 4, Apt 104, Sector 6 BUCURESTI, ROMANIA(Telefon:78-04-72)

-DUMITRU,MATACHE was DETAINED AS POLITICAL PRISONER SINCE JULY 3,1980 till NOV 15,1983 being detained thre more months because our DEFECTION TO THE FREE WORLD.-

- My sister and her husband are summoned from time to time to SECURITY,s HEADQUARTER in BUCHAREST and investigated under hard pressure. They were threatened with prosecution if they will not give up their intention to EMIGRATE TO THE USA to REUNIFY OVER HERE OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY. DESPITE SECURITY,s POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSEMENT AGAINS THEM, THEIR DETERMINATION TO EMIGRATE BECAME STRONGER THAN EVER!...

- In their EMIGRATION BEHALF WE JOINED " THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILYES REUNION in The USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM of RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA, started in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s MISSION TO The UN in New York City, on MARCH 2,1985.-

- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to write a personal letter in their EMIGRATION behalf, directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the other one t to HIS COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C., MIRCEA MALITA, ASKING THAT TERRORIST CEAUSESCU TO RESPECT: " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF The U.N"-BASKET THREE of HELSINKI AGREEMENT" and the EXPRESS CONDITION OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST

COMMUNIST ROMANIA, CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AGREED WITH THE U.S.A UPON "THE TRADE AGREEMENT " and THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE" STATUS in 1975-1984, and

- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE AND TO ISSUE THE PASSPORTS TO OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES!
- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, tosent a personal letter too to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURK, our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that His Ecellency, with the first official appointment, to submit to TERRORIST CEAUSESCU the case of FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE EMIGRATION TO THE USA OF OUR SON AND OF MY SISTER WITH HER FAMILY-in order to BE RESOLVED AT PLACE ON " HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS!"
- Please, sent a letter too, to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C.(Room 5219-Phone(202)632-3298) asking that His Excellency to put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,s LIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA AND OUR HOSTAGE SON AND SISTER WITH HER HUSBAND AND KIDS,AS RELATIVES OF PERMANENT RESIDENTS(Myself and husband)

-Down TERRORISM!
- Down COMMUNISM!
- Long Live TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA.
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

P.S.
Please, HONORABLE SIR,to submitt my case to THE MAERICAN DELAGATION TO THE MEETING OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT SIGNATAIRES OF HELSINKI ACCORD OF APRILL 23,1985 in OTTAVA,CANADA!

Respectfuly YOURS,

CONSTANTIN,STRUGAR,
Constantin Strugaru
SERGIU STRUGAR,
Sergiu Strugar
HARETA, STRUGAR
Hareta Strugar

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1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country including his one and to return to his country.-

ANNA ANTON(mother)
EDUART ANTON,MS(son)
8306 Kennedy Blvd
North Bergen, N.J.07407
Phone(201) 869-2851 Residence
Phone(201)792-2400x378-Office
PERMANENT RESIDENTS

To:
U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
SUBCOMMITTE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

HONORABLE Mr. CHAIRMAN, HONORABLE U.S. SENATORS, MEMEBERS OF THE COMMITTEE
****

We are ANNA ANTON(mother) and EDUART ANTON,M.S,- ROMANIAN born and PERMANENT RESIDENTS OF The U.S.A.
Eduart ANTON, left COMMUNIST ROMANIA on SEPTEMBER 26,1980 with a ROMANIAN LEGAL PASSPORT, and headed to ROME, ITALY where asked and was granted POLITICAL ASYLUM by The High Commissioner for Refugees of The U.N. of Geneva(Switzerland) Then, with THE HUMANITARIAN HELP of TOLSTOY FOUNDATION, arrived in The U.S.A. on OCTOBER 10,80settled himself in North Bergen New Jersey,and worked as proiect engineer with UNITED STATES TESTING COMPANY INC. in HOBOKEN, N.J. 07030. He is still working with, was granted PERMANENT RESIDENCE and is waiting for his naturalisation as U.S. CITIZEN, being eligible for by OCTOBER 10,1985.-
My self, ANNA ANTON, I arrived in The USA on JUNE 5, to be REUNITED with my son and with my sister BAGDASARIAN.-
After myself, ANNA ANTON I succeded to left for ever COMMUNIST ROMANIA on JUNE 5,1982 with a LEGAL ROMANIAN PASSPORT FOR MY FAMILY REUNION in The USA,- I WAS FORCED TO LEFT BEHIND AS HOSTAGE:
1.- MIRCEA ANTON,born on MAY 24,1940- my son and EDUART,s brother
2.- CORNELIA POPOVICI(Maiden Name POPOVICI) born on 1952- MIRCEA,s wife
3.- OCTAVIAN ANTON,8,- their son
Residing at: Strada CALINULUI No 21,Sector 2,BUCURESTI,ROMANIA(tel:53-66-44)
The ROMANIAN COMMUNIST SECURITY HARASSED them and discriminated them on POLITICAL ground, first- because there was MIRCEA,s brother, EDUART ANTON,M.S,- POLITICAL REFUGEE and then PERMANENT RESIDENT of The USA.Second, my self, his mother(and their mother too)I emigrated to The USA to be REUNITED with my son EDUART and with my sister BAGDASARIAN(in 1982) SECURITY,s HARASSEMENT intensified against my son MIRCEA ANTON and his family.He tried to escape from by applying TO BE REUNITED OVER HERE WITH MYSELF, HIS MOTHER, WITH HIS BROTHER EDUART ANTON AND WITH HIS AUNT Mrs BAGDASARIAN , MY SISTER.
THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO HIM THE APPLICATION FORM.

- IN BEHALF OF THEIR EMIGRATION TO THE U.S.A. FOR OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION, MYSELF AND MY SON EDUART AND MY SISTER BAGDASARIAN- ALL THREE OF US PERMANENT RESIDENTS OF THE USA- JOINED: " THE SEVENTEENTH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY REUNION IN THE U.S.A. and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- started on FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1984 in front of UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION,s headquarter in New York City and moved SATURDAY AUGUST 4, 1984 and SUNDAY, AUGUST 5,1984 in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s MISSION TO THE U.N. in New York City.-
- Since MONDAY ,AUGUST 6,1984- we moved to WASHINGTON D.C. on U.S. CAPITOL,s steps, on the side walk of THE WHITE HOUSE and in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s EMBASSY.
- We appeal to U.S. SENATE to sent in our HOSTAGE RELATIVE,s EMIGRATION,s behalf an official letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU of COMMUNIST ROMANIA, and the other one to his COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C., MIRCEA MALITA, asking that TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO RESPECT: " THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE U.N"-BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT" CONCERNING FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE U.S.A.,and THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF " EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA"- CONDITION WITH WHICH TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AGREED WITH THE U.S.A. UPON " THE TRADE AGREEMENT" and " THE MOST FAVOURED NATION,s CLAUSE" STATUS in 1975-1983, by SENDING HIS PERSONAL ENVOY,EACH YEAR SINCE 1975-1983 TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA TO ASSURE HIM THAT HE WILL RESPECT HIS PERSONAL SIGNATURE ON THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS MENTIONED ABOUT AND THAT, HIMSELF, PERSONAL WILL SUPERVISE THE FAMILY REUNION OF RELATIVES OF U.S. CITIZENS AND RESIDENTS BY ROMANIAN DESCENTS.- and
- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE MY SON MIRCEA ANTON AND HIS FAMILY,HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST!

./.

- We appeal to The U.S. Senate to sent a letter to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURK, our AMBASSADOR TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, asking that His Excellency with the occasion of the first official appointment with TERRORIST CEAUSESCU, to submit to him and THE CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF THE CONDITION OF EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA, BY COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT, IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED AT PLACE,
" ON HUMANITARIAN REASON"
- We appeal to The U.S. Senate, to act by U.S. CONGRESS COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION in EUROPE and by any possible means IN BEHALF OF OUR REUNION IN THE U.S.A. WITH MY SON MIRCEA ANTON, HIS WIFE AND THEIR SON ,S,- HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST ROMANIA- HELPLESS HUMAN BEINGS, LEFT AT THE DISCRETION OF ONE THE MOST REPRESIVE AND CRUEL INSTRUMENT OF OPRESSION OF COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP FROM EASTERN EUROPE: THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST SECURITY!...
- We are asking that THE U.S. SENATE, to do not grant anymore " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE TO TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND TO HIS COMMUNIST

" THE TEN POINTS OF HUNGER STRIKERS"
****

WE ARE FASTING FOR:

1.- THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES!
2.- GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND FOR PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE!
3.- THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE FROM POLITICAL JAIL AND THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS FOR:
    A- Prof. Dr. Reverend GHEORGHE CALCIU DUMITREASA!
    B.- VASILE PREDA, Dr. CANA and Dr. BRASOVEANU, founders of " THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS"(" S.L.O.M.R." in ROMANIAN language) founded in 1978, two years before POLAND,s " SOLIDARITY"!..
4.- "THE FREE TRADE UNION OF ROMANIAN WORKERS"TO BE REGISTERED WITH ROMANIAN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IN ORDER TO ACT LEGALLY IN BEHALF OF ITS MEMBERS'as POLAND,s SOLIDARITY"did!
5.- THE ABOLISHEMENT OF PUNISHEMENT WITH POLITICAL JAIL, CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS, FORCED LABOR CAMPS, FORCED RESIDENCE OR WORK WITHOUT PAYMENT AT ONE,s PLACE OF WORK, FOR: POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE!
6.- THE YEARS SERVED IN POLITICAL JAILS, PSHYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS, FORCED LABOR CAMPS, FORCED RESIDENCE OR FORCED AND UNPAYD WORK AT ONE,s PLACE OF WORK BY POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE-TO BE TAKE IN CONSIDERATION AS " YEARS SERVED IN " LABOR,s FIELD"-IN THE RETIREMENT NAD PENSION,s PLANS OF INDIVIDUALS OR IN THE PLANS OF THEIR WIDOWED WIVES OR ORPHANED CHILDREN(IN CASE OF INDIVIDUAL,s DEATH)
7.- ALL U.S.A,s RESIDENTS WHOSE INDIVIDUAL ESTATES WERE NATIONALISED OR TOOK OVER BY THE COMMUNIST ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THEY EMIGRATED OR FLEED TO THE U.S.A.-TO RECEIVE DAMAGES IN U.S. DOLLARS FOR THAT ESTATE, IN THE AMOUNT OF A SIMILAR ESTATE AT U.S A,s REAL ESTATE MARKET VALUE!
8.- A SPECIAL COMMISSION ON " HUMAN RIGHTS" OF THE U.N. TO INVESTIGATE THE FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, BASED ON INFORMATION WHICH WE WILL PROVIDE, AND TO RESTORE " THE HUMAN RIGHTS" OVER THERE!
9.- TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU AND HIS COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT TO STOP RIGHT NOW
   - AND ONCE FOR EVER- THE STATE-DIRECTED SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY MILITARY TRAINING, WEAPONS, AMMUNITIONS, FOOD, CLOTHES AND MEDICINE, EITHER ON COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s TERRITORY OR OVERSEASE,-AS THE U.S.A,sDEFENSE DEPARTMENT,s " SPECIAL COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM CHAIRED BY-U.S. RETIRED ADMIRAL L.J.LONG-REPORTED TO THE U.S. SENATE, U.S. CONGRESS AND TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.ON JULY 1984!
10.- U.S.SENATE, U.S.CONGRESS, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.
   - TO DENOUNCE OFFICIALY AND PUBLIC " THE SECRET TREATY OF YALTA OF 1945"

****

BY WHICH THE EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE WAS ENSLAVED TO SOVIET MOSCOW AND THE DOORS OF ALL FIVE CONTINENTS WERE LARGE OPPENED TO SOVIET MOSCOW TERRORISM!

- DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!

Sincerely YOURS
ANNA ANTON,
EDUART ANTON,MS
Eduard Anton

BRICEAG,ELENA
CALARASIU,VASILE-IONEL
CALARASIU,NICULINA(wife)
CALARASIU,THEODOR,12,(son)
14-41 Overing Dt # 2B
BRONX,NY 10461
Phone(212) 863-3504

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The UN
Art 13.-
1.- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement
and residence within the borders of each state.-
2.- Everyone has the right to leave any country
including his own and to return to his country.-

HONORABLE SIR,

****

I am BRICEAG,ELENA, ROMANIAN born and POLITICAL ASYLUM applicant with INS District of New
York since TUESDAY,MARCH 26,1985.-
Together my son CALARASIU,VASILE-IONEL, his wifeCALARASIU ,NICULINA(Maiden Name TUDOSE)
and their son,12, CALARASIU,THEODOR, joined"THE TWENTIETH ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE FOR FORCED
SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION in The USA and for THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and of FREEDOM
of RELIGION in COMMUNIST ROMANIA" started in front of COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s MISSION to The UN
in New York City on SATURDAY,MARCH 2,1985 and then moved to WASHINGTON D.C.,- in behalf of
emigration to The USA of: OUR HOSTAGE RELATIVES:
1.-ADRIAN,IOAN, born on OCTOBER 8,1957 in BUCHAREST,speaking ENGLISH& GERMAN-my brother,s sor
2.- CRISTINA, IOAN(Maiden Name KORNAT) born on JULY 7,1957- his wife
3.- ANA-ANDREEA,IOAN, born on 2,13,85- their baby girl.-
Residing at: Strada EMIL RACOVITA No 20,Scara 3,Bloc U 3,Etaj 3,Apt 41,Bucuresti, Cod 75-595
Telefon 84-99-47, ROMANIA.-
I have to point out that ADRIAN, IOAN, is like my son, being grew up by myself, together my
own son CALARASIU,VASILE-IOAN, who is for him like his brother.,not cousin.-
Myself, my son and his wife and daughter applied for EMIGRATION TO THE U.S.A. on 1979.My son
was layd off from his job. in 1980.My application was rejected.ADRIAN, IOAN with his wife,s
applications were rejected too that time, because THE SECURITY REFUSED TO GIVE TO THEM EVEN
APPLICATION FORMS...THE ONLY WHO WERE APPROVED TO EMIGRATE WAS MY SON CALARASIU,VASILE-IONEL
HIS WIFE CALARASIU, NICULINA AND THEIR SON THEODOR(now,in 1985, 12 years old)THEY LEFT COMM
NIST ROMANIA with LEGAL ROMANINA PASSPORTS ISSUED BY EVEN COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s AUTHORITIES,
on JANUARY 16,1981 and headed to ROME, ITALY. In ROME,ITALY, they asked and were granted
POLITICAL ASYLUM by THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OF THE U.N. of SWITZERLAND,(GENEVA)
and arrived in The USA as POLITICAL REFUGEES onFEBRUARY 5,1981-Settled them selves in New
York City, get the PERMANENT RESIDENCE and now are waiting for NATURALISATION as US CITIZEN,
being eligible for by FEBRUARY 5,1986.-
- The COMMUNIST ROMANIA,s SECURITY,inreased its POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION
against myself and against ADRIAN,IOAN and his wife, our relatives,who applied in the same
day with us for EMIGRATION TO THE U.S.A."...
The Security summoned us at its headquarter in BUCHAREST and at its so called PASSPORTS and
VISAS Office on Strada NICOLAE IORGA.Over there, SECURITY,s officers,THREATENED US WITH
PROSECUTION AND EVEN CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL IF WE WILL DARE TO DO NOT GIVE UP
OUR INTENTION OF EMIGRATE TO THE U.S.A...
In 1983, after i got my retirement(February 1,1983),at the end of the year I succeded to
got an TOURIST PASSPORT and I came to The USA.I comeback to COMMUNIST ROMANIA ONLY BECAUSE
THE SECURITY TOLD TO MY NEPHEW ADRIAN, IOAN, and HIS WIFE,THAT THEY WILL GET THE APPLICATION
FORM WHEN I WILL COMEBACK FROM MY VISIT TO MY SON CALARASIU, VASILE-IONEL of New York.-
- When I cameback EVEN ON OTOPENI AIRPORT, WHEN THE AIRPLANE LANDED, I WAS TOOK TO THE
SECURITY,S OFFICE SEIZED, SERCHED ,AND CHARGED THAT I AM AN " C.I.A" AGENT. THEY ASKED ME
" WHO IS MY LIAISON WITH U.S.A,sEMBASSY TO BUCHAREST, TO WHOM AND WHAT I HAVE TO REPORT MY
SPYING MATERIAL AND THIS KIND OF CONCOTED THINGS LIKE IN POLICE MOVIES...
I was allowed to go home ONLY AFTER TWO DAYS AND NIGHTS OF INVESTIGATION, FROM WHICH MY
CRUELS INVESTIGATORS DID NOT GET NOTHING.ALL WHAT I TOLD THEM WAS THAT I SAW IN NEW YORK
ONLY MY SON, HIS WIFE AND SON,WITH WHICH I PLAIED AND I TOLD TO MY NEPHEW KIDS STORIES,NOT
MISTERY OR POLICE STORIES THE KIND OF WHICH THEY INVESTIGATED ME ABOUT...
- THE SAME THING HAPPENED AFTER ONE WEEK.MY NEPHEW ADRIAN, IOAN, AND HIS WIFE WERE TOOK AT
SECURITY,s HEADQUARTER AND INVESTIGATED ABOUT" WHAT MY C.I.A.,s MISSION IN SINCE I CAMEBACK
TO COMMUNIST ROMANIA AND WHO IS VISITING ME, WHO IS" MY SPYING BOSS AND LIAISON WITH U.S.A.,s
EMBASSY TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA...
ONLY A CRAZY MAN CAN CONCOTTE THIS KIND OF MISTERY STORIES,AND TO TORRTURE HUMAN BEINGS TO
GET" APPROVAL" AND CERTAIN RESPONSES TO CERTAINES ASKED...

I was investigated under hard pressure by SECURITY from time to time, threatened with prosecution and with confinement to psychiatric hospital one more year. Then there was a relatively silence, because they understand that I AM NOT A CIA,s SPY...
I am a MOTHER WHO VISITED HER SON AND CAMEBACH FROM USA ONLY TO SECURE THE DEPARTURE OF OTHER ONES SON ,MY BROTHER,s SON WHICH FOR ME IS AS MY SON TOO...
BUT ,FINALY ADRIQN,IOAN AND HIS WIFE GOT" THE BUTTERFLIES" and applied with on 9,1,1983.-

- He WAS NOT ALLOW TO ATTEND ANY KIND OF UNIVERSITY IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA, BEING DISCRIMINATED ON POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUNDS.AFTER GRADUATED BY A"ENGLISH & GERMAN" HIGH SCHOOL WITH ACADEMIC BACALAUREATE DIPLOMA, WAS FORCED TO GO TO WORK AS SIMPLE WORKER. HE WORKED AS DRIVER AND MECHANIC.
- Their FIRST REJECTION:JANUARY 15,1984.On February 1,1985 HE WAS LAYD OFF FROM HIS JOB. HE DOES NOT HAVE ANY POSSIBILITY TO SUPPORT HIMSELF, HIS WIFE AND BABY GIRL!.. HE IS IN DANGER TO BE ARRESTED AND PROSECUTED FOR: PARASITISM"(THOSE WHO DO NOT WORK FOR COMMUNIST STATE,s ENTERPRISES OR COLLECTIVE FARMS...)
- I succeded in 1985 to get a new TOURIST VISAS.I arrived in New York City on JANUARY 16, 1985 and I applied for POLITICAL ASYLUM with INS District of New York. My son, who is PERMANENT RESIDENT SENT AFFIDAVITS OF SUPPORT TO ADRIAN, IOAN, AND HIS FAMILY.-
- We joined over here in New York City and in Washington DC THE ROMANIAN HUNGER STRIKE.- in ADRIAN, IOAN, AND HIS FAMILY,S BEHALF OF EMIGRATION TO REUNIFY OVER HERE OUR FORCED SEPARATED FAMILY.-
- We appeal to YOU, HONORABLE SIR, to sent in their EMIGRATION,s behalf a personal letter directely to TERRORIST PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU OF COMMUNIST ROMANIA and the other one to HIS COMMUNIST AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON D.C.-MIRCEA, MALITA- asking that TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TO REPSECT: THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS of The U.N.'-" " BASKET THREE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT" AND THE EXPRESS CONDITION OF EASING THE EMIGRATION FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA" CONDITION WITH WHICH, TERRORIST CEAUSESCU PERSONAL AGREED WITH THE USA UPON " THE TRADE AGREEMENT' and " THE MOST FAVORED NATION,s CLAUSE" status, and-
- TO SET IMMEDIATELY FREE OUR HOSTAGES RELATIVES:"THE IOAN,s of BUCHAREST, ROMANIA.-
- Please, HONORABLE SIR, sent too a personal letter to His Excellency DAVID BRITTON FUNDERBURK, our AMBASSADOR to Bucharest, asking that with the occassion of His Excellency,s FIRST OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT WITH TERRORIST PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU, TO SUBMITT TO HIM AND THE CASE OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY ROMANIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE EMIGRATION OF " THE IOAN,s"-IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED AT ONCE " ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS"
- Please write a letter too ,to His Excellency THOMAS LYNCH, Chairman of ROMANIAN AFFAIRS with DEPARTMENT OF STATE in WASHINGTON D.C.(room 5219- Phone202-632-3298)asking that His Excellency to put on DEPARTMENT OF STATE,sLIST OF REPRESENTATION OF FORCED SEPARATED FAMILIES REUNION IN THE USA,and ADRINA,IOAN HIS WIFE AND BABY GIRL-HOSTAGES IN BUCHAREST, and TO SENT A CABLE TO OUR CONSUL TO BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, TO INVITE THEM TO HIS OFFICE AND TO HELP THEM LEGALLY OUT FROM COMMUNIST ROMANIA" ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS" too!

-DOWN TERRORISM!
- DOWN COMMUNISM!
- LONG LIVE TO FREEDOM!
- GOD BLESS AMERICA!!
- GOD BLESS YOU, HONORABLE SIR AND YOUR FAMILY FOR YOUR HUMANITARIAN AND LEGAL SUPPORT!

- . -

P.S. Please write about our case TO THE USA,s DELEGATION TO THE MEETING OF HELSINKI,AGREEMEN SIGNATAIRES of APRIL 23,1985 in OTTAVA, CANADA.

Respectfuly YOURS,

Vasile Călăroi

UNIREA ROMANILOR ,NEW-YORK ,IULIE-1985.

TINERETUL AMERICAN S A ALATURAT GREVIŞTILOR

Strike

By the closing of this issue of our news paper, we received the news: "Criminal attack perpetrated in the national capital of the U.S.A by Traian Starbert, second secretary of communist Romania,s Embassy to Washington D.C.

On tuesday,april 3o, 1985, when the new group of Romanian Hunger strikers for forced separated families reunion in the USA and for the restoration of human rights and of freedom of religion in Communist Romania", were fixing their banners and signs on their reserved place for demonstration by permit of Park Police, on the sidewalk of Haitian Embassy on Massasuchets Ave, at 5oo hundreds feet away fron Communist Romania,s Embassy to Washington D.C. about 4:3o p.m. Traian Starbert, Second Secretary of Communist Romania,s Embassy to Washington D.C., came by surprise over the hunger strikers, threatened them that he will arrest all of them with American Police and that he will order by phone that all hunger striker,s relatives,hostages in Communist Romania to be arrested back there,.so that the hunger strikers will not see them never. Then, he assaulted Mrs.Szablyar, an 67 yers old, mother who was in hunger strike for her daughter and her niece, hostages in Timisoara city. The criminal securist-terrorist Traian Starbert pushed her away by his left hand and raised his right hand to hit her. But suddenly, Mr.Dimitrie G.Apostoliu interceded between the criminal securist terrorist Traian Starbert and Mrs.Szablyar, so that the terrorist can not to hit her anymore. But in the same time, an officer of Secret

Service who patroled the area by car, stoped his car, jump from on the side walk, immobilised the terrorist and identified him. The criminal securist Traian Stambert pretended that he has diplomatic immunitybeing second secretary of Communist Romania,s Embassy. Officer Jones B.W. of Secret Service went into the Embassy with the terrorist, verified over there who,s who then returned to hunder strikers. Officer Jones B.W.,gave to Dr.Dimitrie G. Apostoliu, the name and the function of the terrorist and informed the hunger strikers that he will do a report of event to the Department of State.

The hunger strikers went to the Department of State, where they received by his Excellency Thomas E. Lynch Jr.,cairman of Romanian Affairs, who already had the Secret Service,s report on his desk. The hunger strikers asked the immediate expulsion from the USA of Traian Stamberg,the terrorist Romanian securist who by his deeds violated the Equity God of Diplomatical Corp.

Next day, the hungerstrikers were receoved by the Honorable US Senators: Dick Lugar, chairman of US Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Jesse Helms of the same US Senate Committe, Alphonse D'amato and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, US Senators of New York State, Admiral Jeremiah Denton,chairmam of US Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, US Senator Bob Dole, US Senator John Danforth and others and by Congressmen: Mario Biaggi of New York, Dante Fascell, Richard Shulze and so on who asked that his Excellency Secretary of State George Shultz to expell at place from the U.S.A. The terrorist Traian Stambert, second secretary of Communist Romania,s Embassy to Washington D.C.

We have to point aut that: the securist terrorist Traian Stambert, second secretary of Communist Romania,s Embassy tov Washington D.C., violated his Diplomatical Status by: he does not have the right to come over the hunger strikers but he must stay to 5oo feet away from them, if he wanted to discuss something concerning the hunger strikers, he had to do that with Departament of State, or with the honorable US senators and US congressmen interessed in the group of hunger strikers, all of them gave-up their Communist Romania,s citizenship, two of them were U.S.citizens and the others, permanent residents of the U.S.A. Therefore noneof them was anymore under Communist Romania,s jurisdiction, but under the protection of the U.S.A. supposed that there was not so, and anyway, he does not have the right to contact them, but to stay at 5oo feet away from hunger strike place...

The criminal romanian securist and terrorist Traian Stambert, attcked on nation,s capital streets and the officer of secret service Jones B.W. Maybe Mrs.Szablyar got assasinated by the beast of "second secretary of Communist Romania,s Embassy to Washington D.C...

But, the just in case intervention of American Service saved the life of distinguished mrs.Szablyar and immobilised the criminal romanian securist and terrorist Traian Stamberg using for him the proceeding of immediate expulsion from the U.S.A. for his violation of the Equity God of Diplomatical corp.

COSTIN JUREA

TIME, JUNE 17, 1985

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

From Sacred to Profane

When Congress voted in 1975 to grant most-favored-nation trading status to Rumania in recognition of improvements in that nation's emigration policy, some conservative members supported the move because they had been impressed by an unusual concession from the Communist regime. Rumania had agreed to import and distribute 20,000 Bibles supplied by churchmen in the West to members of its Hungarian Reformed Church. However, outraged clergymen and conservatives displayed proof in the Rayburn House Office Building last week that the Bibles had not been put to their intended use. Close inspection of a roll of toilet paper manufactured in a Rumanian factory and smuggled out of the country revealed the Hungarian words for God, Jeremiah and other biblical names. Instead of distributing the holy books, said Calvinist Minister Alexander Havadtoy, Rumania's Communist rulers recycled them into pulp "to show their contempt."

Several human rights organizations and church groups said this was only the latest instance of the regime's repression. With Congress due to consider renewal of MFN trading relationships this summer, conservatives want to strip Rumania of its special status.

PETER HVIZDAK

Displaying the paper

TESTIMONY IN FAVOR OF EXTENDING MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS FOR ROMANIA, AT HEARING OF SENATE COMMITTEE OF FINANCE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE, JULY 23, 1985

TESTIMONY BY: ALBERT FRIEDMAN, NATIONAL EDITOR OF "DER YID", LARGEST YIDDISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER IN THE WORLD, PUBLISHED IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

After visiting Romania twice this year, and after conducting extensive interviews with members of the Jewish community, as well as with various Romanian government officials, I have come to the conclusion that the charges that were levelled against Romania in various American newspapers and by certain present and former government officials, are greatly exaggerated. Romania should not be denied MFN status because of those trumped up charges of discrimination and Human Rights violations. To the contrary, it is in America's interest to continue the special status of which Romania benefits, as an example to Romania, as well as to the rest of the Communist world, of the benefits that accrue to countries who seek to accommodate America.

1. ROMANIA HAS THE BEST EMIGRATION RECORD IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD.

Based on public information, and borne out by my personal observations during my visits to Romania, as well as to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Jews in Romania have the most favorable means for emigrating in Romania. (My contacts and interviews were conducted almost exclusively in the Jewish community. I find it hard to believe that the Jews, who have traditionally suffered more discrimination and persecution in Europe through the ages than any other people, should be treated better by Romania than members of other religious faiths. Therefore, it would be a fair assessment that other religious groups "don't have it worse" in Romania than the Jews.)

Romania was the first Eastern European country to allow widespread emigration of Jews to Israel. It is estimated that about ten percent of the Jewish population of Israel is descendent of Romania. This is an astounding statistic when it is recognized that less than half of the Jewish population of Israel is from Europe or America.

There are now about 25,000 Jews remaining in Romania. About half of them are older than 60 years of age. Only about eight percent is younger than 20 years of age. This shows that the vast majority emigrated to Israel. The elderly Jews remaining in Romania don't want to start life anew in a new country at this stage of their life. They are used to their present life and are content to live their remaining years in Romania. Based on personal interviews with numerous Jews of various age groups, I did not encounter people who complained that they were or will be denied emigration to Israel.

It is sad to see how the Jewish population in Romania dwindled from 800,000 to 25,000 in some 45 years, but the present government in Romania is not discriminating against the remaining Jewish community, and the feeling among the Jews is that they can emigrate to Israel if and when they decide to do so.

2. ROMANIA DOES NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE JEWS.

Romania does not discriminate against the Jewish community and does provide unique assistance to help preserve the Jewish community.

The Romanian Constitution prohibits discrimination based, among other things, on religion. The Jewish religion is not easy to observe, and, needless to say, when religion comes into conflict with state, state prevails. For instance, workers in various industries have to work six days a week. Sunday is a holiday. Workers currently get only one Saturday off per month. This automatically precludes Jews, who wish to be Sabbath observers as per the Biblical command not to work on Saturday, from most occupations, as well as from studying in the universities. (The same applies to Seventh Day Adventists.)

To us, in America, this poses an unconscionable dilemma for people who wish to practice their religion. (Only recently the Supreme Court dealt with several First Amendment cases, including a Sabbath observer case from Connecticut.) But, when we take into account the present government system in Romania, with its inherent antipathy to all religions, we should welcome any and all indications of religious tolerance. We should see the glass of water "half full" rather than "half empty", even though we would much rather have it "completely full".

At an interview with the Director of the Department of Cults, Mr. Negoi, he took particular pride in the fact that all religions, regardless of their size, benefit from the equal protection of the law. The religions also get certain direct government benefits and subsidies such as a third of the salaries paid to the priests and rabbis. (The remainder of the salary must be covered by voluntary contributions of the parishioners.)

Mr. Ilie Radulescu, Director of Culture and Press Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, complained that false information is spread by enemies of Romania creating a wrong image about religious freedom in Romania. The allusion was to Hungarians who are descendants of Transylvania, who feel that the region should have remained a part of Hungary, as was decreed by Hitler in 1940, and should not have been reunited with Romania after the end of the Second World War.

Mr. Radulescu further emphasized that Romania is interested in each minority constituency maintaining its unique ethnic or religious character, as long as they respect the Constitution and laws and work for the country. He was appalled by certain press reports in America that bibles were treated in a disrespectful manner by Romania. He categorically denied those reports, emphasizing that Romania is not against bibles and will publish more bibles.

As an indication of Romania's attitude towards religion, Mr. Radulescu pointed out that the heads of each religion are automatically entitled to membership in Romania's parliament.

Romania was the first country in Eastern Europe to allow the Jewish community to receive financial assistance in an organized manner from America.

The Jewish community is run by a federation with 80% of its $5 million budget covered by the American Joint Distribution Committee. The remainder is covered by the Romanian Jewish community.

The Jewish Federation runs a broad based welfare program for the Jewish community throughout Romania. Kosher kitchens are in existence in Bucharest and in numerous other cities with substantial Jewish populations.

Needy Jews are provided with minimum monthly subsistence checks. Everybody is guaranteed a minimum income. Food packages are distributed eight times a year, and free clothing is available in Bucharest.

(See more detailed report in "Jewish Telegraphic Agency" Daily News Bulletin of March 5, 1985, attached as "Exhibit A".)

I visited an old age home in Bucharest, run by the Jewish Federation. The capacity is about 200 beds with a staff of 100. I was pleasantly surprised at the homely atmosphere for those elderly Jews in their twilight years. The facilities and personal care compared favorably with homes here in New York.

When addressing Romania's relationship with the Jews, may I conclude with the reminder that Romania was the only Eastern European country that defied the Nazis and didn't allow its Jews to be deported to the extermination and concentration camps.

3. ROMANIA HAS THE BEST RECORD OF PRESERVING JEWISH CEMETERIES IN ALL OF EASTERN EUROPE.

Jewish cemeteries in Romania are in much better shape than in any other Socialist or Communist country in Europe.

It is traditional among religious Jews to visit and pray at the gravesites of ancestors or Jewish religious personalities. Group tours are arranged several times a year and individual visits are a common occurence.

During my first visit, in March 1985, I visited Poland, Hungary and Romania, with a drive-through of Czechoslovakia between Poland and Hungary. I was shocked at the poor condition of the Jewish cemeteries in many of the cities that we visited. Local residents laid the blame to the Nazis. Romania was a pleasant exception. The Jewish cemeteries in Romania are well maintained, in good condition.

When I visited the cemetery in Satu-Mare, the city where my mother was born and lived until she was deported to Auschwits (where she lost her parents and other family members). I had no problem locating the gravesite of my mother's grandmother. I could still read most of the inscription on her gravestone.

The other Romanian cemetery of major interest to us is in Sighetu. (See attached photograph, "Exhibit B", of the visit in July 1985, at Sighetu.) Major Jewish religious leaders and scholars of several generations are entombed there and pilgrimages to Sighetu are organized several times a year.

I wish to stress that this is all done with the fullest cooperation of the Romanian authorities. The Romanian border procedures are known to be quite difficult, with extensive and thorough searches. Yet Romania allows for Jewish charter flights to fly direct to the airport at Satu-Mare, which is not an international facility. This July, the group, led by Grand Rabbi

Moses Teitelbaum, was met at the Satu-Mare Airport by representatives of the American Embassy, as well as representatives of the Romanian Foreign Ministry and the Department of Cults.

The border procedure was a breeze. The same holds true for the other Jews who entered Romania by cars and buses at the Satu-Mare border crossing.

I had the occasion to witness the unusual spirit of Romanian cooperation and hospitality during my March visit. Our group crossed the border into Romania, from Hungary, at Satu-Mare, Monday afternoon. After visiting the cemetery, we split into two groups. The main body went to the hotel for the night. They went to Sighetu Tuesday morning. From there they returned to Satu-Mare, flew to Bucharest for an overnight stay and flew home on Wednesday.

Our smaller group of 13 people, including an infant, took a smaller bus for the trip to Sighetu, Monday evening. After visiting the cemetery, we were to drive back to Satu-Mare, cross the border, on to Budapest, from where the group was going to proceed to Czechoslovakia, or take an earlier flight home.

Enroute to Sighetu, our driver noticed that he was low on fuel. He didn't know that he was to drive to Sighetu. He thought that he was going straight to Budapest, so he was going to "fill-up" when he crossed the border into Hungary.

This was during the energy crisis, when it was forbidden to drive private cars in Romania. The road to Sighetu was deserted. When we finally arrived in Sighetu, we saw that the gas stations were already closed. A friendly passer-by offered to procure some diesel fuel. He instructed us to wait.

Several minutes passed and a police van pulled up. We couldn't communicate, but we indicated the problem. The Police (later we found out that they were "Secret Police") escorted us to the office of the Jewish community, where the Office Director served as translator.

We were escorted to the cemetery. While we prayed, the bus driver got enough fuel to get us back to Hungary. Payment was refused by our benefactors. We were sent on our way with smiles and greetings.

During the July pilgrimage, the Mayor of Sighetu arranged an official reception at City Hall for the Grand Rabbi, who is a native of the City. Courteousness, politeness and hospitality was the order of the day during both of my visits, and others who visited Romania shared my observations.

Mr. Radulescu informed me that it is official policy and law in Romania to respect religious places of worship and cemeteries. Forty percent of all Romanian places of worship are historical monuments which entitle them to various government benefits. The government will also pay for all repairs. As monuments, they are open to tourists.

Cemeteries are afforded special respect. Unlike other countries, cemeteries will never be desecrated. Romania is in the midst of construction projects. The projects will be altered so as not to come in conflict with cemeteries, or with buildings of religious worship.

Mr. Radulescu concluded the interview with a Romanian saying, "A nation is formed by the former, present and future."

4. ROMANIA DOES NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST MINORITIES

Mr. Radulescu stressed that all forms of discrimination is prohibited. He pointed out that the law mandates that all segments of the population be represented in the Parliament, in proportion to their population. The same holds true for local councils.

The official deliberations in the local councils are sometimes conducted in the language that is spoken by a majority of the population, even if it isn't Romanian.

I witnessed that many street and road signs in Satu-Mare, a city with a large Hungarian population, were bi-lingual - Romanian and Hungarian. The signs on the stores were in many instances Hungarian. Surely, the Government could easily eliminate the Hungarian language road signs, if it were official government policy to persecute and discriminate against the Hungarian minority population in Romania.

5. ROMANIA SHOULD BE REWARDED FOR ITS SHOWS OF INDEPENDENCE

It is in America's interest to reward Romania for its shows of independence from the Soviet line, mild as they may be, extending the MFN status to Romania as the best incentive for Romania, as well as other countries with similar forms of government to liberalize their government as much as possible to get closer to the west.

President Nicolae Ceausescu has displayed an unusual spirit of independence from the Soviet Foreign Politics, which should be encouraged by America as far as possible. The Romanian deviation from the Soviet line costs them dearly. Romania is surrounded by Socialist/Communist countries, therefore, the western culture and freedoms cannot infiltrate as it does into other Socialist/Communist countries. Romania suffers economic hardships more than most of its neighbors. This can in a large part be attributed to President Ceausescu's "streak of independence". Therefore, it is imperative that America pick up the slack, "Help Romania where Russia does not help." This can be done effectively by extending the MFN status to Romania without undue hardship.

There are many examples of the Romanian "independence". I will list several of them:

During my recent visit to Romania, I had many in-depth conversations with government officials and private individuals. My visit came right after the most recent Warsaw Pact military maneuvers and the Romanians pointed out with glee how Romania was not one of the countries whose troops participated in the maneuvers. This is in accordance with Romania's insistence that although she is a member of the Warsaw Pact Alliance, Romanian troops do not participate in maneuvers outside its borders and foreign troops do not participate in maneuvers inside Romania.

Los Angeles is currently celebrating the anniversary of last year's Olympics. The Olympics were a great morale bolster for America. It raised American feelings of nationalism immensely. The Los Angeles Times published a special Olympics supplement and one of the most important achievements of the Olympics, in the opinion of the Times (as evidenced by the fact that it was printed on Page 2), was Romania breaking the Soviet boycott of the Olympics and sending a full complement of athletes to participate in the Olympics. (See attached, "Exhibit C" for full details.)

As the Times' correspondent reported, the Romanian people were proud of the defiant act of its government in breaking the Olympics boycott. The Soviet Ambassador from Romania met four times with President Ceausescu in an effort to "bring Romania into line", but to no avail.

Romanian participation in the Olympics was greeted warmly by the American people as it showed how Romania strives for friendship and good relations with America.

CONCLUSION:

It is clearly in America's interest to foster friendship with countries throughout the world, more so, with countries who find it difficult to reciprocate on traditional American terms.

Romania is in the latter category. There is ample evidence to prove it. Extending the MFN status to Romania, is the least incentive that America can provide to Romania to pursue and expand on its present course of independence and friendship. There will always be complaints of discrimination, etc., especially against countries with government systems such as Romania. My personal observations convinced me that these charges are greatly exaggerated. As someone who was born and lived continuously in America, I found my visits to the Eastern European countries a refreshing experience. Freedom is best appreciated only when it is lost or curtailed. Obviously, the people in Romania do not benefit from the freedoms that we are used to. However, everybody in Romania is in the same boat, and Romania does not discriminate against any group.

As an American, I am convinced that it is in our best interest to extend the MFN status to Romania without undue delay.

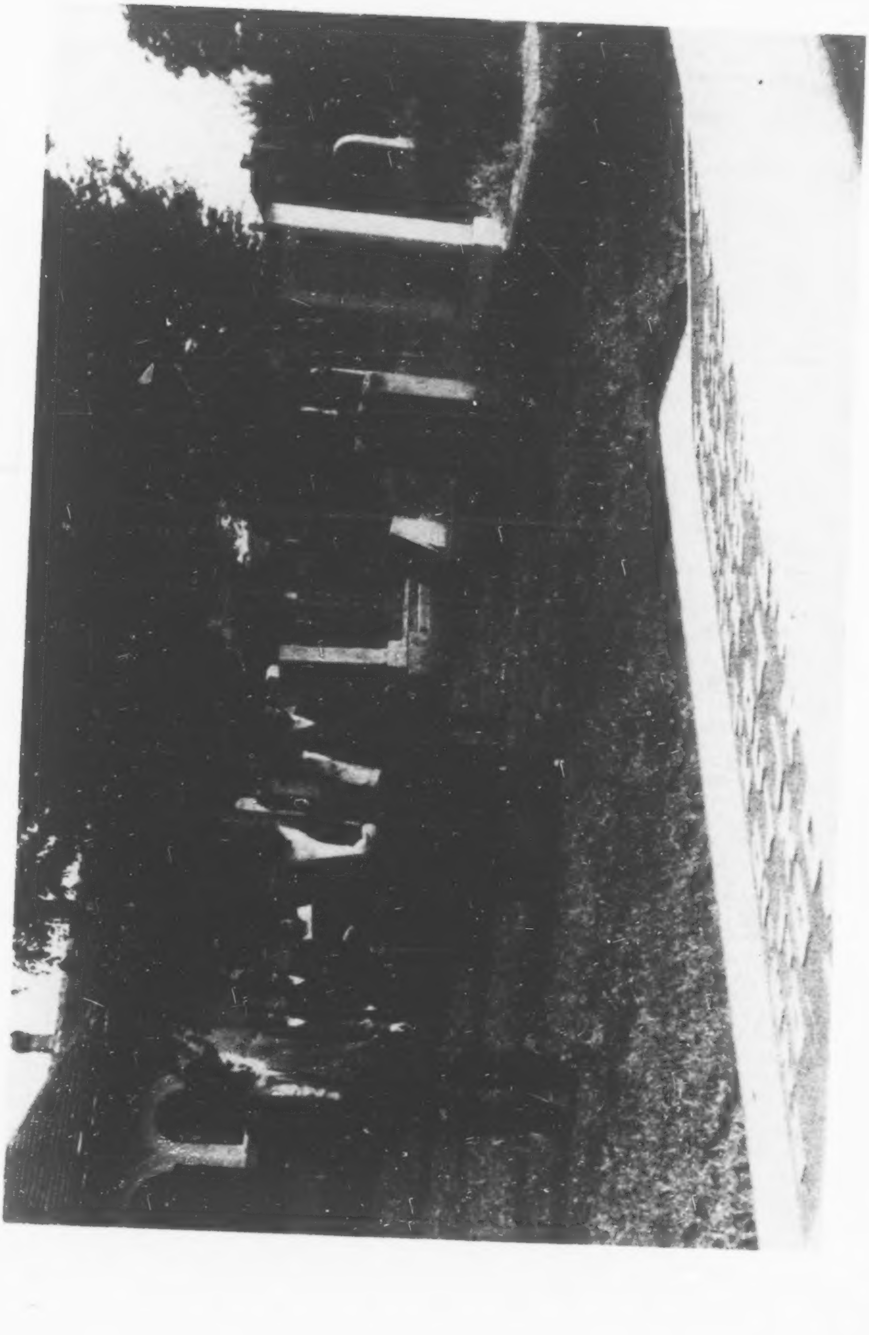

EXHIBIT A

JTA March 5, 1985 -3- DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

SPECIAL REPORT

RUMANIA'S DWINDLING JEWISH COMMUNITY UNIQUE IN WORLD

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, March 4 (JTA) -- The facts and figures pertaining to the Jewish community of Rumania are unique in every respect: unique in the Jewish world, unique in the Communist world, and unique in Rumania itself.

Before World War II there were 800,000 Jews in Rumania. Half of them perished in the Holocaust. Of those who survived almost all have emigrated to Israel -- with the blessing of the Rumanian government.

Today some 26,000 Jews still live in Rumania. Half live in Bucharest, the capital. The rest are spread among more than 50 provincial towns. Virtually all of them are members of the organized Jewish community and actively participate in Jewish communal, religious and cultural life -- again with the blessing of President Nicolae Ceausescu's hardline communist regime.

More than half of the Jews are more than 60 years of age. Many thousands of them directly benefit in vital, material ways from a gamut of welfare programs, from kosher kitchens to medical care, funded in large part by the American Jewish Join Distribution Committee (JDC) -- once again with the full consent of the Rumanian authorities.

'Program Of Survival'

"It is quite literally a program of survival," a Rumanian Jewish official told this reporter during a recent visit to Bucharest, referring to the welfare programs. "Without this aid, many of the elderly recipients would be condemned to starve."

Given the bitterly harsh climatic conditions prevailing across Rumania this winter, and the palpably evident economic difficulties which confront most of its citizens, these dramatic words seemed no exaggeration whatever.

The annual cost of the totality of the welfare programs is in the order of $5 million. Of this the JDC contributes $4 million, and the Jewish Community Federation of Rumania the remaining million. (The community is sometimes the beneficiary of bequests, and therefore holds funds of its own.)

The programs include aid in cash. This alone accounts for some 30 percent of the outlay. Some 5,000 persons are eligible: Holocaust refugees; elderly couples or individuals whose families have moved abroad, usually to Israel; persons who, for whatever reason, do not qualify for the full state pension receivable on the basis of a minimum of 25 working years.

"We are guided by two principles," says Sami Edelstein, head of the Jewish Federations assistance department. "Strict adherence to criteria (for eligibility), and strict maintenance of human dignity."

Aid Packages

Thus the monthly aid grants are sent, by mail, to recipients' homes, just like the state pensions, thereby obviating the sometimes embarrassing need to come to the federation offices to collect them.

Aid packages are sent out eight times a year, six times to coincide with the major Jewish festivals, and once in midsummer and once in midwinter, to bridge the long dry seasons between festivals.

The criteria of need are determined by a committee comprising Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, Federation president Theodore Blumenfeld, and assistance department head Edelstein. The final arbiter is the rabbi, who, since his election to office in the storms and dangerous days of the late forties, has led this community with a firm hand -- and with an even firmer and more unwavering vision of its ultimate redemption: transplanted almost in its entirety in Israel.

The packages contain foodstuffs, purchased from government stores. They each weigh some 40 pounds and are worth some $20. Married couples receive double packages.

Once a year, persons meeting the criteria are invited to their local federation offices to select clothing and shoes. Here, too, the precious principle of dignity is rigorously maintained: all the clothing is brand new most of it manufactured in Rumania, though some is sent over from the United States by the JDC, and people are invited in small groups, to eliminate crowding or embarrassment.

Meals on wheels, bringing hot midday meals to elderly housebound Jews, is literally a lifesaver in many cases. The meals are prepared in the Kosher restaurants which are maintained in all the major Rumanian communities, and despatched to recipients homes by minibuses owned by the community.

There are ten restaurants around the country, offering substantial and tasty kosher meals every day to anyone who comes by. And thousands of Jews do. By no means all of them are old or weak: younger people too find the convenience and ambiance of the Jewish restaurant attractive and pleasant.

Those who can pay the full 22 lei (about $1.80) for their meal. Most people, however, pay far less, and some pay nothing.

The criteria for payment are determined by a discreet means test. Yet -- such is the fastidious concern for human dignity -- people sitting around the same table and enjoying the same meal cannot know what each of them paid for that meal. The system of ticketing is specifically designed to conceal this information.

Help For The Home-Bound

The assistance department hires home-helpers to clean, cook and shop for elderly home-bound or bed-ridden Jews. Four hundred homes in the capital and another 300 in the provinces benefit from this service.

The Federation employs, in addition, six social workers who visit recipients and potential recipients of the various aid programs. These social workers are all retired people themselves (in Rumania retirement age is 60 for men and 57 for women), boosting their pensions by doing this work -- but doing it, as is immediately and abundantly apparent, much more out of love and devotion than for the material benefit.

Edelstein explains that the federation cannot attract young, professional social workers "because we can't afford to pay as much as the government." He himself is a former senior official at the Ministry of Foreign Trade who, when he retired, was eagerly enlisted by Rabbi Rosen to head up the assistance department.

A medical center or polyclinic in Bucharest has doctors who are also almost all retirees. Among their number are some of the country's better-known specialists, including internationally-renowned virologist Prof. Nikolai Cajal, a member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences.

While ostensibly health care is provided free by the state to all its citizens, the elderly and/or needy Jews are eligible to attend the clinic, or call its physicians to their homes, enjoy a considerably more efficient, and immeasurably more devoted, service. The clinic, moreover, is linked to two pharmacies which dispense its doctors' prescriptions. The drugs, like the medical diagnoses and treatments, are all free for all eligible patients -- and are not available, even for money, for people not adjudged eligible.

With 2,000 mostly young professional Rumanian Jews having left for Israel in 1984 alone, and with only 50 Jewish births having been registered throughout the country, Cajal predicts the virtual end of this entire, impressive, moving structure of organized Jewish life within a decade. A combination of aliya and biology will see to that, he says.

Israeli experts tend to agree. They feel there is potential for a further 10,000 Rumanian Jewish immigrants to Israel at most, with the remainder of the community intent on living out their lives in Rumania.

Rabbi Rosen does not agree with the essence of this prognosis. But he predicts a slower shrinkage. In ten years time, he believes, there will still be a Jewish population of 15,000.

"Whether or not there will still be organized, flourishing communal and religious Jewish life -- that depends on us," Rosen says. "Even the present situation is unnatural, almost miraculous. A community of 26,000 maintaining active Jewish centers in 68 separate places -- complete with synagogues and social services."

Rosen believes passionately that the key to Rumanian Jewry's monumental success -- and the statistics, after all, add up to an incredible success-story, especially in view of the objective circumstances -- has been his unrelenting fight to preserve the spiritual heritage. His greatest pride and joy are the afterschool classes, usually held in synagogues, where the ever-dwindling young generation imbibes the fundamentals of their peopl culture and traditions.

"They may not become great scholars (talmidei Hahamim)," Rosen said in a speech at the Choral Synagogue last month in the presence of Israeli Premier Shimon Peres. "But they grow up with a profound knowledge of what it means to be Jewish --and a profound commitment and identity."

Jewish Music Encouraged

Rosen's particular innovation, in terms of Jewish education in trying circumstances, has been his encouragement of music and song. All the larger communities boast Jewish youth choirs. In Bucharest there are several.

Enormous effort and devotion go into rehearsing, songwriting, organizing, and periodically performing -- especially on the festivals and whenever a distinguished visitor comes by, from Israel or the West. And the enthusiasm of the young choristers and musicians is infectious, regularly rousing audiences of Jews, young and old (mostly old), to join in with the songs of Zion, the Yiddish lieder and the liturgical tunes that fill the grand old synagogues with the sounds of yesterday -- and of tomorrows.

EXHIBIT B

2 Part IX/Sunday, July 28, 1985 Los Angeles Times

OLYMPICS '84/A YEAR LATER

THE TEAMS: ROMANIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE L.A. GAMES

Los Angeles Times

As Romanians marched in at Opening Ceremonie at Coliseum, U.S. crowd stood and applauded.

'THERE WERE REAL RISKS INVOLVED'

But Romanian Officials Say Defying Soviets, Coming to L.A., Was Well Worth It

By ROBERT GILLETTE, *Times Staff Writer*

BUCHAREST, Romania—For everyone at the Los Angeles Olympic Games last summer, there was a moment, sooner or later, when it became clear what kind of Olympiad this would be: one to remember or one to forget.

For the 127 athletes from Romania, the small East European country that defied the Russians, boycotted the boycott and became the only Soviet Bloc country to take part, that moment came very early. Any lingering doubts about the wisdom of their appearance was swallowed up in the roar of the standing ovation by nearly 100,000 spectators, greeting the Romanians as they trooped into the Coliseum behind their blue, yellow and red flag.

Some of the Romanians wept.

The warmth and enthusiasm of the spectators, Romanian sports officials say, helped propel their athletes to the performances that won them 20 gold medals—second only to the United States.

The applause is still ringing in their ears.

"In football, you know, the crowd is the 12th player, and that's the way it was in Los Angeles," said Septimiu F. Todea, secretary general of Romania's National Council for Physical Education and Sport, in a recent interview. "Your fans encouraged our athletes with such warm feelings. Really, you contributed to our success."

For a country of only 23 million people in an area about the size of Pennsylvania and New York, Romania's athletic prowess, as in the case of its sinewy little gymnasts, was all out of proportion to its size. All told, Romania walked away with 53 medals, the third-highest total behind the United States and West Germany.

Romanian men did well in their traditional strongholds of weightlifting and wrestling. But the women—led by a 17-year-old wisp of a gymnast named Ecaterina Szabo, twirling and tumbling in the footsteps of Nadia Comaneci—proved the power of the Romanian team and provided what was, arguably, the dramatic high point of the Los Angeles games. All velvety European grace to Mary Lou Retton's brash American power, Szabo won four gold medals, but lost the crowning gold for all-round women's gymnastics by five hundredths of a point as Retton bounded off the pommel horse in a final vault for a perfect 10.

For Aurica Stoian, an ebullient sports official who spent a year working on logistics for the trip to Los Angeles—along with his colleagues, Stoian insists there was never any doubt that there *would* be a trip to Los Angeles—the fondest memories have less to do with drama than with patriotic ardor for a country that does not often register high in the consciousness of Americans.

It was at Lake Casitas near Santa Barbara, where Romania's powerful women rowers were quickly dubbed by their teammates "our golden fleet"—and not for the color of their hair. In the first six rowing events, Stoian recalls with a grin, that the Romanian women captured five gold medals and one silver. The Romanian flag went up and down like a semaphore and "they played our national anthem so many times that morning that people learned the tune."

Romania's first Olympic triumph, of course, was in just getting there. There is no evidence that the Soviets have exacted any retribution for this breach of the boycott, but the decision to take part in the Los Angeles Games is still a delicate subject among Romanian officials. They are exceedingly careful not to gloat.

Did Romania stand up to the Russians?

Junior sports officials tend to smile at the question. Their heads bob up and down in silent assent while their superiors gaze poker-faced into middle distance and produce the prescribed answer. No, Romania simply believes in Olympic participation as a way of strengthening peace and friendship among nations, and hasn't missed an Olympics since 1924.

"What others do is up to them," Petre Focseneanu, deputy secretary general of the National Sports Council, said with a dismissive wave of his hand. "As for us, we do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries."

Speaking privately, another official said that the decision to go to the Games was taken in keeping with Romania's long effort to follow an independent foreign policy, despite its membership in the Warsaw Pact. Romania is the only pact member that does not allow the stationing of Soviet or other foreign troops on its soil and the only one to maintain relations with Israel after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. It has also publicly criticized the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979.

Despite these differences with Moscow on weightier matters than sports events, the official said, the decision to take part in the Olympics was more than a "symbolic" gesture: "There were real risks involved."

Romanian officials now tend to believe that the Soviets, for reasons still unclear, soured on the Olympics only in early 1984, then simply waited for a convenient pretext to pull out.

The Reagan Administration provided the anticipated pretext when it refused to give a visa to a known KGB agent whom the Soviets proposed to send as an Olympic official. After that, Soviet complaints about security arrangements were just so much meringue on the cream pie the Kremlin was preparing to toss in America's face. Mostly, it missed.

Moscow announced its boycott—or "non-participation, as the Soviets still insist on calling it—on May 8. Between March 31 and May 14, the Soviet ambassador to Bucharest, Evgeny Tyazhelnikov, asked to see President Nicolae Ceausescu no fewer than four times, apparently to bring the recalcitrant Romanians on board.

The first two meetings were described in the official press in Bucharest as taking place in the usual "warm and comradely atmosphere." At the end, the atmosphere was no better than "comradely." A senior Western diplomat in Bucharest says that the Romanians told Moscow well in advance that they would send a team to Los Angeles. "The Soviets didn't like it, but they just decided not to go to the mat on this."

Most likely, the Soviets understood that Romania's participation in the Games would provide a useful boost for the country's morale at home and its prestige abroad. These are hard times for Romania, which has managed to pay off 40% of an $11.5 billion debt to the West since 1982, but only under a program of Draconian economic austerity.

Food and fuel are rationed in much of the country, prices of goods have soared, and central heating and electricity last winter, one of the coldest in this century, were turned back to a bare minimum while the use of private cars was banned for 2½ months. Most street lights were turned off, and Romanians were asked to unplug household appliances, especially refrigerators, which, after all, wouldn't be needed with the heat turned down.

Last summer, the Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee and the International Olympic Committee each contributed $60,000 to cover two-thirds of the cost of an air charter for the hard-strapped Romanian team. In addition, the Bucharest government reportedly decided to broadcast the games on television last summer only after the American organisers provided some discreet financial aid to cover the cost of a satellite feed from the West. Technicians quietly flown in by the ABC television network helped arrange the pickup, which evaded an Olympic blackout over the rest of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Apparently to avoid irritating the Russians any further, Romanian newspapers treated their team's singular success in low-key fashion, and when the team came home last August, the official celebrations were notably modest. The athletes met with senior sports officials and they marched in Bucharest in the annual parade on Aug. 23, marking the advent of Communist power in 1944. But President Ceausescu, an all-powerful figure whose official press ritually lavishes him with credit for all national achievements, did not meet with the returning athletes.

Public reaction to Romania's success, and popular feelings a year later, are hard to gauge. Visiting foreign journalists are free to wander at will in Bucharest, a grand old dowager of a city, filled with leafy streets and the faded baroque charms of *fin de siecle* villas embraced in wisteria vines. But the law

Public reaction to Romania's success, and popular feelings a year later, are hard to gauge. Visiting foreign journalists are free to wander at will in Bucharest, a grand old dowager of a city, filled with leafy streets and the faded baroque charms of *fin de siecle* villas embraced in wisteria vines. But the law requires Romanians to report any substantive conversation with a foreigner to police within 24 hours. This may account for a certain reticence on their part.

"Olympics? What Olympics?" one young man with seemingly fluent English said as he finished giving a wandering reporter street directions and hustled off.

Some diplomats said they sensed a certain pride, but no intense public interest, in the Games. But a young English instructor, encountered in a park, said that, in fact, there was great interest.

"It was wonderful," he said. "Of course everyone was proud, not just that we won so many medals, but that we were the only (Warsaw Pact) country to go to the Olympics."

Everyone, she said, understood that the Russians were pressuring Romania to join the boycott, and this led to a flurry of the gentle jokes that take the place of political comment. There was the story, for instance, about the telegram Moscow supposedly sent the Romanian leadership when the games were over:

"Congratulations. Stop. Romanian athletes' performance superb. Stop. Soviet oil and gas to Romania. Stop."

But was it a real Olympics without the Soviets and the other East Europeans?

The Soviets, who entered and won only one "event"—small-bore sniping in the press—insisted that it was not. The Romanians, with all due respect to their comrades, disagree.

It is true, Septimiu Todea, of the National Sports Council, acknowledges, that Romania won a great many more medals at Los Angeles than in Moscow (6) in 1980 and Montreal (4) in 1976.

"But keep in mind," he said, "that a record 140 countries participated. And the number of Olympic records and personal-best performances could only have been set in conditions of very hard competition. It was in fact spectacular."

Please see RISKS, Page 23

THE TEAMS: ROMANIA'S PARTICIPATION

RISKS

Continued from Page 2

Romanian officials are equally unstinting in their praise of the conduct, facilities and organization of the Olympics, and most especially for Peter Ueberroth, who ran the Games.

"Peter Ueberroth's robust optimism and his pragmatic cleverness achieved the most fruitful and economic organization in the history of the modern Games," one senior sports official said.

Not to slight anyone, Petre Focseneanu adds that each of the last three games has been excellent in its own specific way and that "we would be very glad if the next Olympics are as good as the last two, despite the difficulties."

To be sure, there were disappointments. The Romanians had hoped to fare better than they did in boxing, fencing and shooting events, and they plan to work harder in these areas between now and 1988. And there is some unfinished business.

No doubt most people remember the women's 3,000-meter race in which Zola Budd and Mary Decker collided in a heap of tears and retribution. Less well remembered is Maricica Puica, who won the race, and might well have won it, anyway.

Puica, sports officials said, has never had a chance to run a race with Decker—at least a whole one—and remains "very interested" in doing so. Puica has won all three grand prix events she has entered so far this year, and at an international track and field event July 14 in Bucharest, she clocked the distance in 8 minutes 36 seconds.

And gymnast "Cati" Szabo, a young woman with the build of hummingbird and a handshake that suggests piano wire in place of tendons, would like another chance at Mary Lou Retton. Szabo, who answers questions in soft, measured monosyllables, but allows that she is more mature now and better able to cope with Olympian-sized events, perked up at the mention of Retton's name.

"Yes, sure," she said, popping her knuckles with a crunching sound. "I'd like very much to meet her again. *And win.*"

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STATEMENT

by

Stefan issarescu M.D.,L.L.B.

In the name of the Truth About Romania Committee *)

and of

The World Union of Free Romanians **)

For the Record of the Hearing Held on Tuesday, July 23, 1985

Before the Subcommittee on International Trade

of the Committee on Finance of the U.S. Senate

on

The Presidential Recommendation to Extend Authority

Under the Foreign Trade Act of 1974

to Continue Nondiscriminatory Treatment

with Respect to the Products of the

"Socialist Republic of Romania"

*) The Truth About Romania Committee is a non-profit, non-incorporated Association of Americans and U.S. residents of Romanian descent. It was founded in 1973 and is dedicated to the task of disseminating the truth about conditions in Romania.

**) The World Union of Free Romanians is an Organization founded in May, 1984 in Geneva, Switzerland, by a Congress of representatives of local Romanian organizations extant throughout the Free World. Its object is to voice in the Free World the aspirations for Freedom of the Romanian people.

INTRODUCTION.

By his message to the Congress of June 3, 1985, the President of the United States has recommended that his authority to waive, in the case of the Socialist Republic Romania (SRR), the requirements of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974 be extended for another period of 12 months. Said provisions set freedom of emigration and, according to certain interpretations, observance of human rights as preconditions for granting the Most Favored Nation (MFN) treatment to non-market economy countries.

It is by now common knowledge that during the period of 1984-1985, through ruthless violation of human rights and continuing restriction of emigration, the SRR has once more demonstrated itself to be and to remain the most repressive, totalitarian dictatorship of all Eastern European nations.

The Romanian Communist Government, in essence a family regime, considering the large number of President Ceausescu family members in key positions, rules by decrees and controls every aspect of human life by means of a vast secret service apparatus.

Freedom of conscience and religious belief, freedom of expression, criticism or opposition are not tolerated and personal conversations are monitored. The right to assemble is not recognized; it is only accepted as a function of the Communist Party.

To suppress dissent and maintain control, the security service does not refrain from any conceivable means of harassment: job demotion, dismissal, denial of education, denial of food rations, internal banishment, disappearance and torture, frequently resulting in death.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

Religious education is prohibited and religious practice discouraged. Ministers, pastors and priests are the object of constant intimidation and violence.

Rev. Petru Popescu, a Baptist minister, a critic of anti-religious practice, disappeared in April 1985 from a train station platform. Nothing is known of his whereabouts.

Constantin Sfatcu, a Baptist lay leader, was imprisoned in April 1985 for possession of Christian literature.

Rev. Father Geza Palfy, a Hungarian Catholic Priest was beaten to death in April 1984 for criticizing the State's policy of making Christmas a workday.

Rev. Father Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa, an Orthodox Priest, professor of theology and human rights advocate, who spent repeatedly a total of 22 years in prison, was released in August 1984, but has now been placed under house arrest with interdiction of outside contacts. Although an immigration permit to Switzerland was granted by Swiss authorities, he is denied a passport.

Dorel Catarama, a Seventh Day Adventist, sentenced in 1982 to 10 years imprisonment, saw his sentence increased, on appeal, to 14 years.

The Uniate Church. The tragic plight of 1½ million faithful belonging to the Uniate Church of Romania, better known under the name of the Catholic Church of Byzantine Rite, must also be brought to attention when human rights are considered.

The Church, established in the 17th century, was forcibly suppressed in 1948, its schools and seminaries closed, the properrties confiscated and the Bishops imprisoned. It has become a "Church of Silence" since practice according to this Rite is relentlessly and harshly prosecuted.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.

Free expression is not tolerated in Romania. The mass-media and publications are strictly controlled by the Government. The introduction and distribution of foreign publications are prohibited in flagrant violation of the Cultural Exchange Agreement between the United States and SRR.

While Romanian publications from SRR are freely distributed, without restrictions in the United States, only those foreign publications approved by the censor's office can be introduced to Romania. In fact, not one single publication of the American Romanian Academy, which has been active for the past 10 years in the United States, could be found in Romania.

To survive, a writer in Romania has to conform to the current established Communist norm. Any brave attempt at independent thinking is swiftly penalized.

A case in point is that of the widely acclaimed young writer Dorin Tudoran, whose critical essay on the repression of Romanian writers was banned in Romania. He appropriately coined the expression: "the political internal terrorism". His essay has been serialized in a French journal and broadcast by western radio. In retaliation he was dismissed from the position of editor of the literary magazine "Luceafarul" and later placed incommunicado in forced domicile and secret service surveillance. The emigration passport has been constantly denied.

Tudoran's works have been distinguished by many international literary prizes. Writers of international repute, like Eugene Ionesco, Andre Glucksman, Alain Besancon, Zuznatov, Bukovski, Arrabal, etc., have in vain appealed in favor of his right to emigrate.

According to the latest information obtained by the "International Society for Human Rights" of Frankfurt, West Germany, Tudoran has disappeared from his domicile in Bucharest.

LABOR.

The Communist regime maintains tight control over the labor force, the trade union being merely an extension of the Communist Party and the State.

An attempt ventured in 1977 to organize a movement for a "Free Union of Romanian Workingmen" (Sindicatul Liber al Oamenilor Muncii din Romania - SLOMR) was brutally suppressed.

One of the labor leaders, Carmen Popescu, is still in jail, while another leader, Ionel Cana, after spending many years in prison, is now denied an emigration passport.

EMIGRATION.

In the area of emigration alone the performance of SRR can only be qualified as deceitful.

Since observance of the right to travel and emigrate has been made a principal condition for granting the MFN status to non-market economy countries, this subject deserves particular emphasis.

Freedom to leave is not considered a right in Romania. It is not even mentioned in the Romanian Constitution. The conditions for obtaining passports are determined by arbitrary administrative provisions and are lengthy and complex procedures. There is no possibility of challenging in a court of law the denial to travel. Article 12 of the Romanian Decree on Passports provides for complete Government discretion in the issuance of documents for foreign travel. The State exercises supreme authority to determine who may leave, when and under what conditions.

An application for emigration is considerd an act of treason. To obtain a passport turns into a lifetime project leading to disastrous consequences for the applicant and for his family. Downgrading in the job, dismissal and deprivation of the right to work are the prelude to later harassment and to arrest under fictitious pretexts. An unemployed person may be criminally prosecuted for being a parasite on society.

Application forms for emigration are difficult to obtain and applications are frequently arbitrarily rejected for trivial errors. The initial application fees are excessive and additional exorbitant taxes are exacted at every step and level of the lengthy administrative processing, not to speak of the final outright cash payment demanded on delivery of the passport, amounting to a total cost of $3000-$4000, a subtle scheme of substituting for the education tax which was abandoned in 1982 after strong United States Congressional and Administration representations.

Aware of the potential withdrawal of the MFN treatment for noncompliance with the terms of the Trade Act, the Romanian Government, for the twin purpose of getting rid of troublesome, common-law criminals and filling the emigration quota, has resorted to the subterfuge of granting a significant number of emigration passports to such individuals with penal records, undesirable and ineligible for admission to the United States or to other countries of immigration. Indeed, a clever move purporting to indicate compliance while attempting to shift responsibility for the shortfall to the alleged rigidity of the United States immigration stipulations.

We have information concerning many cases of violation of the freedom to travel, which represent only a small part of the tens of thousands concealed by the Romanian secret service.

Since June 1984 the cases of 122 families and 309 people have been monitored and are listed in the Annex.

LIVING CONDITIONS.

The living conditions in SRR can be summed up in three words: HUNGER, COLD and DARKNESS as expression of the dire, factitious shortage af all necessities of life.

By government decree, nutrition has to follow established "scientific guidelines" in order to prevent "surfeit and waste". Even the strict rationing of all basic foods, at levels insufficient to sustain life, does not succeed in satisfying equal distribution and queues form even before daybreak, at 3 or 4 o'clock in order to secure the pittance of bread, milk, oil, flour and, rarely meat, before they are exhausted during the next few hours

The supply of fuel and electric power does not fare better. With the number of street lights reduced to a minimum and with the light intensity greatly subdued, the streets are practically in darkness. In homes, no more than one light is permitted for each inhabited room and the use of all electric appliances is strictly forbidden. Teams of inspectors are organized who can enter private homes, at any hour, to check compliance with electricity consumption limitations. It has been estimated that the consumption of electric energy in Romanian private homes represents 7% of the total production as compared to 19% in Bulgaria and 27% in Hungary.

Domestic heating in winter is aptly described by Newsweek Magazine as an "arctic regime". Heating is restricted to a limited number of hours with the temperature not to exceed 60°F. To overcome the distress of freezing temperatures people sleep with their clothes on. Tens of thousands of people perished with cold and lack of food during the winter of 1984.

Romania, a country with rich natural ressources, displays now the lowest standard of living, with perhaps the exception of Albania.

The incompetent economic planning and the inadequate production of consumer goods are now significantly compounded by the steady trend of SRR integration into the Soviet economy, symbolized by the presence of a large number of nonmilitary Soviet experts and agents monitoring Romania's export of goods and technology to USSR.

It has been estimated that 35% to 40% of foreign trade is is directed to USRR and other Eastern European Communist countries, while 25% is exported to the Western World in exchange for hard currency and advanced technology. Little is left to satisfy the minimal needs of the destitute population.

PROTECTION OF NATIONAL HERITAGE.

Romania is ruled by an atheistic government repudiating all moral, spiritual and cultural values.

Total deprivation of mental stimulation, perversion of history, debasement of tradition and demolition of all trace of historic, cultural and spiritual past is the essence of Communism. The ultimate goal is to transform men into submissive beeings, prepared to look at life as a government granted privilege.

Suffice to give attention to what is taking place in Bucharest, the Capital and heart of the country.

An unprecedented "wholesale demolition" campaign has been carried out in Bucharest since 1977 to make way for government buildings, Communist Party headquarters and a new palace for President Ceausescu.

One quarter of historic Bucharest has been razed and, according to diplomatic sources, about 40,000 people have been displaced at a moment's notice, causing heartbreak and, according to unconfirmed reports, several suicides among those evicted.

Among the casualties and the monuments marked for demolition are many classified historical buildings, churches and monasteries representative of the most characteristic Byzantine architecture, which have endured the erosion of time since the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

A petition to UNESCO, signed by hundreds of Romanian exiles living in the United States and in Europe and an address from the "International Council on Monuments and Sites" (ICOMOS) presented to UNESCO with the request of interceding with the Romanian Government for the preservation of the cultural heritage has fallen on deaf ears.

CONCLUSIONS.

The conquest of human liberties in the western civilization has been a long and arduous process going back almost a millenium to the Magna Charta and over two hundred years to the American Declaration of Independence which proclaimed the self evident truths "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

Inscribed in the Constitutions of the Western Democratic Nations, these rights have become an indispensable social function, practiced, like breathing, automatically and subconsciously for the preservation of democracy and the maintenance of the moral health of the commonwealth.

Individual and national life cannot be taken for granted. It mustbe cared for and defended against physical and moral disease.

Fortyfive years ago the democratic world had gone through the agony of a cruel, sanguinary war for the noble purpose of defending, reinstating and preserving human dignity and the freedom of nations.

1985 celebrates the 40th anniversary of the glorious victory over Hitler's tyranny.

It is a cause of elation for the freedom loving people of the world. However, in the countries of Eastern Europe, Albania, the Baltic States, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia, the hearts of the people grieve that another vicious, destructive tyranny has shattered their dreams of independence and liberty and has taken hold of their existence.

1985 is not a cause of anniversary in these countries where, (to paraphrase a French professor of international law)..."the denial of human rights is not only an incidental result of the totalitarian system; it is a deliberate instrument of policy and even a precondition of its establishment,..it is a new philosophy in which the dictatorship of the proletariat gave all power to the State and reduced the individual to a cipher".

The forty years since WWII, on balance, have witnessed big global strides of the totalitarian Communist philosophy on the African Continent, Central America and South-East Asia, while the Free Democratic World, at great expense, was only able to hold its own ground.

The free democracies, in their good faith, ignore that agreements and words in the Communist world have only the value and the meaning that fits their philosophy and serve their purposes. While paying lip service, they are not impressed and feel not bound to honor the tenets of the universal foundations established for the preservation of democracy and the maintenance of the rule of law.

The Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference are only Declarations of Intention and have no instrument of enforcement. They are the expression of high moral value for the free democracies; they are objects of nuisance and indifference for the perverted, totalitarian Communist mentality.

The implementation of what has been agreed upon in these documents is left to the conscience and good faith of the participants. In the Communist system there is no good faith.

The bankrupt Communist countries need western technology and hard currency, in Lenin's words, they need the rope to use for hanging the free world. How much longer will the free world hand over the fatidic rope?

There is spiritual power in the free world, great moral power in the American arsenal of democracy, which triumphantly could overcome the spirit of negation of life, the contempt for human dignity, and could advance the respect for human rights in the world silenced by tyranny. This moral power only needs to be invoked and used with determination at the right time in the right place.

The hearings and debates over the granting and extension of the Most Favored Nation status to non-market economy countries offer the United States Congress an unique annual opportunity to review and to pass judgment over the past and current observance in these countries of the assumed human rights obligations.

Confronted with the dismal reality in Romania, which has reached a point beyond any human endurance, the Truth about Romania

Committee and the World Union of Free Romanians hold that the continuation of the MFN status for SRR is not in the best interests of either the United States or the freedom loving people of Romania. We urge that no further extension should be granted until radical improvements in the matter of human rights and living conditions are evident.

We consider of critical importance the following points:

1.- a. full recognition and unimpeded right to travrl and to emigrate;

b. relaxation of the vexing administrative procedures for obtaining passports and lowering the passport and emigration fees to a single, reasonable sum;

c. put an end to physical harassment and desist from forceful, unfair liquidation of would-be emigrants' assets.

2.- a. restoration of the right to worship and to practice their faith to all religious denominations;

b. full restoration of spiritual and material rights to the Uniate Church (Catholic Church of Byzantine Rite) and unrestricted right for the 1½ million Uniate faithful to practice their religion.

3.- bring to a halt the demolition of historical and architectural monuments and sites which are a cultural heritage of the Romanian Nation and an integral part of the World cultural patrimony.

ANNEX

DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE AND OF RE-UNIFICATION OF FAMILIES BY THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT

Since June 2nd 1984 the following cases, involving 122 families and 309 people, were monitored:

Aurel NEGRU and his family, Bucharest, Str. Soldat CIndea Nr. 6, Sec. 5, originally applied to emigrate 4 years ago. They were turned down. Negru re-applied whenever given a chance. They had 14 negative answers so far. Their guilt:

They are Seventh Day Adventists and have to pay heavy fines because they do not send their children to school on Saturdays.

Eugenia BABOTA (55 years old), and her son Florin OPREANU (32 years old), of Buftea, Str. Fabricii de Oxigen, Bl. A, Apt. 4, Sector Agricol, Ilfov, applied to emigrate in June 1980. The authorities asked them to give up their Romanian citizenship and pay a fee of 1,000 Lei each. They were asked to hand over their home to the state. They complied with all this in vain. Six negative answers.

Maria MUNTEANU and her family composed of Gabriela DINACHE and Mihai DINACHE, her children, Anton MUNTEANU, brother, of Bucharest, Str. Aleea Valea Viilor No. 1, Bl. M34, Ap. 50. They applied to emigrate two years ago. Anton MUNTEANU, a highly qualified chemical engineer was demoted. He is now employed as an unskilled worker; sweeps the yard, cleans lavatories, etc. at the "Grivita Rosie" steel plant.

Gheorghe BRACIU, and his wife Ana BRACIU, nee FINGERHUT of Dudestii-Noi, Nr. 233, Jud. Timis, cannot leave Romania although her brother Josef FINGERHUT lives in Stuttgart and their children Filippi Victor BRACIU in Königsbrunn and Adrian BRACIU in Ditzingen. Their pleas for the re-unification of the family were turned down.

Karoly BIRTA, (32 years old), of Sovata, Str. Maistrului Nr. 6, Jud. Tg. Mures, cannot leave to join his brother Anton BIRTA, who lives in Sydney, Booth St., Annandale, 2038, Australia.

The Baptist Pastors Benjamin CUCAR and Ion STEFF, of Medias, are being interrogated and harassed for their preaching. Dr. Ernest GORDON, the President of CREED in Washington, D.C., visited their church in Medias in March 1984 and established that the two Pastors only preached according to the Baptist tradition.

Corneliu TUDOR and his two small children Ana Maria (aged 3) and Patrick Emanual (aged 2), of Bucharest, Bld. Iosif Broz Tito, Nr. 57A Bl. B., Sc.L., Sec. IV applied in 1983 to join Dr. Patricia TUDOR, wife and mother, who lives in Königssee, Germany. Refused.

Lucia BROSU, (76 years old), of Bucharest, Str. Galati, Nr. 69, cannot leave to join her daughter Maria Manuela BROSU who lives in Görrerstr. 28, Munich, Germany.

Erwin KRAMER of Schwarenberg Str. 123, 7000, STUTTGART, 1, cannot get his parents out of Romania although they are sick and old and have applied for the right to leave.

Rosemarie LUNGU, nee ZAKEL and her husband Cornel LUNGU, of Sibiu, Str. Jezer, Bl. 5, Sc.B, cannot be re-united with Christina Manuela LUNGU of Grenzstr. 21, 7858 Weil-Friedlingen, Germany.

Petronela KANDRAI, (73 years old), of Str. V.I. Lenin, Nr. 170, 2566 Cugir applied 5 years ago to join her son Ladislav KANDRAI of Sieberausstr. 23, 7551 Steinmauern, Germany. Repeatedly turned down.

Gheorghe FLOREA, his wife Natalia and children Veronica and Corneliu, of Bucharest, Str. Prevederii Nr. 3, Bl. PM., Ap. 22, Sec. III, applied to leave Romania permanently in March 1980. They are Baptists. Still no answer.

Dumitru GUIU, his wife Victoria and children Beatrice, Adelaide and Lucian, of Bucharest, Str. Simonide Nr. 12, Sec. V, have a U.S. visa but cannot obtain permission to leave, despite repeated applications since 1981.

Gheorghe IONESCU, of Bucharest, Sos. Stefan cel Mare Nr. 1, Sc. 3, Ap. 100, an old age pensioner, has had his application regularly turned down for the last 2 years. He wants to joing his sister Maria IONESCU, of 355 Broadway Blv., Ap. 19, Reno, NV 89502, U.S.A.

Iusuf DOGAN, of Constanta, Str. Suceava, Nr. 5, Bl. 5B, Ap. 187, first applied to leave on September 15, 1977. Still being refused.

Corina DUMITRESCU and her children Candia-Sabina HARTTMANN (3 years old) and Shari HARTTMANN (1 year old) of Bucharest, Str. Moise Nicoara, Nr. 38A, BL. C2, Ap. 154, cannot obtain permission to join their husband and father, Aba HARTTMANN, in Tel Aviv, Israel.

Mr. & Mrs. TEKESER and their son, of Valea Viilor, Nr. 423, Jud. Sibiu, cannot join their daughter and sister, Renate RODEHORST of Erlangen, Stettiner Str. 20, Germany.

Verona STOCHECI (45 years old) and her son Sorin STOCHECI (17 years old), of Bucharest, Str. Vulturilor, Nr. 40, B., Sec. III, are trying since 1980 to leave permanently to join Liviu Gheorghe TEODORU, in Sydney, Australia.

Dr. Lucian TURLEA, his wife Constanta and children Christina (6 years old) and Irina (3 years old) of Gh. Gheorphiu - Dej, Alea Parcului, Nr. 5, Ap. 97, Jud. Bacau, continue to apply since 1982 for emigration.

Leocadea PUTINELU, of Grabati, Nr. 279, Jud. TIMIS cannot join her brother Dr. Michael LOGHIN, of 8074 Gaimersheim, Lessingstr. 6, Germany.

Agnes BOROS of Cluj-Napoca cannot joint her fiance, Mircea CHINDRIS, in Los Angeles, CA, U.S.A.

Josef DOBROVOLSKI (b. 1908) and his wife Maria (b. 1923) of Dudestii Noi, Nr. 540, Jud. Timis cannot join their son in Germany.

Iosif BLUM, his wife Elfriede and children Isolde and Manfred, of Jecica Mica, Nr. 214, Jud. Timis, want to be re-united with their family in Germany.

Iosif Schmidt (54 years old) his wife Elizabetha, nee Hoffmann, their daughter Ana and her husband Iosif REGERT and their children, Sebastian (4), Tanja (3) and Ion (2), of Dudestii Noi, Nr. 84, Jud. Timis cannot join their families in Germany.

Ion FLORESCU, his wife Camelia and their two children, of Bucharest, Str. Pionerilor, Nr. 9, Et. I, Ap. 7, Sec. IV, cannot join their brother George FLORESCU in Melbourne, Australia.

Ion CHRISTMANN and his wife, of Jecea Mare, Jud. Timis, cannot leave despite applications since 1979.

Georgeta ITIGAN, her husband and daughter, of Bucharest, Aleea Moldovita, Nr. 6, Sec. IV, applied in 1981 to leave permanently for the U.S.A. Turned down.

Mr. PORR of Cristian, Str. Republicii, Nr. 10, Jud. Brasov, has tried for the last 22 years to join his brother Johann PORR in Munich, Seydliz Str. 43. Always turned down.

Stefan, Maria and Gertrud WERBER of Alba Iulia, Blv. 6 Martie, Nr. 89, Bl. A2, Sc. C., Ap. 56, cannot join their relative Johann WEBER of 7000 Stuttgart 31, Geibelstrasse 23.

Ecaterina KRAUSZ and her children Petru, Ecaterina and Ilse MULLER, of Dudestii Noi, Nr. 121, Jud. Timis are refused permission to join their relatives in Germany.

Sofrona BARSANU (80 years old), Nicolae BARSANU and Ion CRISTINARU, of PÎRAIE, MAINI, Jud. Suceava, cannot go to brother Vasile BARSANU in Saltzburg, Austria.

Ioana RUPA and her children living in Resita Felix Bloc 4, Apt. 14, has been refused permission since 1982 to join the husband and father, Victor RUPA who lives in Reid, Austria.

The priest Radu MIHAI, of Bucharest, served the Romanian community in Sweden and Denmark for 7 years. In May 1984 he was urgently recalled to Bucharest (on the pretext that his mother was gravely ill). His wife and 3 children were left behind in Sweden. He found his mother perfectly healthy but he lost his passport. All applications to rejoin his family have been so far refused.

Ioan HERTA and his family, of Lugoj, Str. Cornet, Nr. 48, Jud. Timis, tries ever since 1980 to emigrate to the U.S.A.

Gheorghe LAZAR and his family of Lugoj, Str. Vasle Alecsandri, Nr. 12, Jud. Timis, whose original application was turned down in 1980, is interrogated, beaten up and terrorised by the Security Officer, Lt. Major Vid Teodor.

Maria-Ioana HORTOPAN has been refused permission to visit her mother Marie-Liliana VASILESCU in Brussels.

Permission to emigrate to the U.S.A. has been denied to Alexandru Constantin FELVINTI, of Turda, Str. Macilor, Apt. 39, Jud. Cluj.

The family of Zaharia COJOCARU, his wife and 4 children, living in Bazeseu, Jud. Teleorman have been refused permission to go to the U.S.A.

A Pentecostal family, Nicolae b'59, Constantin b'64, Georgina b'68 and twins Michael and Gabriela b'69 living in Motru, Aleia Panselutelor bloc 14, Apt. 12, Jud. Gorj have not been allowed to be united with their father Constantin ANDRITOIU in Vienna. Similarly a visa has been denied to Elena ANDRITOIU aged 72 years and Constantin ANDRITOIU living in Clesnesti, Jud. Gorj.

Ana TACHE and her daughter Sorin RACHINOIU of Bucharest, Aleia Istru 2A, Apt. 20 have not been allowed to visit Jenica RACHINOIU of Recanatti, Italy, daughter and sister of the above named.

Permission has been refused for Franz THIES of Timisoara, Str. Leandrului Bloc 11, Apt. 65 to visit his brother Michael THIES living at 8041 Diebersheim, Hauptstrasse 7 and also for Elisabeta THIES of the same address to visit her mother Sara THIES of 8400 Regensburg 11 Vittusstrasse 14.

Lucia BROSU, 76 years old of Bucharest, Str. Galati 69 has not been given a visa to visit her daughter Maria Manuela BROSU, an American citizen, of München, Görresstrasse 28.

Permission to emigrate to West Germany was refused to Johann HALMEN, Regina HALMEN, Regine STIRNER, Ingrid STIRNER and Michael STIRNER all of Saros Dumbraveni, Jud. Sibiu to join their family already established there.

Jacob GARTNER and Anna THILL living at Peciu Nou 752, Jud. Timis were not allowed to join their son and brother Martin GARTNER living at 8700 Wurzburg, Neubergstrasse 9.

Antoniu FOLOSANU b.04, suffering from cancer, married to Veronica FOLOSANU b. 14, both of German nationality and living at Strada Fluierului 23 Bucharest has been refused permission since 1980 to join their sister Frau FOLOSANU of An Schulgarten 11 6800 Mannheim 1.

The family of the engineer Gavril TIRLESCU Strada Scînteii 41, Caransebes, Jud. Caras Severin have not been allowed to join the other members of the family in Traiskirchen, Austria.

Rodica RADUT, their children Michaela and Claudiu-Alin RADUT of Moldova Noua bloc 49, Apt. 10 Jud. Caras, Severin have been refused permission to join the husband and father ION RADUT of 65B Cambridge Avenue, San Leandro, California, U.S.A.

The following family members have been refused permission to join their brother David LAZARESCU of 39 Cambridge Ave., San Leandro, California: David LAZARESCU, his wife Ecaterina, his daughters Ioana Adriana and Teodora Cristina of Bucharest, Str. Ruginoasa 12 and also Corneliu LAZARESCU with his wife Eugenia and children Razvan and Amalia of Bucharest, Str. Bonea Marin 2, Apt. 15.

Domnica COSOROABA of Blvd Constantin Brancoveanu 104 Bucharest has been refused permission to join her son Adrian BURLAN COSOROABA of 457 Greenwood Santa Clara, California.

Permission has been refused to Florin VLASACHE of Bucharest Str. Astrulni 12, Apt. 35 to go to live with her parents Nicolae VLASACHE of 1576 Sunnyvale Avenue 39, Walnut Creek, California.

Stefan GLIGA of Aleia Fizicienilor 9 Bucharest has not been allowed to join his brother Alexander GLIGA of 379 Everest Avenue, Palo Alto, California.

Iulia CONSTANTINESCU of Bucharest, Blvd Ion Sulea 31 Bloc N3 has not had permission to join her fiance in California, Mihai OLARU of 457 Greenwood, Santa Clara.

Permission to join his father has not been given for Cornel POPESCU, Caracal, Str. Anton Caracalla Bl. K Apt. 3. His father Gheorghe POPESCU lives now at 457 Greenwood, Santa Clara, California.

Anghel VOINEA and his wife Catalina Romanita Ilea have not been able to get permission to go to Eugen COBAN, 457 Greenwood, Santa Clara.

The family Johan WADT b'26, Regina Malvina WADT nee Seiverth b'31, Gerhard-Michael WADT b'60 and Ana WADT b'62 all living in Soala 36, Jud. Sibiu have not been allowed to emigrate to their relative Hans-Reinman WADT of Köln 80 Kattowitzer Str. 10.

Letters have been received by Ioana STANCIU, Elena DUMITRIU and Doina POPESCU in Paris confirming that Eugenia BOBOTA and her son Florian OPREANU of Buftea Str. Fabrica Buciumeni Bloc A, Apt. 4 Jud. Ilfov has been refused since 1980 to emigrate to West Germany.

Ioan HERTA, Lugos, Str. Cornet 40, Apt. 4 has constantly been refused permission to emigrate to the U.S.

Gheorghe LAZAR, Lugos, Str. Vasile Alec-sandri 12, has tried for 4 years to leave for U.S.A.

Beniamin BUCUR, 87 years old, of Str. V. Lucaci, Nr. 12, Sc. B, Et. 2, Apt. 8, refused, on 26th April, 1985, to go to his daughter Rodica Ratiu and her family of 525, Mandana Blv., Apt. 211, Oakland, CA 94610, U.S.A. He is totally alone and ailing.

Teodor RUSU of Bucharest, Str. Moldovita, Nr. 6, Sec. IV, cannot join his son Octavian RUSU in Munich, Germany.

Rudolf FODE and his family, of Brasov, Str. Mihai Viteazul, Nr. 69, cannot re-unite with his mother, Luiza FODE, in ULM, Merziweg, 12.

Gheorghe IONESCU of Bucharest, Sos. Stefan cel Mare, Nr. 1, Sc. 3, Ap. 100, cannot go to his sister Maria IONESCU of 355 Broadway Blv., Ap. 18, Reno, Nv, 89502, U.S.A.

Eugenia TELEA, of Sibiu, Str. Rahova, Nr. 51, Ap. 29, cannot get a passport for medical treatment arranged for her by Brigitte Ehlert of Westend Str. 105, 8000 Munchen, 2.

Nicolae AVRAM, Maria AVRAM and Mircea STET, of Saliste, Str. Spitalului, Nr. 1051, Jud. Sibiu cannot visit their daughter and cousin who is married to Rev. George Doru GAGE in Indiana, U.S.A.

Nicolae STAN, 26 years old of Bucharest, disappeared in August 1984 when he was handed over to the Romanian authorities by the Yugoslav frontier guards.

Costel GALALE at present in the Bucharest prison hospital as a result of the beatings received at the Poarta Alba, Jud. Constanta where he was imprisoned in October 1982 as a consequence of his wife, Maria GALALE not returning to Romania. She lives, with their 4 children, in Chrysander Str. 151, 2050 Hamburg, 80.

Grafina OZARCHEVICI and Gheorghe PETRESCU, of Bucharest, Str. Caimatei, Nr. 16, Sec. II. Their application to leave refused since 1983.

Martian DELIMAN, of Comlosul Mare, Jud. Timis. A Baptist, had his application to emigrate to the U.S.A. refused.

Ana NEAGU, of Bucharest, Intrarea Armasului, Nr. 8, Ap. 3, Sec. I, 67 years old, cannot obtain permission to visit her son, Gabriel NEAGU of Munchen.

Luminita SAS, of Bucharest, Blv. Iosip Broz Tito, Nr. 70, Bl. P.M.-26, Sc. 4, Et. 5, Ap. 132, Sec. III, has her application to emigrate turned down ever since 1981.

Rodica BUJOR, of Bucharest, Str. Calarasi, Nr. 148, Sec. III, cannot go to her brother Constantin BUJOR in Melbourne, Australia.

Albert SCHLOPP, of Becicherecul Mic, Nr. 654, Banat, cannot join his family in Germany.

Ioan MICHELS, of Jimbolia, Str. 1 Mai, Nr. 12, Jud. Timis is not allowed to re-join his daughters in Germany.

The WEIDENFELDER family - Johann, Anne Marie, Rosemarie, Benno-Hans - of Sibiu, Aleea Infanteristilor, Bl. 2, Sc. C., Ap. 50, cannot join their family in Padeborn, Rothenauer str. 26. Despite countless applications, since 1957!

Ingrid GROSS her husband and child, of Codlea, Str. Magurii, Nr. 37, Jud. Brasov cannot go to her sister Liane MATHIOE of Augsburg, Alter Heuweg, Nr. 30.

Susana WEBER, of Dirlos, Str. Morii, Nr. 94, Jud. Sibiu, cannot re-join her parents, Gustav WEBER in Wolfsburg, Germany.

Mihai BRANZEI, his wife and their twin boys Mircea and Laurentiu, of Bucharest, Blv. Gloriei, Nr. 33, Sec. I, have had their application to emigrate refused since 1982. They want to join Paulina BRANZEI of Belair 1177, Quebec, Canada.

Ionel CANA of Bucharest, imprisoned in 1979 for joining the "Free Trade Union" cannot leave the country for the U.S. He has forced domicile.

Corina TUTUNARU (21 years of age) was arrested at the airport after seing off her fiance Rolf HEILER of Wagehaensel, Nr. Mannheim. Her appartment was searched and presents from abroad confiscated. They've been trying to obtain permission to marry for over 2 years.

Nicolae REPCA cannot join his cousin Radn NISIPEANU in California, U.S.A.

The mother of the exiled writer Virgil TANASE cannot get a passport to join her son in Paris, France.

Mihai MARMARA of Bucharest, Str. Ecaterina Teodoroiu, Nr. 16, cannot join his uncle Demostene MARMARA in New York.

Mrs. SIMON and her son cannot get a passport to join husband and father in Alabama, U.S.A.

Gheorghe BOROVINA and wife are not allowed to go to their daughter, Doina, who is married to the well-known American physicist Karl COLLINS.

Ilie Tita, his wife and 4 children of Craiova, Craiovita Noua, Bl. 65 A2, Sc. 2, Ap. 33, were refused leave to emigrate to Italy.

Eleonora TELEKI, of Cluj, Str. Tipoprafiei, Nr. 28, Ap. 5, cannot join her husband, Mihai Teleki, in New York, U.S.A.

Alexandrina DUINEA, of Bucharest, Str. Intrarea Barsei, Nr. 2, Bl. M-12, Ap. 86, Sec. III, cannot get a passport for emigration to U.S.A.

The CERNAT family of LUGOJ, Str. Traian Vuia, Nr. 18, Jud. Timis, cannot go to their son, the orthodox priest Emil Ambrus-CERNAT, in Detroit, U.S.A.

Stefan CALCIU, of Comani, Jud. Olt, cannot go either to his sister in Germany, or to his 3 cousins in Austria.

Eugen ZEHAN (b. 1938), of Cluj-Napoca, Str. Masinistilor, Nr. 44, has been tortured and terrorised for asking to leave Romania permanently.

Vasile COMAN, of Tohanul Vechi, Jud. Brasov, cannot go to have his kidney ailment treated as invited by Gheorghe UNGUREANU of Braband, Aarhus, Denmark.

Rev. Gheorghe Calciu-DUMITREASA, freed on August 20, 1984 is now under strict security supervision in Bucharest.

Dorel CATARAMA is now serving a 14 year sentence for fraud - a trumped-up charge. He is a Pentecostal.

Elena Alexandrina POPA, and family of Bucharest, St. Huedin, Nr. 7, Bl. 2, Sc. 2, Et. 5, Ap. 99, Sec. IV, meet only with refusal since 1979.

Nicolae BOIASU, of Arad, Str. Pelicanului Nr. 10, is on hunger strike in the Arad prison.

Mrs. IUGA and two small children cannot join husband and father Dan IUGA, who won a silver medal in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games.

Georg SILLMAN, wife Gerlinde and son Erwin, of Cisnadie, Str. Tesatorilor, Nr. 56, Jud. Sibiu, have had their passport applications refused for the last 8 years. They want to go to Germany.

Vasle HAPAIANU of Hunedoara Str. Bucegi, Bl. 4 cannot go to the U.S.A. since 1980.

Nicolae STOIA, of Timisoara, the author of the book "ADEVARUL" (The Truth) has disappeared (in June 1984).

Petru BAROS, wife Virginia and 8 children, of SAT CHINEZ, Jud. Timis, suffer privation and indignities for having applied to leave Romania permanently.

Dietmar BRENNDORFER (b. 1961), of Brasov, Str. Magnoliei, No. 8, cannot go to her aunt, Anni BRENNDORFER, of Nusselstr. 36-8, Müchen 60.

Dorin TUDORAN and his wife have had their application turned down.

Georghe BUDARU, his wife and 4 children of Marghita, Jud. Bihor, cannot go to the U.S.A.

Felicia RUSU, of Lugoj, now on hunger strike in Timisoara, Str. Calea Sagului Nr. 52, Ap. 35, crossed the frontier illegally, served 7 months in prison. Is being refused a passport for the U.S.A.

Nicolae TURCAS (17 years old) and his brother Vasile (14), last address Timisoara, Str. Repin, Nr. 28, were caught trying to cross the frontier in November 1983. They are now in prison.

Corneliu ITU and his wife Maria-Tereza of Bucharest, Str. Dornei, No. 9, Sec. I, were repeatedly refused a passport since 1981.

David MARIS and his family, of Arad, Str. Lacului, Bl. L3, Et. 1, Ap. 5, cannot leave since 1982.

Susan SPECK (57) and her son HANS (34), of Sibiu, Str. 1 Mai, Nr. 7, were refused the right to join sister and aunt Malvine KAUNTZ of Melbourne, Australia.

Codruta MARC cannot join her fiance, Ion Chirita, in Dural, Australia.

Ion MARIN, wife Florica and 7 children, of Schitul, Com. Tusla, Jud. Constanta, were turned down systematically ever since they first applied to emigrate to the U.S.A. in 1978.

Radu FILIPESCU, now in prison for 10 years for distributing illegal leaflets.

Dorel CADAR of Cluj-Napoca, Str. Pata, Nr. 147, Ap. 50, cannot join his brother, Remus CADAR, 120 World Trade Center, 350 South Figueroa Str., Los Angeles, CA. 90071, U.S.A.

Serban Petru ENESCU, of Bucharest, Str. Constantin Brancoveanu, Nr. 1, Et. 1, Sc. D., Sec. IV, cannot go to his aunt Silvia CHIRIAC of 18, rue des Communes Réunies, 1212, Geneva, Switzerland.

The GUNTER family, Jacob (b. 1922), Elisabeta (b. 1923) and Katharina (b. 1900), of Stamora-Germana, Jud. Timisoara, had their application turned down. They wanted to join Ralf GUNTHER (b. 1972), now paralized, of 8000, Munchen, 81, Lubeckerstr. 11, Germany.

Mihu Silvian RAZVAN, of Bucharest, Sos. Mihai Bravu, 64-84, Bl. P. 7, Sc. 3, Et. 3, Ap. 102, (b. 1956) cannot go to the U.S.A. although he has a valid visa since 1982.

Ionel VINCHICI, his wife and 2 children of Lugoj, Str. Caransebesulni, Nr. 3 have had their application to go to U.S.A. turned down ever since 1982.

Rev. Stefan GAVRILA, his wife and 7 children of Gugesti, satul Oreanu, Jud. Vrancea, have had their attempts to get to the United States systematically refused since 1978.

Petru STANESCU, his wife and 2 children, of Lugoj, Str. Olari, Nr. 27, Bl. B, Ap. 12, Micro 1, had their passport application turned down since 1981.

Marin CHIRITA, of Suseni, sat CHIRITASTI, Jud. Arges, is refused to go to his son Ion Chirita in Dural, Australia.

Ion DAN (b. 1957) of Bucharest, Sos. Colentina, Nr. 35, Bl. R. 15, Sc. A., Ap. 21, Sec. II, was turned down in July 1984.

The UNGUREANU family, Gheorghe, Ileana, and the children Daniel and Jean of Suceava, and Gavril (73 years old) and Madalina (72) of Mitocul Dragomirnei, Jud. Suceava, were refused the right to leave Ramania.

STATEMENT OF FROILAN C. TENORIO
RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

HEARING ON S.680

BEFORE

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

UNITED STATES SENATE

JULY 15, 1985

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THESE COMMENTS IN OPPOSITION TO THE APPLICATION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF S.680, THE "TEXTILE AND APPAREL TRADE ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1985", TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS (CNMI). WHILE THE BILL HAS GREAT VALUE TO THE MAINLAND TEXTILE AND APPAREL INDUSTRY, AND I SEE THE NEED FOR LEGISLATION TO PROMOTE DOMESTIC PRODUCTION, IT WOULD REVERSE ESTABLISHED TERRITORIAL TRADE POLICY AND WOULD, IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH, HAVE A PROFOUNDLY-DESTRUCTIVE IMPACT UPON OUR CORNER OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

SECTION 4(4) OF THE BILL DEFINES THE TERM "COUNTRY" TO INCLUDE "AN INSULAR POSSESSION OF THE UNITED STATES." WHILE THE CNMI IS NOT CURRENTLY SUCH A POSSESSION, WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING THE NEWEST MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL FAMILY PURSUANT TO THE "COVENANT TO ESTABLISH A COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS IN POLITICAL UNION WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA", PUB. L. 94-241. ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THAT AGREEMENT, WE ARE HEIRS TO THE BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL POLICY OF FOSTERING THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORIES THROUGH THE PROVISIONS OF GENERAL HEADNOTE 3(a) OF THE TARIFF SCHEDULES. WERE THE PROVISIONS OF THIS BILL MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS, ACCESS TO THE AMERICAN MARKETPLACE FOR OUR TEXTILE AND GARMENT PRODUCTS WOULD BE VIRTUALLY ELIMINATED.

UNTIL RECENTLY, THE UNITED STATES HAD ACTIVELY PROMOTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GARMENT MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN THE CNMI, ALONG WITH OTHER INDUSTRIES TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE HEADNOTE 3(a) POLICY. TEXTILE PRODUCTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH WERE LAWFULLY LABELED AS SUCH AND PROUDLY IDENTIFIED AS "MADE IN THE USA". AS LONG AS IT COULD BE DOCUMENTED THAT THE PRODUCTS DERIVED NO MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THEIR VALUE FROM FOREIGN MATERIALS, THEY ENTERED THE MAINLAND MARKET DUTY-FREE AND WITHOUT QUOTA. BUT THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE HAS RECENTLY ACTED TO OVERRIDE THIS CONGRESSIONALLY-ESTABLISHED POLICY. LAST YEAR'S INTERIM "COUNTRY OF ORIGIN" REGULATIONS PROVIDED THAT THE PRODUCTS OF OUR INDUSTRY ARE NO LONGER CONSIDERED TO BE AMERICAN PRODUCTS EVEN WHEN THEY DERIVE MORE THAN HALF OF THEIR VALUE IN THE COMMONWEALTH.

S.680 WOULD HAVE AN EVEN MORE DEVASTATING IMPACT ON OUR INDUSTRY IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH. ALL OF THE PRODUCTS OF AN INSULAR POSSESSION WOULD BE TREATED AS FOREIGN, REGARDLESS OF THEIR LOCAL VALUE CONTENT; AND ALL WOULD BE SUBJECT TO STRICT QUOTA. THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THESE QUOTA PROVISIONS, IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE CNMI, WOULD BE TO ELIMINATE THE FLEDGLING GARMENT INDUSTRY IN OUR ISLANDS.

SECTION 5 OF THE BILL ESTABLISHES QUOTAS CALCULATED ON A BASE YEAR OF 1984. THIS INDUSTRY IS SO NEW IN THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS THAT ANY QUOTA BASED UPON THE 1984 STATISTICS WOULD BE SO LOW AS TO APPROACH ZERO. THOSE COMPANIES THAT

INVESTED IN THE NORTHERN MARIANAS WOULD BE FORCED TO CUT THEIR LOSSES AND GO OUT OF BUSINESS. SECTION 5 WOULD ALSO HAVE THE EFFECT OF DRASTICALLY REDUCING THE CURRENT QUOTA ESTABLISHED BY THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE FOR COMMONWEALTH PRODUCTION IN 1985. THE CURRENT LEVEL HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AT A VERY MODEST 70,000 DOZEN. SECTION 5 WOULD PERMIT ONLY 47,000 DOZEN, A REDUCTION OF 33%.

IF MADE APPLICABLE TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS, S.680 WOULD HAVE AN EXTREMELY-ADVERSE IMPACT UPON OUR SMALL DEVELOPING ECONOMY. ITS PROVISIONS WOULD RESULT IN TREATMENT OF MARIANAS' APPAREL PRODUCTS AS FOREIGN PRODUCTS, RATHER THAN AMERICAN PRODUCTS. ASIDE FROM THE NEGATIVE EFFECT THIS WOULD HAVE ON THE TRADE BALANCE, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT ON THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS AND PROSPECTIVE INVESTORS IN THE COMMONWEALTH WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE.

WHEN OUR PEOPLE VOTED IN 1975 BY A MAJORITY OF NEARLY 80% TO JOIN THE UNITED STATES, WE WERE PROMISED U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE "AMERICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY". THUS FAR, CITIZENSHIP HAS NOT BEEN CONFERRED, AND S.680 WOULD REVERSE MORE THAN 50 YEARS OF TERRITORIAL TRADE POLICY TO EXCLUDE US FROM THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

IT IS ESPECIALLY SAD TO NOTE THAT S.680 WOULD DISFAVOR THE U.S. TERRITORIES AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS AS COMPARED TO SUCH FULLY-DEVELOPED NATIONS AS CANADA AND THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AS WELL AS THE COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE.

FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS, I JOIN WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OTHER U.S. TERRITORIES IN REQUESTING THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO EXCLUDE THE INSULAR POSSESSIONS GENERALLY FROM THE PURVIEW OF S.680. TO INCLUDE THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS IN THE QUOTA PROVISIONS OF THIS BILL WOULD BE TO EXCLUDE US FROM THE FULL AND FAIR PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE ROMANIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Miss Betty Scott-Boom
Committee on Finance
Room SD - 219
Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

July 16, 1985

Dear Miss Scott-Boom,

We are sorry that we will not be able to attend the MFN hearings for Romania. We would like if it possible, for the recent study done by the President of the Romanian Missionary Society, Dr. Joseph Ton, entitled Religious Persecution in Romania, to be included in the Congresional Record as a part of the hearings.

Sincerely yours,
George Hancock-Stefan

President
Rev. Joseph Ton

Founder
President Emeritus
Dr. Peter Trutza

Executive Director
Rev. George Hancock Stefan

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RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN ROMANIA

Dr. Joseph Ton
President of the Romanian Missionary Society
April 1985

In the late '60s and early '70s, the Romanian regime succeeded creating a new image for Romania as the maverick in the Warsaw Pact, and as the most independent country of the communist bloc. It was only later in the '70s and in the '80s that some in the West began to realize that Romania had as a government one of the most brutal dictatorships.

Last year, in 1984, Romania enchanted the West with its participation and great achievement at the 23rd Olympic Games in Los Angeles. Romania's participation created an instant euphoria and few people gave any thought to the fact that Romania has a bankrupt economy, along with drastic food rationing.

Atheist society a major goal. Another contrast or paradox is the fact that in Romania, one of the most dynamic religious revivals, unmatched anywhere else in Europe, is taking place. However, the Romanian government pursues one of the toughest courses of religious persecution and oppression in Europe.

The starting point of any analysis of the religious situation in Romania must be the fact that the ruling Communist Party has an official policy, declared openly and much publicized, to eradicate all religion and to create an atheist society. The initial prediction of the Communist Party, as it took power in 1948, was that religion would disappear within the next generation. By the mid '70s, the communist ideologists became confused by the religious revival, mainly in the Protestant denominations (Baptist, Pentecostal, Plymouth Brethren), and they presented a new theory which stated that for a certain time in socialism the religious feelings tend to get deeper, but of course, this was a transitory phenomenon. In the mid '70s, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, in a major speech to the nation, announced that although religion was apparently going to remain for many generations, the Party would continue to pursue its goal of creating an atheist society.

Policies of cultural revolution and isolation pursued. Another general element in the Romanian situation was that in 1971, after his visit to China, Ceausescu launched what the Romanians called the "Mini Cultural Revolution." It was mini because it wasn't as brutal as the one in China. But its impact has been felt on all aspects of Romanian culture, literature, science, press, television, and cinema. Romania stopped sending students to universities in the Free World. Nearly all cultural exchanges with the West were drastically reduced. Import of Western literature is now almost nil. Even the use of the typewriters has been strictly controlled since 1983. Ownership of video equipment is prohibited. Romanian intellectuals are experiencing one of the greatest oppressions in history.

It is in this general context of a narrow Marxist attack on all culture that we have to understand religious persecution in Romania. The Communist Party of Ceausescu has launched a total war for the Marxist indoctrination of the Romanian people and part of this total war is the destruction of traditional culture and religion opposing the materialistic, atheistic ideology that the Party is seeking to impose on the peoples' minds.

Propaganda and smear tactics used to promote atheism and discredit religion. The atheist propaganda is massive, and it is conveyed by a huge flow of atheist books and articles in the newspapers, magazines, and lectures in all institutions with compulsory participation of all the employees. As part of this atheist campaign, there is a constant use of smear tactics on priests, pastors, and other religious activists. An example was the 1980 campaign to convince the nation that the Baptist ministers Iosif Serac, Vasile Talos, Vasile Branzai, Geabau Pascu of Bucharest, and Joseph Ton of Oradea misused the funds of their churches by committing fraud and embezzlement.

False rumors spread. Another malicious campaign was pursued in 1983, when rumors were systematically spread that the "Repenters" (the generic popular name for Baptists, Brethren, Pentecostals and Seventh Day Adventists) kidnapped children and sucked their blood, and committed other monstrous atrocities. A near hysteria was produced. The fear stopped only when we exposed these as false rumors on one of our broadcasts on Radio Free Europe.

Existence of religious persecution officially denied. The Romanian authorities furiously deny that there is religious persecution in their country. They claim that there are 14 legally recognized denominations in the country, and they point to the open churches and large church attendance as proof of religious freedom.

Religious leaders used by authorities. They also use many denominational leaders in their effort to convince the world that there is no persecution in Romania. One should know, however, about the many ways in which the Department of Cults (the State bureau for religious affairs) and the secret police manipulate the elections and arrange that only people who give them obedience or, at least, show willingness to cooperate with them, are elected as denominational leaders. One has to also know the many types of pressure and the many techniques used by the secret police to break these religious leaders. Only then one can understand how and why it is that some Christian leaders are more the agents of the Marxist State than the defenders of their own Christian denomination. These leaders are some of the most tragic victims of religious persecution in the communist countries.

Many of the restrictions imposed on the churches are introduced by the State through such leaders. These rules and instructions are unwritten, communicated to the priests and pastors by their own leaders, in such a way that it cannot even be proved that the restrictions exist.

It is unfortunate that the largest religious body in Romania, the Orthodox Church (the former state church), has the most cooperative and obedient hierarchy of all. The contrast with Poland in this respect is total. There, the Catholic hierarchy is in active and open opposition to the Marxist ideology of the Communist Party. In Romania, the Orthodox hierarchy is a strong ally and supporter of the Communist Party. All movements for spiritual renewal in the Orthodox Church are quickly and mercilessly crushed by the church hierarchy itself. The Communist Party knows that the Orthodox Church is a sleeping giant whose awakening would shake the whole country. And they use the church leaders to stop any such awakening.

The clearest case is that of Father Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa. As soon as he decided to preach openly against atheism to young students, the Church hierarchy dismissed him from his teaching position and left him open to the attack of the communist authority.

Another relevant case is that of the five young Orthodox priests who in 1981 wrote an open letter to the Patriarch, the head of Eastern Orthodox Church in Romania.

They had the courage to demand the following:

– That churches organize and begin teaching religion to children.

– Free ecumenical ties with the other denominations.

– That the Church have access to State radio, television, and the press.

– Freedom for Father Calciu.

– Freedom for the Lord's Army (the evangelical movement in the Orthodox Church).

– Freedom for the Greek–Catholic Church (the Uniate Church).

Liviu Negoita, Viorel Dumitrescu, Ambrus Cernat, Ionel Vinchici, and Cornel Avramescu signed this bold letter.

The Patriarch's reaction was similar to the one he had in the case of Father Calciu: the five young priests were left at the mercy of the secret police for brutal interrogations and harassment, and in a short time four of them were forced out of the country. They now live in the United States.

Demolition of churches. A new aspect of the religious persecution in Romania is the demolition of many Romanian Orthodox Churches and monasteries under the pretext of area redevelopment, mainly in Bucharest. As a general rule, the communist authorities have a pretext for demolishing a church. However, a close examination of the situation shows that the church could have been saved, even in a redevelopment program. A beautiful old church could have been a jewel in a modern environment. With six or eight churches already demolished in Bucharest, it has become clear that the regime wants to take the cultural revolution to its ultimate limits: to eradicate all the traditional, cultural and spiritual values, and to replace them with whatever the Marxist government considers to be the new values for the future.

1. CASES OF DENOMINATIONAL PERSECUTION

1. **The Greek–Catholics (Uniates)** are one denomination under persecution. Their background is summarized as follows: In 1700, some of the Romanians in Transylvania (at that time part of the Austro–Hungarian Empire) accepted unification with Rome, thereby preserving parts of the Byzantine rites. They called themselves Greek–Catholics. This union with Rome had an immense impact on Romanian culture. Many young Romanians went to Rome and studied there and then went back to Romania with a new outlook. This trend gave birth to a movement called the "Latin school" in Romanian history.

When Transylvania united with Romania in 1918, the Romanian Orthodox Church was not pleased with the fact that about 2 million Romanians in Transylvania were not Orthodox. The opportunity to change the situation came only with the communist regime in 1948. This regime accepted to assist the Orthodox Church in forcing all the Greek–Catholics to "come back into the fold" of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Only 42 Greek–Catholic priests accepted to sign a "voluntary" reunification paper. The others, including the eight bishops, refused a forced reunification. They were put in prison and perished there or in internal exile. Those who survived were released in the general amnesty of 1964, but they were never allowed to open churches. Most conduct underground work.

Parallel to the Greek–Catholic believers, are the **Roman Catholics.** They are the largest part of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. They also had problems with the government, but not as serious as the Romanian Greek–Catholics.

Catholic Bishop of Bucharest recently ordained. An interesting and disturbing event has recently occurred. For the first time under the communist regime, the Roman Catholics were allowed to ordain a bishop of Bucharest. Ioan Robu is a young Romanian coming from a smaller community of Romanian Roman Catholics who live in Moldavia. It seems that the appointment of a Romanian as bishop for what is mainly a Hungarian Roman Catholic group—the appointment and the ordination were conducted by the Pope—has as one main purpose to attract the remnants of the Romanian Greek–Catholics to the Roman rite. This action is only beginning, but it is already causing a considerable disturbance, because the Greek–Catholics feel that the Byzantine rite gives them distinctiveness as Romanians in the Catholic fold.

2. **The Lord's Army,** an evangelical movement in the Orthodox Church is still unrecognized by the Patriarch and is considered illegal by the State. One of its leaders, Nicolae Moldoveanu, a prolific poet and composer from Sibiu, had three suitcases of manuscripts hidden in the home of the retired Baptist minister Mircu Cocar. Last summer, Mircu Cocar's house was searched by the police and they confiscated a number of Bibles and other Christian literature, including the three suitcases of manuscripts of Nicolae Moldoveanu. All the attempts by this man to recover his treasured work have failed so far.

3. At the beginning of 1984, the leaders of the **Plymouth Brethren,** a denomination with 40,000 members, were asked by the Department of Cults to do three things:

– To close down all the churches of their denomination which function without authorization (the Department of Cults refuses to authorize them; they function without it; and the Department of Cults wants the denomination leadership to convince them to stop their meetings "until they are authorized").

– To exclude from church membership all those believers who have been caught by the police distributing Bibles that had been smuggled in. The reference was mainly to Dr. Silviu Cioata, Costel Georgescu and their group, sentenced in 1982 to 5–7 years in prison, but released due to pressure from Washington.

– To tell all the Brethren Churches to accept foreign preachers only after they obtain an approval from the State authorities.

Department of Cults replaced Brethren leadership. The leaders refused to implement these requests. The Department of Cults simply forced them out of office, and replaced them with three elderly men who had been leaders in that denomination until 1978. These replacements were known to have been rather docile collaborators of the regime. They are: D. Lazarovici (80 years old), Gh. Leancu (79 years old) and M. Schiau (78 years old). They tried to implement the requests of the Department of Cults, but it appears that so far, the churches have not complied.

However, they were successful in introducing another rule regarding the work of the itinerant lay preachers. As the Plymouth Brethren have no formal training for their preachers, most of the village churches depend on the visits of the itinerant preachers who come to them from the larger churches in towns. The new rule demands that all the movements of these itinerant preachers should be scheduled at least a month in advance and the schedule should be approved by the Department of Cults representative in that county.

When one pastor protested against this restrictive rule, one of these old leaders answered: "It was imposed on us by the Department of Cults. Do not talk to me about it."

2. NEW CHURCHES

Laws regarding the formation of new churches. The law that regulates the function of religion in Romania states that wherever there are more than 20 adult believers of a particular denomination, they are entitled to be a church. The formality for becoming a licensed or registered church used to be very simple: the group had to meet for incorporation and send the minutes of the meeting to their respective denomination; the denomination gave them the Authorization of Function.

Authorization forms now controlled by the Department of Cults. Legally, the procedure is the same today. But in practice, a "small" detail has changed. In the late '50s, all the denominations (Baptist, Pentecostal, Plymouth Brethren and Seventh–day Adventist) were asked to bring all their authorization forms to the Department of Cults to be checked. The authorization forms were then confiscated and placed in the safe of the Department, and the leaders were told that whenever they have an application for a new church, they would have to come to the Department with the application. The Department would study it, and if they considered it appropriate, they would give the denomination a form to be filled out and sent to the church.

As a general rule, the Department of Cults does not approve a new church. And the denomination is unable to give that new church an authorization, because the forms are held at the Department of Cults.

This is one of the areas where the greatest suffering exists. There are hundreds of churches which were legally constituted, but which cannot obtain authorization. Many of them meet regularly for worship, in spite of the lack of authorization. In some places the local authorities seem to ignore them. But in most of the cases, the police raid their place of worship periodically and everyone who is found there is fined very heavily, sometimes equivalent to their average salary for two or three months.

The Second Baptist Church in Brasov. The church was legally constituted eight years ago, and has about 150 members. Last year it was fined a total of 17,000 lei (about ten average monthly salaries). It was permitted to pay in monthly installments and it pays that heavy fine every month.

Another such case is **Bethany Baptist Church in Timisoara.** For the last five years, the church has been paying fines of 3000 lei each month.

Elderly fined for meeting in their homes. The most recent case known to us is that of a group of elderly people who gathered for prayer in one of their homes, in the village of Duboz. They do not have an authorized church in the village. They were each fined 5000 lei (a pension in a village may be as low as 150 lei per month).

Appeals for authorization forms gain no results. *The Baptist Times* (London, August 22, 1984) quoted the President of the Romanian Baptist Union as saying that there were 300 Baptist churches in Romania without authorization. There are about 900 which have authorization. The President of the Romanian Baptist Union presented a list of 80 of these churches, considered to be the most urgent cases, to the Department of Cults and appealed for authorization forms for them. So far, they have not received one form.

We do not have the total number of the churches in the other denominations which are without authorization. We quoted above the case of the Plymouth Brethren, whose leadership was asked by the Department of Cults to close all those churches which function without authorization.

It seems that the largest number of such unauthorized churches is in the Pentecostal denomination. In the county of Bihor alone, there are 40 such churches.

3. CHURCH BUILDINGS

Need for church buildings. With the growing number of Christians in Romania, there has been an increasing need for church buildings. However, church buildings represent one of the areas of the greatest trouble and suffering.

As a general rule, the Romanian regime does not approve of new church buildings. The exceptions are very rare indeed. In most of the cases, it is difficult for the Christians to even obtain a permit to repair their existing building.

In some cases, after many years of petitioning the authorities for a permit to enlarge and improve the existing building, the Christians start working without a permit. On some rare occasions, the local authorities ignore this. In other cases, the authorities use that action as a pretext to tear down the church completely, or to demolish the part that was added. A few of the most obvious case histories will illustrate the problem, which is much larger than what can be reported here.

1. **The Baptist Church of Bistrita.** After many years of waiting for an approval to enlarge their building, the 500 members of the church decided to go ahead and do the work without the approval. They did the work from June to October, 1984. At the beginning of November, the local authorities came with demolition experts and equipment and completely destroyed the entire building. Now the congregation meets on the ruins, in a sort of improvised barn.

   A delegation of officials from Washington and London visited and worshipped with them on the ruins in December 1984. The district authorities (Cluj) promised these visitors that permission to rebuild this church would be granted. We checked with the pastor of Bistrita, Rev. Nicolae Minzat, and we were told that they have submitted the plans for the new building, but so far, they have had no word from the authorities.
2. **The Baptist Church of Resita.** This church of 800 members has been petitioning the authorities for 25 years for a permit to enlarge their building. They squeeze into an auditorium fit for 100. In 1983, they extended the auditorium to include a storeroom at the back of the building. The police came with bulldozers and demolished the extension.

   For many years, the authorities said that the reason for not giving them the permit to build was the lack of a proper site for relocation. When the church bought a new site, at the suggestion of the local authority, the authority "remembered" that the area had been reserved for something else. The church bought three different sites, and each time, after they bought the site, they were told that it was not acceptable.

Recently, they were told by the local authority that a new church building cannot be approved. They are willing to let the church buy a large house and transform it into a church. But they cannot find a suitably large house in that town.

3. **The Baptist Church of Hateg.** This is another significant case. Again, the church has about 700 members, and their building would be properly fit for 60 people. For ten years, Pastor Peter Dugulescu knocked at the door of the authorities at all levels for a permit to build a new church. He impressed quite a few of them with his persistence and politeness. They all encouraged him and made some promises. Upon these promises he went on making all the plans and preparations for the building. For years he was told that the permit had only to be signed by this or that authority. At the beginning of this year he was told by the local authority exactly the same thing as at Resita: they cannot approve the building of a new church; it cannot appear in the records that a new church was built there; if he could find a big house, they would approve its transformation into a church. But they cannot find such a house for sale. We are not surprised to hear that Pastor Dugulescu is quite disappointed and discouraged.
4. **The Pentecostal Church in Timisoara** is located on str. Romulus. The pastor is Teodor Codreanu and the church has a membership of 4500. Their building can seat 800 people and some others squeeze in. Thousands stand in the courtyard and in the street, listening to the service on loudspeakers. For years, the pretext the authorities gave for denying them a permit to build a new church was that they did not have money in the bank for it. The congregation collected the money, 2 million lei, and deposited it in the State Bank. They still have not received the permit to build, and they cannot get their money either, because it is marked "for building."

5. **The Pentecostal Church in Oradea.** They enlarged an old building in 1979, without a permit. In 1980, the court ordered them to "restore the building to its former state," something which practically cannot be done.
   The new building is still not large enough for all their 3000 members. A group of them, who live in another area of the town called Iosia, decided to form a church in that area, and they bought a house and transformed it into a church in 1984. They were initially fined 15,000 lei, then they were forced to close the church and sell the house.
6. **The Baptist Church of Gaujani.** The authorities refused to allow the members to build a church. The elder of the church, Mr. Ioan Popescu, built a house for his son in 1984. Then they decided to allow the church to use the house for a meeting place. The authorities confiscated the house in the fall of 1984, and transformed it into a kindergarten.
7. **The Plymouth Brethren Church** in Sibiu, str. Pulberariei nr. 4. This church has 500 members, and they have their own church building, but it is located near a factory and the factory wanted the building for a kindergarten. After much pressure and manipulation, a group of elders of the church were forced into signing that they accepted relocation of their church, that is, to rent a house for the church and give their own building to the State.
8. **The Pentecostal Church in Tirgu–Mures.** Because they enlarged it without a permit, the building was demolished in June 1984. They tried to meet on the ruins a week later, but a meeting of about 500 members was broken up by the police. This case did not get publicity, and because of this, it seems that nothing is being done to help them.
9. **The Baptist Church in Bacau.** The church could not get a permit to buy a house and transform it into a church. So, they bought a house in the name of one of the members, and then they started to use it as a church building. Now, for the last three years they have been struggling to register the building as church property, but with no success.
10. **The Baptist Church in Voluntari.** This is a group of about 50 Baptists located near Bucharest without church authorization. They gave money to a woman in their group, and she bought a house in her name, then turned it over to the church, and they started to meet in it. A short while

later, the police raided the church, confiscated the Bibles and hymn books, and did not allow them to meet again. They also threatened the woman with dismissal from her job if she did not sell the house. She was frightened, and she sold the house and gave the money back to the church. This happened in 1983, and since then, the church has had no meeting place.

11. **The Second Baptist Church of Oradea.** This is the largest Baptist Church in Romania, with over 2000 members, and it is standing in imminent danger of demolition. A decree signed by Ceausescu in September 1984, announced that the area where the church is located will be demolished and blocks of apartments will be built there. The local authorities issued a demolition notice to the church, but they refuse to give them an adequate site and a permit to build a new church.
    The visitors from Washington and London, in December, 1984, were told that the site and permit would be given soon, but as yet, nothing has been done.
12. **Sighetul Marmatiei Baptist Church.** One hundred people meet in a room 16 meters square. For the past ten years they have been asking for a permit to enlarge the building.
13. **The Baptist Church in Ponorel, Cimpeni.** This church was demolished in 1984.
14. **The Baptist Church of Cluj–Manastur.** The members built a porch on the front of their building for which they were recently fined 5000 lei. Pastor of the Church is Rev. Mihai Husan, who is also president of the Baptist Union. They cannot even get an approval to build a fence around the church.
15. **Dumitru Prelipceanu,** Str. Cosarilor nr. 6, Radauti, Suceava, owns a house that is used by the Baptist church. A few months ago, two foreign visitors came to visit the church during the daytime. Prelipceanu was charged with overnight lodging of foreigners (illegal in Romania) and fined 7000 lei. This penalty is to stop the visits of foreigners to churches.

Orthodox churches and historical monuments. The following churches have either been demolished, damaged by displacement, or are scheduled for demolition or displacement. They are located in the Bucharest area.

1. **Buildings demolished:**
   The Enei Church; the convent church of Cotroceni Palace (17th cent.); the Church of Alba Postavaru (16th cent.); the Spirea Veche Church; the Spirea Noua Church; and part of the Antim Monastery.
2. **Under demolition presently:**
   The Mihai–Voda Church (16th cent.); most of the Vacaresti Monastery, one of the most important monasteries in southeastern Europe.
3. **Damaged by relocation:**
   Saint Ilie Church; Rahova Church; Olari Church.
4. **In danger of demolition or relocation:**
   St. Spiridon Church; The Church of the Apostles; Rasvan Church; Domnitsa Balasa Church; The Church of the Patriarchs.

Older Cases Still Unsolved

1. **The Baptist Church of Tiganesti.** The building was destroyed by the earthquake of 1977. Since then, the church has been meeting in a tent, because the authorities refuse to give them the permit to build.
2. **The Pentecostal Church of Cimpia Turzii.** Because they enlarged the building without a permit, it was demolished in 1983. The congregation meets for worship in the basement.
3. **The Pentecostal Church of Medias.** They tried about five years ago to build without a permit. They managed to finish the foundation and the basement; then they were forced by the police to stop. Since then, they have met for worship in the basement.

4. PASTORS

Pastors threatened. The pastors are under constant surveillance, pressure, and harassment. In the '50s and '60s, one of the greatest efforts of the secret police was to force them to "collaborate," that is, to turn the pastors into informers. It appears that they had some success at that time. With the generation of pastors who came into the job in the '70s, it seems that their success is much smaller: these new pastors were brought up under the terror of the '50s and '60s and somehow they developed an immunity to the pressure of the police. They are also more dedicated to serving the Lord without compromise, and many of them have a new understanding of the value of martyrdom, and are willing to go that way if necessary.

Personnel structure and salary scale severely limits pastoral ministry. Again it is necessary to explain some mechanisms of the persecution in this area. For each denomination, the Department of Cults established a "personnel structure and salary scale" about 25 years ago. In the Baptist denomination, for example, there are about 1000 churches, and in 1959, they still had about 540 pastors for these churches. Then came the personnel structure and salary scale, stipulating that the Baptists could employ only 180 pastors, about 300 janitors, and about 20 clerks for the six area associations of churches and the central Baptist Union. In the early '60s, the authorities used different pretexts to dismiss almost 400 pastors, in order to bring the number to fit the new personnel structure and salary scale.

Limits on number of seminary students. At the present time, the Baptist Union has 170 pastors. The Department of Cults maintains that they need only 10 more. Consequently, the Department approved only 10 students last fall to enter the Baptist Seminary. The students will study a four–year course. When they finish in four years, the Department of Cults will again decide how many new students the Baptist Seminary can admit.

The situation is that hundreds of churches would be able to employ their own pastors, but the Department of Cults does not approve that churches ordain people who have no seminary background. If individual churches ordain pastors without official consent, the Department of Cults will refuse to license them to be employed as pastors.

Conflict of laws. Now it appears that there is a conflict of laws in this area. The decree on the basis of which the Department of Cults functions says that this Department issues licenses to priests and pastors. But the Constitution of the Baptist Union clearly gives the prerogative to ordain and hire a pastor to the local church, with no mention of the need to secure a license for him from the Department of Cults.

The Second Baptist Church of Oradea. The author of this report was the first to see the discrepancy, and in 1977, when the Department of Cults cancelled his license, he continued to serve as pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Oradea on a personal contract basis. He served in that way for four years, until he came into exile, in the United States, in 1981.

New pastors of Oradea church denied licenses. After the author's departure in August 1981, the Oradea Church asked two professionals to be their new pastors: Dr. Nicolae Gheorghita, a medical doctor (endocrinologist), and Paul Negrut, a clinical psychologist. They were ordained, and then they applied for a license, but the application was rejected. Then they were employed on a contract basis directly by the church (all the other pastors are technically employed by the area Baptist Association). In their case, the authorities wanted to challenge the legality of their employment in court, but a local prosecutor, after studying the case for three months, dismissed it, saying that he could not see any law broken in that kind of employment.

New pastor of Oradea church denied permission to live in Oradea. Dr. Nicolae Gheorghita, a medical doctor from Deva, was ordained pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Oradea in January, 1982. The authorities refuse to give him a license, and because of the lack of license, the local police refuse to permit him to settle in town with his family. For three years, he has commuted 120 miles over the mountains from Deva.

In December 1984, the visitors from Washington and London were promised by the highest local authority of Oradea that in the next few days they would issue his license and approval to settle in town. Instead, Dr. Gheorghita was fined again in January for "illegal" stay in Oradea.

UPDATE ON ORADEA CHURCH. On April 22, 1985, we received the news that Pastor Paul Negrut and Dr. Nicolae

Gheorghita were given licenses as pastors by the Department of Cults on April 19, 1985. This is a major victory for all in the West, who for three years, have spoken and written on behalf of these two courageous pastors who went on and served without licenses, under extreme pressure and harassment.

Western pressure achieves results. Once more, it can be seen that pressure from the West helps to solve some problems in the East. Nevertheless, we should not be misled by the fact that *two* pastors received their licenses. There are many others who did not. It is clear that the Department of Cults chose these two, who were more prominent and better known in the West, to solve their problem as a gesture of "good will." In fact, we should expect that the Department of Cults will solve other similar problems this spring, granting approvals for a few church buildings, releasing a few people from prison, and giving one or two more licenses to pastors. This will be done clearly to appease the politicians in Washington and to improve the climate for the Most–Favored–Nation Clause, due annually to be considered for extension in the summer. The summary at the end of this paper explains what the leaders in the West should aim at if they wish to improve the religious situation in Romania.

Other unresolved cases. Daniel Cetean of Deva, an ordained minister, was elected pastor of the Baptist Church of Sega, in Arad, in 1983. The Department of Cults refuses to license him, and he cannot settle with his family in Arad. He commutes 100 miles from Deva to Arad by train. His address is: Aleea Independentei nr. 4, Bl. E 22 A, Sc. 3, Et. 1, Ap. 36; Deva 2700, jud. Hunedoara.

Baptist Church of Medias. In 1980, the Department of Cults revoked the licenses of the two pastors of the Baptist Church of Medias, **Rev. Ioan Stef,** and his son–in–law, **Rev. Beniamin Cocar,** due to their aggressive and effective evangelism. They also became employed on a contract basis with the church. Their employment was challenged, and in the spring and summer of 1984, the Medias prosecutor was preparing their trial. Then came the amnesty of August 23, 1984. August 23rd is the anniversary of Romania's liberation from the Nazis in 1944, and every year on that day the president grants amnesty for certain cases. The prosecutor found out that if he convicted them, they would qualify for that amnesty. Therefore, he merely wrote a letter to them, on September 28, 1984, saying that they would qualify for that amnesty, and so their case was dropped.

Another pastor whose license was revoked is **Rev. Buni Cocar,** of Giulesti Baptist Church in Bucharest. He also functions on a contract basis.

Stancu Dragomir of Deva was elected pastor of Gai Baptist Church in Arad about five years ago. He was not licensed and he is not allowed to move to Arad. For the past years, he has been commuting 100 miles from Deva to Arad.

In 1984, three new pastors were ordained without the consent of the Department of Cults, and they serve without licenses, on a contract basis. They are: **Ilie Tundrea,** of Popa Rusu Baptist Church, Bucharest; **Daniel Chivoiu,** of Bacau Baptist Church; and **Viorel Codreanu,** of Ipotesti Baptist Church.

Unlicensed pastors officially considered unemployed. They all resigned from their secular jobs and serve their churches as pastors on a contract basis. One of the results of their action is that they cannot qualify for any retirement plan, and cannot receive food ration coupons, because they are officially considered unemployed.

Rev. Daniel Chivoiu recently arrested and beaten. We have recently received word that Rev. Daniel Chivoiu, who serves not only the church in Bacau, but also small village churches scattered in an entire county, was apprehended by the police in March 1985, in the village of Agas. They told him that he had no reason to be there, and they beat him. He is under constant threat of new beatings.

We have information that many other lay people are being prepared for ordination in different parts of the country. In this area of unlicensed pastors, there are likely to be more problems, more harassment, and more suffering.

Other denominations. The situation in the other denominations is similar. As another example, the Pentecostal denomination, again with 1000 churches, is allowed to employ only 142 pastors. They are allowed to have 10 students in their seminary, and they are not allowed to employ pastors who do not have seminary background.

The shortage of priests in the Orthodox Church is even more staggering, but the leadership of that church accepts the limits imposed by the Department of Cults. For the sake of propaganda, they claim to have six seminaries, but they do not reveal how many churches have no priest, and how few students they are allowed to take into the seminaries.

5. DISCRIMINATION IN JOBS

Church activities bring job discrimination. In practice, there is only one employer in Romania, and that is the State. As the sole employer, the State has the machinery to discriminate and to punish without any constraint. As a general rule, no one who is active in a church, or who simply attends a church, can hold any prominent job. The situation is acute, mainly for the Protestants. They cannot be found in any positions of leadership, teaching, judiciary, military, police, or administration. If some of them succeed in going through university, polytechnic, or medical school, and become economists, engineers, or doctors, they will be kept at the lowest level of their profession throughout their careers. They will be given the poorest place of work, denied fringe benefits, and harassed in many other ways.

In most of the cases when someone starts to attend church after they have a higher job, they will be demoted or fired as soon as it is found out that they attend church. In some cases, this is done after exposure in a public meeting at their place of work where they are ridiculed as backward, mentally retarded, or similarly deficient. They are dismissed because they became Christians, but in most of the cases, the reason given on paper is "incompetence," so that no one would be able to use that paper to prove that there is religious persecution in Romania.

Still, we have copies of recent internal documents from some Romanian institutions, where they state that the person was dismissed because of "activity in the Baptist denomination."

The list of people who were fired from their jobs in recent years could be long, revealing a painful story. We limit it to a few more recent cases.

1. **Miss Estera Gavriliuc** of Bacau. She was a teacher for 32 years, with a good evaluation record. She took an active part in the opening of the new Baptist church in her town, and because of this, she was fired from her job on October 30, 1984. The dismissal was approved by the Ministry of Education. Miss Gavriliuc had only two more years until retirement. She is the last in a history of dismissals, demotions, and other harassments of the members of the new church in Bacau.
2. **Mrs. Paraschiva Marandiuc** of Timisoara taught English. She was questioned about her faith and was told that she

could remain a teacher only if she gave up going to church. She refused that, and was fired.

3. **Mrs. Cornelia Gheorghita,** wife of Dr. Nicolae Gheorghita, was an entomologist at the Museum of Natural Science in Deva. She was fired from her job in 1984.
4. **Mrs. Maria Bodor** of Oradea was an accountant who started teaching Sunday school in the Baptist Church of Oradea. Because of this activity, she was fired.
5. **Mr. Augustin Urs** of Timisoara was the chef at the cafeteria of the Polytechnic Institute of Timisoara. A very good cook, he was much appreciated by his superiors. Because he is a Baptist, he was fired at the beginning of this year.
6. **Silviu Vizitiu** of Craiova, Cart. Brazda lui Novac, Bloc N4, Sc. 1, Ap. 3. He is a graduate engineer who had a well–paid job until 1983. Due to his preaching ministry in the Craiova Brethren Church, he was demoted in 1983 to the lowest position of engineer. In 1984, he was further demoted to the position of technician. The demotion means the loss of more than one–third of his previous monthly salary. He has nine children.
7. **Rodica Gaftoiu** of Brasov became a Christian in 1982. She was an architect and was subsequently fired. Unable to find another job, she lives with her mother, both living on her mother's pension.

Reliable sources have recently reported that a new order was issued from the central government, at the beginning of this year. People who engage in religious activities or who attend church are to be purged out of all administrative jobs. This order was discussed in the city council of Timisoara in March, and instructions were given for its implementation. We should expect reports that Christians throughout the country are being fired from their jobs.

6. BIBLES AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

In its declared goal of creating an atheist society, the Romanian communist regime has one of the tightest controls on what its citizens read. The Romanian borders are known to have some of the toughest customs procedures. People who enter Romania are asked at the border, "Do you have arms? Do you have drugs? Do you have pornographic materials? Do you have Bibles?"

Search and seizure at the borders. Many cars were taken apart at the border in 1984 on the suspicion that they had hidden compartments for Christian literature. Holes are drilled into vans to check if they have books hidden in them. In 1984, some Westerners who were caught with Bibles in their vans or cars were savagely beaten by the border guards. Others had their cars confiscated or simply torn apart. Others had to pay fines up to $5000.

Still, the only way the Romanians can obtain Bibles and other uncensored Christian literature is by having it smuggled in. This is in total contrast with Poland where Bibles and Christian books can be freely taken in and distributed, and even with Hungary, where Christian books can be sent by mail.

The harshest punishment is applied to those Romanians inside the country who are caught distributing Bibles or other Christian books. Some of them are savagely beaten by the police; some have to go through long sessions of interrogation where the police try to find out from them who brought the books and to whom they were supposed to give them. Some have to pay heavy fines and some go to prison. But the thirst for knowledge is so great, and the desire to spread the Good News is so strong, that nothing can stop these people from distributing whatever Christians from the West manage to smuggle in to them.

These are some recent significant cases:

1. **Rev. Iosif Stefanut,** Baptist pastor from Braila, was arrested in a railway station when he gave one book to his deacon. The book was a study on Galatians and Romans. A house search at his place produced a few more small booklets for children. For the distribution of that one book he was put on trial and sentenced to pay a fine of 15,000 lei, plus expenses—an amount equal to eight months salary. The

American ambassador to Romania was present at the trial, in January 1984. A court of appeals upheld the sentence.

2. **Gheorghe Pudaru,** a Pentecostal from Marghita, was arrested with 30 Bibles in November 1984, along with two other believers. They were detained six days by the police and were terribly beaten and tortured on their hands with electric devices. Mr. Pudaru was released with burns on his hands.
3. In the spring and summer of 1984, a number of Christians from Sibiu were subjected to police raids on their homes. The police were searching for Bibles and other Christian literature. A considerable number of such books were confiscated from **Rev. Mircu Cocar, Mr. G. Grigoras, Mr. Gal** and from a few others. Usually such action is followed by a large fine or a trial. Nothing of this nature has happened at Sibiu yet.

Constantin Sfatcu recently arrested with Bibles, charged with using violence. On the night of April 19, 1985, in the city of Iasi, during a routine police inspection of passing cars, Mr. Constantin Sfatcu of Str. Petru Rares, nr. 5, Iasi, was arrested when Bibles and Christian books were discovered in the trunk of the car he was driving. He was kept incommunicado even from relatives or a lawyer since his arrest. The next day, on April 20, 1985, the homes belonging to Sfatcu, his brother Teodor Sfatcu, and his mother Maria were searched and other Christian books were found and confiscated. Also confiscated were correspondence, notes, tape recorders, and other articles received by the family from relatives in the United States.

Teodor Sfatcu was interrogated throughout the day on both April 20 and 22. Pressure was exerted on him to "confess" that he was in the car with his brother Constantin, but that he succeeded in escaping. It appears that the police are seeking to accuse Constantin Sfatcu of resisting arrest and threatening to kill the policeman.

On April 22, Rev. Iosif Morcan, the Baptist minister in whose church the Sfatcus are members, was interrogated because the car that Constantin was driving belonged to him. Rev. Morcan was pressed to make a statement that the car was stolen from him, but he refused to lie.

As the interrogation of Constantin's relatives progressed, it became clear that the authorities did not want to prosecute Constantin for the Bibles. It appears that the fact that Constantin had Bibles and other Christian literature in the car is not mentioned in the file prepared for the trial. The reason for this omission is the fact that in 1982, 11 Romanians were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for distributing Bibles; however the protest in Washington—just prior to the vote for the Most–Favored–Nation clause for Romania—was so great that the Romanian president signed a decree of amnesty for these 11 people, and they were released on July 31, 1982. It appears that the authorities do not want to create another situation similar to that.

On May 7, 1985, Constantin's mother and brother were summoned to the police station and all the articles confiscated from their homes on April 19 were returned to them. Later on May 7, Teodor Sfatcu and his wife were taken into a room at the police headquarters. There they saw Constantin standing with his face to the wall.

They were not allowed to approach him or to see his face. A police interrogator asked Constantin, "Is it true that on the night of April 19, your brother Teodor and his wife were with you in the car?" Constantin started to cry and answered "Yes." There were other similar questions following that, obviously with the purpose of incriminating Teodor as well. One question was, "Did we force you to make these statements?" The answer was "No." Teodor, who is a medical doctor, was able to assess that his brother was tortured, drugged and forced into making these statements.

Constantin was charged with using violence against the policeman who stopped him that night to check his car. It appears that the police are seeking to incriminate Teodor also.

7. DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

Children of believers are constantly harassed in schools. They have to attend special lectures on atheism, and experts in atheism spend long hours with some of them trying to convince them that there is no God. From time to time, special orders are given to identify Christian students and to expel them from university.

Fields of study off limits to Christian students. At the present time, no Christian can go to study history, law, philosophy, or sociology. In order to be accepted to study these subjects, one has to obtain a special recommendation from the Communist Youth Union or from the Communist Party. Only members of these organizations are given such recommendations, and no Christian can be a member, because one of the conditions for membership is atheism.

Disquieting news has recently been received that either Communist Youth Union or Communist Party membership as a condition for admission into a university will be extended to all the faculties or subjects. Such a requirement would bar all Christians from higher education.

8. EMIGRATION

As a general principle, we believe that the place for Romanians is in Romania, and even more so, that the place of Christian Romanians is in Romania. As a Christian mission, we do not encourage Christians from Romania to emigrate. We encourage them to be missionaries in the place where God placed them and where Jesus Christ met them.

But there are a few situations in which we know that the only alternative left for these people is to seek emigration.

One of those situations is when they lose their jobs because of their Christian activities and the local authorities simply refuse to give them any other job. There are such cases in which people are brought to the brink of starvation, and there we would understand the desire to leave.

Another situation is when people are arrested for distributing Bibles and other Christian literature. Such people are marked for life, and they will always be in danger of further retaliation.

Another situation, of course, is family reunification.

Appeals for help for emigration came to us from people in these categories and they are listed below. One important remark here. Some of these people who were fired from their jobs, or were beaten for their activity in spreading Bibles, have been struggling for years to obtain a permit to emigrate. The same authorities who refuse to give them a job, or who beat them for distributing Bibles, now refuse them a passport. There is a sadistic attitude in these authorities, and we feel that we should help our people to get out of their grip.

1. **Ioan Vinchici, Orthodox priest,** Str. Caransebesului nr. 13, Lugoj. He was one of the five priests who signed the appeal to the Patriarch in 1981. He applied for emigration in 1983.
2. **Ioan P. Popescu,** of Danesti. In 1982, groups of Baptist believers in that area were on a hunger strike in protest against religious persecution and for the right of emigration. Ioan Popescu staged a demonstration on their behalf, was arrested, and kept in prison for six months. Then he also applied for emigration. He received a passport in August 1984, but finds it difficult to obtain entry into the U.S.
3. **Ana Gavriliuc,** mother of two children, living at Str. Stefan cel Mare, nr. 3 Bacau. Her husband crossed the border

illegally in 1984 and lives in the U.S. She is constantly harassed and threatened by the police.

4. **Mr. Mihai Cioara** came to the U.S. a few years ago. He lives in New York City and is active in the Romanian Baptist Church of Queens. He is waiting for his application for political asylum to be processed. Back home, in the village of Sintana, Jud. Arad, his two children, Dimitrie Cioara, 14 years old, and Mihaela Cioara, 15 years old, are met regularly on their way to school by a secret police officer who threatens them: "You will be in big trouble because your father stays in America." It appears that this is a sort of blackmail for their father to return to Romania.
5. **Ovidiu Podborski,** of Timisoara spent six months in prison in 1983. He was very active for years in collecting data about the persecution of other Christians. He has two children and after imprisonment, applied for emigration in 1984. He still has not been given a passport.
6. **David Cernat,** Str. Drobeta, nr. 14, Bloc R 2, Sc. A, Et. 3, Ap. 1., Iasi. He used to live in Ploiesti. He was arrested with Bibles and was fired from his job. Having been promised a job in Iasi, he moved there, but the job was not given to him. He was jobless for a year and a half, with no financial help (there is no unemployment compensation or welfare assistance in a communist country). In desperation he tried to cross the border into Yugoslavia, was caught and imprisoned from March until August, 1984. He has four children and they are in a desperate situation.
7. **Mr. and Mrs. Ambrus Cernat** of Lugoj. Their son, Father Emeric Ambrus Cernat, lives in the U.S. and he is one of the five priests who signed the letter to the Patriarch in 1981. His parents cannot obtain approval for emigration to join their son in the U.S.
8. **Mrs. Paraschiva Marandiuc,** Str. Calea Sagului, nr. 45, Bloc 2, Et. 9, Ap. 39, Timisoara. She was fired from her job as an English teacher because of her Christian faith. She has a handicapped child who needs special care (there is no disability care or compensation in a communist country). She cannot find a job and has been refused approval for emigration.
9. **Georghe Budusan,** of Simionesti, Bistrita. He has a long history of conflicts with the regime. His plight became worse

when he became a Christian. He has been applying for emigration since 1978, and he obtained a passport in 1984. However somehow, his file at the American Embassy in Bucharest was lost and now he finds it impossible to enter the U.S.

10. **Radutiu Aurel**, Str. Lupeni nr. 57 A, Sibiu. He has eight children and has been applying for emigration since 1978.
11. **Rodica Gaftoiu,** Str. Minerva nr. 10, Sc. B, Ap. 12, Brasov. She was fired from her job as architect because of her Christian faith in 1982. She is refused permission to emigrate on the grounds that she had access to classified documents. Whenever she tries to go to the American Embassy, she is arrested.
12. **Felicia Rusu,** a 33–year–old Pentecostal from Timisoara, began a hunger strike on March 17, 1985 in protest against the Romanian authorities' continued refusal to grant her permission to emigrate.

9. IN PRISON

Christians imprisoned on pretexts unrelated to Christian activities. There are very few Christians in prison at this time in Romania. As a rule, when the communist authorities want to put a Christian in prison, they find a charge that has nothing to do with that person's Christian activity. This way, they can pretend that Christian faith or activity is not the reason for imprisonment.

Father Calciu. That was clearly the case with Father Calciu, who angered the authorities with his seven sermons to young people in which he openly attacked the Marxist indoctrination of the Romanian youth. He was imprisoned for "fascism."

Due to immense pressure from the West, he was released in August, 1984. Since then, he has been forced to stay in his own apartment and no one can visit him or talk with him on the phone. There are two armed guards outside his door, along with other police and plainclothed secret police. Father Calciu recently said that his situation is worse now than when he was in prison, because of this total isolation and uncertainty.

The following are in prison:

1. **Dorel Catarama,** Seventh-day Adventist. His troubles started when his father and brother did not return to Romania from a visit in the U.S. He was convicted in 1982 for "embezzlement" and sentenced to 10 years in prison. At the appeal, the sentence was increased to 14 years. Dorel Catarama had a long history of activities in his church and denomination, and this is the actual reason for his imprisonment.
2. A rather strange case, which shows how far the communist authorities go in their attack on Christians, is that of **Marin Buzatu,** Micro 1, Bloc 2, Sc. 2, Ap. 2, Jud. Gorj, Motru. His wife, Viorica, was befriended by a woman who worked on her gradually and she became estranged from her faith, her husband, and her daughter. Mrs. Buzatu filed for divorce. Mr. Buzatu found out that the whole action had been arranged by the secret police, and was prepared to expose it as such at the divorce trial scheduled in December, 1984. However, in November, Mr. Buzatu was arrested and quickly tried, apparently charged with "hooliganism" (one of the most common charges brought against Christians, mainly when they are fined for meetings without authorization) and was sentenced to six months in prison.

There are two other Seventh-day Adventists in prison in Romania, but their relatives asked us not to publish their names, in the hope that they might be released soon. We respect their decision.

10. HOW YOU CAN HELP

1. **Get correct and complete information.** The first important factor is correct information about the systematic, widespread, and brutal religious persecution in Romania. The communist regime of Romania wants to have it both ways: they want to project an image of a good, liberal system, and also, they want to crush and destroy all religion. We should see that the world understands this deception and the truth about persecution in Romania. The Christians in the West should know the complete story of the plight of their brothers and sisters in Romania. Only when we know what the problems are can we start thinking of solutions.

2. **Pray.** We appeal to Christians in the West to pray specifically for individuals and churches under persecution in Romania.

3. **Support Missionary and Relief Organizations.** We ask that individuals, churches and other concerned organizations demonstrate their concern by financially supporting the missionary and relief organizations that send help to oppressed peoples and work for their freedom.

4. **Write letters.** We also suggest that Christians in the West should pick up individual cases from this paper, and as they continue to be published in our newsletters and in other publications. They should write letters expressing their concern to the Romanian Embassy in Washington, or in other Western capitals.

The address of the Romanian Embassy is:

His Excellency Nicolae Gavrilescu
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
1607 23rd Street
Washington, D.C., 20008

Letters should be brief (usually not more than one page), and to the point, expressing sincere concern. A reply may be requested. Christians in the West should also write letters of encouragement and support to those persecuted.

11. POLITICAL ACTION

Religious persecution is systematic. We plead with the political leaders in the West to come to understand that the individual cases of religious persecution in Romania are not the product of some overly zealous local communist activists: they are the product of a systematic attack on religion, conceived, organized and directed from the top.

Policy changes needed. Political leaders of the West should not be satisfied with the alleviation of a few individual cases of persecution. The Romanian authorities go out of their way to demonstrate their readiness to resolve such cases, and they do it not only to show their good will, but also with the purpose of convincing the Western leaders that these cases are merely isolated cases of abuse, and not religious persecution. The Western leaders should aim at changing the entire anti–religious policy of the Romanian regime. Of course, this is a major goal, difficult to achieve, and it cannot be done overnight. Yet, when such a goal is well defined, and when prominent leaders and governments pursue it, it can be achieved.

Economic leverage. It is clearer than ever that Romania needs all the good will and the help it can get in order to survive economically. Here, the West has the opportunity to influence and radically change the situation of the 22 million Romanians.

What Western leaders must understand is that in a communist country like Romania, everyone at lower levels acts according to instructions or guidelines given periodically from the top. If, for example, a new instruction is sent from the top, ordering everyone who is known to attend church to be demoted or fired from any leadership or administrative position, purges will take place all over the country.

We should work to reverse or change the nature of these instructions.

Major changes that Western leaders should ask for:

1. Denominations should be free to elect their leaders without State interference; the denominations should be free to conduct their business without State interference.
2. Denominations should be given back the right to open new churches.
3. Denominations should be free to determine for themselves how many priests, pastors and other employees they should

have (the abolition of the State–imposed personnel structure and salary scale).

4. Denominations should be free to determine how many seminary students they need. Churches should be free to ordain and employ pastors and other personnel as they consider necessary and are able to pay.
5. Denominations should be free to print and import Bibles and other Christian literature. No one should be penalized for distributing Bibles and other Christian literature.
6. All churches should be free to repair and enlarge their buildings, and to build new ones according to their needs.
7. All discrimination in jobs and schools on the basis of church attendance or religious belief and activity should be stopped.

If the Romanian government accepts these principles and includes them in their instructions to the lower levels, all cases of persecution like those described in this paper would cease. They are caused by the principles guiding the Romanian regime at this time and by the instructions they send down the line. We should aim at solving *this cause*, not merely the symptoms.

Free
the Eagle
HOWARD J RUFF CHAIRMAN
CITIZEN'S LOBBY

TESTIMONY OF NEAL B. BLAIR, PRESIDENT OF FREE THE EAGLE, FOR INCLUSION IN THE HEARING ON MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS FOR AFGHANISTAN, HELD JULY 23, 1985 BY THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AS THE PRESIDENT OF FREE THE EAGLE CITIZEN'S LOBBY, I REPRESENT APPROXIMATELY 265,000 MEMBERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH THIS ISSUE.

FREE THE EAGLE IS AN ADVOCATE OF A STRONG NATIONAL ECONOMY AND SOUND FEDERAL POLICIES. WHEN DEALING WITH THE AFGHAN ISSUE, WE COORDINATE EFFORTS WITH THE FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN AFGHAN ACTION, WHICH CONCENTRATES ON SPONSORING AND ENCOURAGING LEGISLATION THAT WILL SUPPORT THE AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS. DURING THE COURSE OF OUR WORK TOGETHER, WE HAVE SEEN SOME REMARKABLE PROGRESS THAT PUTS CONGRESS ON RECORD AS SUPPORTING THE VICTORY OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE OVER THEIR SOVIET INVADERS. IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, WE HAVE DRAFTED AND WORKED FOR PASSAGE OF THE TSONGAS-RITTER EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE RESOLUTION. SINCE ITS PASSAGE IN 1984, WE HAVE WORKED HARD TO INCREASE AWARENESS OF THE PLIGHT OF THE AFGHANS AND TO LOBBY FOR MEANINGFUL LEGISLATION.

WE HAVE BEEN HEARTENED BY THE EFFORTS OF THIS COMMITTEE TO HOLD THIS HEARING SO THAT VITAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRUE NATURE AND DESIGN OF THE SOVIET-BACKED AFGHAN REGIME CAN BE

EXPOSED, AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS REVOKED.

FREE THE EAGLE STANDS READY TO LOBBY THE CONGRESS IN THIS REGARD. WE BELIEVE MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS SHOULD BE RESUMED FOR THOSE WHO ACT LIKE FRIENDS OF THIS COUNTRY AND SHARE OUR VALUES. THE BUTCHERS OF KABUL ARE COMMUNISTS USING ARMIES OF THE SOVIETS WITH TOKEN AFGHAN GOVERNMENT FORCE TO BOMB THE AFGHANS ON A DAILY BASIS. IT WOULD BE HARD TO FIND A BETTER CANDIDATE FOR REVOKING MOST FAVORED-NATION-STATUS THAN THE SOVIETS'S LAP-DOG GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN.

FREE THE EAGLE IS SENDING A LETTER URGING ALL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO CO-SPONSOR THE MOST-FAVORED-NATION REVOCATION BILL. WE ARE ALSO URGING THE RELEVANT COMMITTEES OF BOTH HOUSES TO ACT ON THIS IMMEDIATELY.

FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS WE HAVE LOOKED AT THE POLICY OF CONTINUING MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS WITH THE SOVIET-RUN GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN AS BEING A DOUBLE STANDARD. IRONICALLY, U.S. POLICY DENIES MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS TO THE SOVIET UNION BUT GRANTS MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS TO ITS PUPPET GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. THIS INCONSISTENCY SENDS A CONFUSING SIGNAL TO THE SOVIETS AND THE WORLD OF OUR TOLERANCE, OR RATHER, OUR ACCEPTANCE AND EVEN REWARDING OF PRIVILEGES FOR THE SOVIETS' GENOCIDAL TREATMENT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.

PERHAPS THE IRONY IS EVEN MORE GRATING WHEN WE DAILY READ OF SOVIET ATROCITIES IN THE FORM OF TOY BOMBS AND MINES, DESTRUCTION OF CROPS FOR THE PURPOSE OF CREATING A FAMINE, ARMORED AGGRESSION BY LAND AND AIR AGAINST THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, DISINFORMATION IN THE FORM OF REWRITING AFGHAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, AND THE TAKING OF INFANTS AND YOUTH INTO THE SOVIET UNION TO BE TRAINED AS TERRORISTS AGAINST THEIR OWN PEOPLE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO COMPREHEND HOW A GOVERNMENT THAT PROMOTES THE ANNIHILATION OF ITS OWN PEOPLE COULD BE FAVORED WITH PRIVILEGED TRADING STATUS BY THE UNITED STATES.

DURING OUR DISCUSSION WITH AFGHAN RESISTANCE LEADERS, ONE MAIN QUESTION CONTINUALLY ARISES - THE QUESTION OF WHY THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WAS FOUNDED BY ITS OWN REVOLT AGAINST AN OPPRESSIVE FOREIGN POWER, SEEMS NOT TO RECOGNIZE THE SIMILAR CRIES OF A COUNTRY THAT IS ALSO UNDER SIEGE BY AN OPPRESSIVE FOREIGN POWER. THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE VEHEMENTLY REFUSES MERCENARIES AND INSISTS ON FIGHTING ITS OWN BATTLES. STILL THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY THE UNITED STATES ECONOMICALLY FAVORS ITS OWN ENEMY WHILE SENDING THE AFGHANS ONLY SCRAPS FROM ITS TABLE OF AMMUNITION, WEAPONS, AND HUMANITARIAN AID.

I HAVE INCLUDED AN ARTICLE FROM THE _CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR_ FOR INCLUSION IN THE RECORD. IT DETAILS WHAT DIFFICULTY THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD IN SWALLOWING UP THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. THESE PROUD PEOPLE HAVE A FIRM BELIEF IN GOD AND AN

ISLAMIC CULTURE AND SOCIETY, WHICH IS QUITE RESISTANT TO THE MEANINGLESS COMMUNIST GULAG. IT FURTHER EXEMPLIFIES WHY THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN NULLIFIES ANY PREVIOUS U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE NOW DEPOSED GOVERNMENT REGARDING ITS MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS. THIS IS A LOGICAL STEP THAT WILL INCREASE PRESSURE WHERE IT NEEDS TO BE FELT, AND SEND THE RIGHT SIGNALS TO THOSE PEOPLE FIGHTING FOR THEIR FREEDOM.

THANK YOU

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1985 THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR 11

INTERNATIONAL

In Afghanistan, Soviets find replacing Islam with communism isn't easy

By Christina Dameyer
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Peshawar, Pakistan

The devout Afghan belief in Islam is proving a major obstacle to the Sovietization of Afghanistan.

Ninety-nine percent of Afghanistan's population is Muslim, and the Afghans practice their religion diligently. The element of atheism in communist doctrine has thus provoked instinctive hostility, and resisting Afghans rallied around the banner of Islam – the only belief system that unites Afghanistan's diverse ethnic and linguistic groups.

Even before the Soviet invasion in 1979, the Afghan government had tried to promote an acceptance of communist ideology among the Afghans, according to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The regime of Nur Muhammad Taraki tried direct methods to spread its Marxist message through the mosques. However, the mullahs (religious leaders) usually refused to read the communist propaganda at prayers, and when they did, the congregation would walk out.

When the Soviets invaded, they switched to less direct tactics. Prof. Rasul Amin, former dean of social sciences at Kabul University, says that although they officially support Islam, the Soviets are in reality pursuing a policy of "de-Islamization".

Government-run Kabul Radio broadcasts proclaim that Islam and socialism are in reality the same thing, and that Afghans are free to practice their religion.

But government actions suggest otherwise. For instance, religious content in schoolbooks – traditionally a major element of education in any Islamic country – has been greatly reduced, and anything Islamic is regarded as antigovernment.

> Afghans have become fearful of praying in mosques because of surveillance by undercover government agents, Afghan refugees say.

Afghans have become fearful of praying in mosques because of surveillance by undercover government agents, Afghan refugees say. Increasing numbers now pray only in their homes.

Under the guise of supporting Islam, the Soviets are also infiltrating the *ulema* (college of Islamic religious scholars and clergy) to win control of it, Afghan refugees say. The Soviets seem to be aware of how much influence the mullahs and religious scholars have on the average Afghan. They have reportedly imprisoned or forced out anticommunist religious leaders and replaced them with a supreme council of *ulema*, considered to have close ties to the Afghan secret police.

To ease suspicions that communism will destroy the Islamic system, groups are invited to visit the Muslim Soviet Central Asian republics and, occasionally, Moscow. About four times a year delegations of 50 to 100 religious figures, accompanied by members of the Afghan secret police, take these tours. They are conducted by undercover agents of the Soviet secret police, Professor Amin says.

The visitors are taken to both functioning mosques and ones under renovation.

Abdul Majid Mangal, the former deputy to the Afghan ambassador to the Soviet Union, saw what he called "frameup prayer meetings" at a Moscow mosque. Some 150 Uzbeks and Tajiks had been imported from Central Asia, he said, to pray alongside the Afghans in the otherwise seldom-used mosque.

"The Soviets select the oldest and poorest mullahs from rural areas to go, to impress them with the Soviet standard of living," says a Peshawar University professor who studies the Afghan situation. "They don't understand that all of it is being arranged for them."

In addition to *ulema* groups, many other Afghan delegations are invited to the Soviet Union every year to witness firsthand the virtues of the Soviet system.

Peasants visit Soviet collective farms, laborers view model factories, judges and lawyers meet their Soviet counterparts, Afghan Commist Party and youth league members meet their parent organizations, and sports teams play matches. One hundred tribal elders are sent each year, according to Abdul Tawab Hikmat, a recent defector from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also, a few hundred of the most industrious workers are rewarded each year with vacations to Soviet bloc countries.

But apparently not all the Afghan visitors are taken in by these actions. A former Afghan government official who met many of the returnees said, "The ones interviewed in the Kabul airport after a trip proclaim for TV that yes, Soviet Muslims are allowed to pray. However, others secretly admitted to me that they had concluded that the Soviet government is against Islam."

Bucur & Kaplow
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August 1, 1985

Wm. [illegible]. Diefenderfer, Esq.
c/o Senate Committee on Finance
SO-219 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Attention: Ms. Bett Scott-Boom Re: MFN FOR ROMANIA

Dear sirs:

The undersigned believe that MFN should be extended for Romania for many reasons. But the principal reasons are the following:

1).It is for the best interests not only for Romania, but for the U.S. to have normal relations with Romania, but that is all MFN really is.

2).If it is not extended now, at a critical time for Romania, the people will suffer and our concern si for the people not for any particular government.

3). Romania has proved in the past that it desires better relations and has taken steps when required, to better such relations.

4). Depriving Romania of MFN now would result in pushing that small but gallant nation further into the welcoming arms of the Soviet Union. This will result in a chill between the U.S. and Romania, unnecesarily and lamentably.

5). Romania welcomes better relations with the U.S. Why should not the reverse be true? Is it better to return to the old days of the chill?

6). The U.S. is not giving anything away. On the other hand, the Romanians are suffering privation in many consumer areas in order to make interest payments on the comparatively huge loans with the West. They should not be compelled to ungergo even worse sacrifices.

Respectfully,
Nicholas A Bucur
Nicholas A. Bucur, Pres. of the
American-Romanian Anti-Defam'n League

For himself, and for:

Mike Cristescu, Pres. of the
Friends of Transylvania, Ohio Region, and
Elena Vassiliou, Vice Pres. of above.

Statement of : NICOLAE , GHEORGHE , Sr.
NICOLAE , VICTORIA
NICOLAE , GHEORGHE , Jr.
NICOLAE , MARIANA

All residing at:
4725 N St. Louis
Chicago , IL 60625
Phone:(312)539-7895

To be included in the printed records of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Committee on Finance United States Senate .

July 8th, 1985

Dear Sirs :

As we promised last year in our statements (one copy please find enclosed), we would like to inform you that , nothing has been change since . Recently, we learned from newspapers (one copy please find enclosed) that thousands of BIBLES has been transformed in toilet paper in the Communist Romania ; Rev. Fr. GH. Calciu-Dumitreasa is fearing for his life in Romania : The Romanian Communist Government is demolishing and closing down Orthodox Churches there. We want to mention that the Communists never built a church in Romania,not a single one . Romania is the country where are not respected the Human Rights, the Religion practice is not free,but has the strictest internal controls in the Soviet bloc.

We urge you to do not approve the extension of MFN status for Romania because will not be in the behalf of the ordinary Romanian people .

GOD BLESS AMERICA .

Respectfully,

Gheorghe Nicolae, Sr.
GhNicolae
Victoria Nicolae

Gheorghe Nicolae , Jr.
Gheorghe Nicolae
Mariana Nicolae
Mariana Nicolae

Statement of : NICOLAE GHEORGHE , Sr.
NICOLAE VICTORIA
NICOLAE GHEORGHE , Jr.
NICOLAE MARIANA

To be included in the printed records .

Dear Sirs :

We would like to inform you about the refusal of the Romanian Authorities to grant exit visas for our relatives to visit us here :
Nicolae Viorel , a mathematician by profession with his two children,
Nicolae Rodica , born on December 12, 1966 and
Nicolae Gabriela, born on October 4 , 1969 .

Nicolae Viorel , has in the U.S., both parents, his brother, his sister in law, nephews and other relatives . We are wondering to whom are granted exit visas from Romania if my brother who has in the U.S. both parents, and other relatives here is not granted visa from Romanian Government , to visit us here in the U.S. . Where is the humanitarian aspect of Romanian Government which sign the Helsinki human rights Agreement.
They are trying unsuccessfully to obtain approval to visit their over 70 years old parents and his brother, sister in law and other relatives since 1981.
After years of harassment , they received a denial of his application from the Company which he is working for , only because one person from the personnel department decided he is not allowed to get visit passport, it was enough to deny his application .
We'd like to point out that exit visas forms in Romania are not available to the people when they want to travel abroad as Romanian Government is supporting in official documents of United Nations .

Exit visas forms are released only by local police and cannot be released without written permission from the applicant's employer, party organization,syndicate organization, worker people's committee or C.O.M. as it is abbreviated in the Romanian language, and many other commissions which are to judge if the applicant can visit their relatives abroad even if both parents are involved.

It is there any humanitarian laws which can decide if a son can see his own parents,72 years old his mother and 76 years old his father.

We are convenced that the human rights are not respected in Romania and we protest against renewing the M.F.N. status to the Communist Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania .

We are sure that more than twenty millions people who are living now captive in Romania, are against helping a Communist Government who exports for hard currency to the U.S. and other western countries, goods of which the Romanian people are more and more deprived .

We sent each year an invitation to NICOLAE VIOREL to visit us here, we tried to contact our son over the phone but we received a poor connection most of the times, we sent for them money, but they did not received the letter with our check and we had to recover the money one year later,only when we found out that our son did not received the letter .

He is forced to work 12-16 hours a day in order to finish his obligations, he is being send periodically out of town at 100 Km. away of his ordinary place of work, to the city of Pitesti, only to harass him . They are scared by the Authorities with loosing of their jobs and later criminally prosecuted for "parasitism " .

He is humiliated by the Authorities because he has both parents and his brother residing in the U.S., and he petitioned to comme to visit us here. We do not want to support the most terror-filled system in the world, the Communist system, and we are against of renewing the M.F.N. status to the Communist Government of Romania .

We promise to inform you as soon as Nicolae Viorel will receive approval to visit us here in the U.S. .

GOD BLESS AMERICA .

Respectfully .

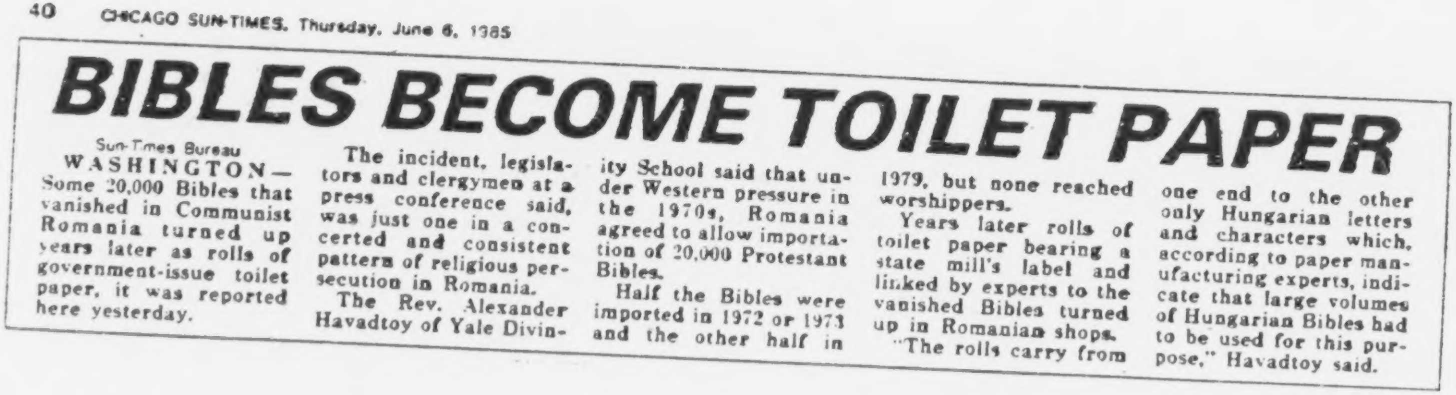
Father ; Gheorghe Nicolae , Sr.

Mother : Victoria Nicolae
Victoria Nicolae

Brother ; Gheorghe Nicolae , Jr.
Gheorghe Nicolae

Sister in law ; Mariana Nicolae
Mariana Nicolae

July , 20th , 1984 .



40 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Thursday, June 6, 1985

BIBLES BECOME TOILET PAPER

Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON—Some 20,000 Bibles that vanished in Communist Romania turned up years later as rolls of government-issue toilet paper, it was reported here yesterday.

The incident, legislators and clergymen at a press conference said, was just one in a concerted and consistent pattern of religious persecution in Romania.

The Rev. Alexander Havadtoy of Yale Divinity School said that under Western pressure in the 1970s, Romania agreed to allow importation of 20,000 Protestant Bibles.

Half the Bibles were imported in 1972 or 1973 and the other half in 1979, but none reached worshippers.

Years later rolls of toilet paper bearing a state mill's label and linked by experts to the vanished Bibles turned up in Romanian shops.

"The rolls carry from one end to the other only Hungarian letters and characters which, according to paper manufacturing experts, indicate that large volumes of Hungarian Bibles had to be used for this purpose," Havadtoy said.

ROMANIAN CHRISTIAN SOCIETY "DORUL"
INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
ON THE DAY OF MAY 11, 1904
BENEVOLENT — AID
MORAL — CULTURAL
P. O. Box 4246
L.I.C., N.Y. 11104
ORGANIZED NOVEMBER 1, 1903

STATEMENT OF THE ROMANIAN CHRISTIAN SOCIETY "DORUL"

Based upon our Society's continuous activity wethin The Romanian Community and extensive discussions with our families,relatives and frends from Romania,as well as conferences and corespondence with both The State Department and Romanian Embassy in Washington DC;

Allso,for more than eight decades,we all share a common interest in America's international relations with all nations and especially those expanding relations with Romania;

Therefore,we consider ourselves well informed and qualified to express our recommendation on this most important subject of M.F;N.Trade Status for Romania.

Since the beginning of this century,our Society maintains close relations with Romanian people,our families,brothers,sisters and relatives,no matter what kind of government was there or what kind of political regim.Together with other Romanians living outside the historical borders,we helped our native country during World War I and World War II as well as for every natural calamity or great disaster.

...000...

Even today,Romania copes with economic difficulties caused by Soviet Union for its independent policy and non-conformity to the Warsaw Pact.However,the contribution of Romania in promoting a peaceful and pluralistic international system witnessed an upward course.

Regarding the political aspect,today's Romanians make efforts to maintain their national integrity and on the international level, they support all actions that carry on the defense and promotion of democratic rights and freedom of all nations in the world. Romania contributed to the American-Chinese dialogue and is the only Easter Europe country that has diplomatic,economic and cultural relations with Israel.

With its own culture,Romania represents a Latin island surrounded by Slavic and Hungarian speaking peoples. Consequently,the Romanians have an unique history. The most recent events dealing with Eastern Europe,rose the related ethnic groups of the United States to strife, taking the character of a movement. Articles in the daily press regarding Transilvania,the cradle of Romanian people,demonstrations and other media are being used to instigate the individual American against Romania. Calumnies regardingthe situation of national minorities in Romania,such as the Hungarians,or other religious denominations,are reiterated speculating unscrupulously the good faith and sentiments of the American people. We consider an act of justice to demonstrate that the Hungarian minority in Romania enjoys the freedom and all the rights of citizenship. Wat are doing some groups of Americans of Hungarian ancestry is a recall of old fascists slogans from the 30's on to the eve of World War II, rightly condemned by history.

In the area of emigration, that is the most sensitive and most discussed requirement, we must recognize and accept our government's conclusions with supporting documentation that clearly identifies Romania's overall performance in improving emigration as being very successful. So, M.F.N. has worked and produced the desired results of those who so carefuly designed this new international policy. The number of people who left Romania to all countries "has more than tripled since 1975, the first year Romania enjoyed M.F.N. Status", as it is pointed out in the Report to the Congress of our President. So, Romanian's successful performance in the area of emigration clearly and obviously and justifies continued M.F.N. Trade Status for Romania.

Bases for our recommendation and support is proven and spirit of the Trade Act as amended by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. We also recognize Romanian performance under various other commercial agreements with America as adding further justification and support to our recommendation on this most imported subject.

It is imported to note that for the years elapsed, the bilateral relation between the United States and Romania, there have been many positive changes in achieving mutual goals. Themembers of our society and many of our friends follow with great interest the stimulation of trade with its intended increase of production and investment opportunities that have developed, and has also been an increase in academic, cultural and scientific exchanges between the United States and Romania.

We feel that the greatest and most beneficial and everlasting benefit derived by America,Romania and all of mankind is the fact that this performance by America and Romania proved to the world that the now-a-days American international policy incorporating concern for human rights as an integral part can and does work. It proved that such American policy accepted by another country can successfully and effectively work,even when the two countries have very different forms of government,histories,cultures, geographic locations,etc. It clearly proves that cooperation and not confrontation is possible in all situations. It will work when the parties are sincerely committed to,and respect their obligations to each other will maintain the frank and open dialogue already established,permitting further discussion and mutually working toward resolutions of even the most sensitive problems.

In closing this statement,there can be no doubt that Romania`s performance under M.F.N.has been very successful and justifies further extension. Romania`s consistence performance in the pursuit of peace,independence and rights worldwide also should be accepted as further justification for extension of M.F.N.

We feel that the documented evidence and conclusions by our government and non-government sources is overhelmingly in favor of extension of M.F.N.Trade Status to Romania. Also,we feel that further extension of M.F.N. is a testimony to all other nations that America`s new policy will continue to remain in force and will work in the future.

Extension is also America`s testimony to the world that the United States will always respect and meet its commitments to any nation that will work with America in the execution of her international policy directed toward peace,cooperation,human rights and the overall well-being of all mankind. In the case of the bilateral relations between the United States and Romania,the trust,confidence and cooperation is the base in providing opportunities which returns significant monetary and non-monetary benefit to eact nation.

PRESIDENT,
Basil Barbulescu
Basil Barbulescu

SECRETARY,
Marin Datcu
Marin Datcu

I am gratified that the President of the United States has determined that continuation of the MFN status for Romania will substantially promote the objectives of Section 402 of the Act. President Reagan has cited, among the reasons for such continuation, the fact that emigration from Romania to all countries has more than tripled since 1975 and that in 1984 emigration to Israel and to Germany was at an all-time high.

I am an immigration lawyer and I can verify from my own experience, the statistics mentioned by President Reagan, insofar as emigration to the United States is concerned. I know of very few persons who are in possession of a U.S. immigration visa and who were not allowed to leave Romania. Moreover, I have been involved in many cases of political asylum from Romania. After grants of political asylum by the United States to Romanians, the Romanian government has in all cases given permission to their family members to emigrate from Romania and to join their spouse or parent in the United States. This has been done without undue delay and without the requirement for reimbursement of education costs as a precondition to emigration. I dare say that many residents of Romania are prevented from emigrating to the United States not because they are denied permission to leave Romania but because of unavailability of a U.S. immigration visa and the discontinuance by the United States of the Third Country Processing program for refugees.

Therefore, I am of the opinion that Romania amply deserves the extension of its Most Favored Nation status and that such extension will have a beneficial effect for the United States, for Romania and will insure the continuation of Romania's commitment to freedom of emigration.

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Tel. (212) 245-6440

Attn: Betty Scott-Boom
Committee on Finance
219 Girksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: Statement to be included in the records of the Subcommittee on International Trade of the United States Senate, July 23, 1985.

Date: August 6, 1985

Dear Mr. Chairman: I am an 18 year old American Hungarian. Before I turned two years old, my parents left Transylvania in order to pursue an atmosphere in which they would be free to preserve their Hungarian heritage; they came to the United States of America. I take pride in being an American citizen, because I am part of a country that holds human rights and ethnicity in very high esteem, an advantage that many people take for granted. Because I visit Transylvania often (95% of my relatives still reside there), I am constantly informed about the human rights and the Hungarian minority situation. Please allow me to share with you some of my experiences and the experiences of others who have visited Roumania this past year, for I believe that Roumania should not be re-granted the Most Favored Nation status for the upcoming year.

Hungarian churches are being transformed into Roumanian Orthodox churches. Hungarian church archives are being taken by the regime. A man who had been to Transylvania recently informed me that in the Kolozsvar (Cluj, Klausenburg) cemetery, gravesites for which the rent has not been paid for over twenty years are being exhumed, Roumanians are buried in those graves, adn the Hungarian names on the tombstones are being replaced with Roumanian names (the dates remain the same). In this way, the Ceaşescu regime is attempting to completely legitimize the Daco-Roman Myth by creating evidence that a majority of Roumanians inhabited Hungarian Transylvania.

At present, there are no Hungarian schools in Transylvania. Whereas before 1958 a minority and a majority school was established in each town, gradually the two were merged, the principal being Roumanian, and the official language was made Roumanaian everywhere. The exams given to determine who will be accepted into a university are only in Roumanian. When a Hungarian university student receives a degree, he/she is given a job in Moldavia or Wallachia, and Roumanians are placed in Transylvania so as to dilute the Hungarian population. There is only one specialized high school of arts (music and visual arts) that has a Hungarian section, and out of the 2.5 million Hungarians that live in Roumania today, only 14 are accepted each year.

The Hungarian radio station in Kolozsvar (Cluj, Klausenburg) has been terminated. Stores and restaurants will seldom serve individuals who order in Hungarian. The "Csango" people, who have preserved the archaic Hungarian language, have been provided with a Roumanian priest, who preaches that "magyar" is the tongue of the devil and should not be uttered. No books published in Hungary are allowed into Roumania, and the number of Hungarian books printed each year in Roumania is significantly decreasing.

In addition to causing serious economic difficulties which have resulted i food and energy rationing and shortages, the Ceaşescu regime is practicing a policy of ethnocide. The Hungarian culture is slowly and silently being massacred. It is our duty as American citizens to maintain our integrity and cry out against Roumania's policy. Should Roumania be granted the Most Favored Nation status, we would deserve to be looked upon as hypocrites who succumb to false appearances.

Respectfully yours,

BOTOND KOLOZSVARY

COORDINATING COMMITTEE
OF
HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

ISTVAN B. [illegible]
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

[illegible]
[illegible]
TELEPHONE [illegible]

STATEMENT

of

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF HUNGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

Concerning the extention of MFN status
for
The Hungarian People's Republic

Submitted
to
The Senate Subcommittee on International Trade

July 23, 1985.

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America is the consultative body of major Hungarian organizations in the United States and Canada. We are grateful for the privilege to share our views on MFN status for the Hungarian People's Republic with the members of the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade.

The general attitude of our Committee concerning Most Favored Nation status of Hungary and Rumania was expressed consistently and repeatedly to this Subcommittee during the many hearings held on the subject in the past years. In respect to Rumania we support the statements and conclusions of the several organizations testifying on the plight of the Hungarian minority in Rumania.

The laws, regulations and actions of the government in Hungary continue to violate the principles of Section 402 of the Trade Act and of other documents defining the norms for Human rights.

On the field of the economy the much heralded reforms did not bring the results predicted by the "experts" in academia, the media, in the financial world and in the foreign policy establishment, especially by our Ambassador to Hungary. Hungary's economy is deteriorating despite the infusion of many billions of dollars provided for the government in Hungary by Western banks, institutions and governments. Hungary's export to the West fell in the first five months of this year: agricultural products by 5%, materials by 2%, machines by 8%, consumer goods by 3%, food stuff by 5%. The situation is worst in in the export of the products of the heavy industry. Export of complete factories and industrial machines lag by 50% behind last year's comparable period. In the first five months of 1985 Hungary was able to export 40% less agricultural machinery items than in the same months in 1984. The beef export fell by 50%, live stock export was 30% less.

All of these are taking place at a time when Hungary's import is increasing: raw materials, replacement parts by 13%, machines by 15%, consumer goods by 9%.

Hungarian authorities blame the huge negative results on low productivity. (We wonder what is causing this low productivity, mismanagement or the dissillusionment of the Hungarian worker with socialism?)

The drain on convertible currency is further aggrevated by the disasterous coal situation. Hungarian mines produced 430.000 metric tonns less coal in the first half of 1985 than planned. The reason is that the mines were inundated by water and sand due to lack of proper maintenance. The authorities are forced to import 500.000 metric tonns of coal in this year from the capitalist countries instead of the planned 240.000 metric tonns. In Hungary's eastern provinces people are already cueing up for their winter heating fuel.

The much heralded economic reforms, the expertly waged public relations campaigns, the almost one decade of the profitable prestige of having MFN status seemingly do not solve the basic faults of the fundamentally centralized economy.

U.S. interests are not very well served by imports from Hungary. Our trade ballance with Hungay, according to the 42nd Quarterly Report of the U.S. International Trade Commission is $134.917.000 in the negative. Leading imported items are food, lightbulbs, agricultural machinery parts, shoes, products not in great demand and competing with handicapped domestic industries. Hungary is under investigation for dumping carbon steel plates and hot-rolled carbon steel sheets. The U.S. International Trade Commission determined that a U.S. industry was materially injured or was threatened with material injury by these actions of the government in Hungary.

Last year we presented evidence for violation of the conditions attached to U.S. high technology transfer to the government in Hungary. The fact that Hungary is used for the acquisition of high technology from the United States by the Warsaw Pact governments is underlined by a Pentagon study:"Assessing the Effect of Technology Transfer on U.S./Western Security", dated February 1985, which states: "The cases reviwed from 1983 and 1984 also show a number of important Soviet/Warsaw Pact patterns in acquisition attempts and specific country emphases. For example, the country with the largest number of key cases was Hungary.. Hungarian requests showed a clear emphasis on computer and telecommunication technology."

Hungary's past record of providing high technology items imported from the U.S. for Soviet and Bulgarian built military equipments should be considered in these deliberations of the Subcommittee.

Hungary's human rights record was evaluated by our Committee in past testimonies before this Subcommittee. Senator Heinz in his testimony on behalf of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe properly characterized the situation in Hungary as worsening in the past three years. Our most recent evaluation of human rights violations committed by the government in Hungary was prepared for and submitted to the delegates of the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting. We respectfully request that this report: "Violations of Human Rights in Hungary Spring, 1985" be made part of this statement and included in the record.

Mr. Chairman, our Committee is aware of the complex, contradictive terms playing role in the decision granting extention of MFN status to Hungary. In the past we felt that the yearly reviews (and we insist on yearly reviews) served a purpose:they encouraged the authorities ruling Hungary to solve the outstanding family unification cases. They, however, did not accomplish the change of Hungarian emigration laws, which are in blatant violation of Section 402 of the Trade Act, and did not alter the sophisticated oppression of basic human rights.
In spite of these negative observations our Committee in this year does not oppose the extention of MFN status for the government in Hungary. We do this reluctantly and in the hope that the rulers of Hungary will implement the meaningful economic and political reforms necessary to overcome the deteriorating conditions of Hungarian industry, agriculture, commerce and the retreating standard of living of the average Hungarian citizen. We expect that the Hungarian authorities will create a human rights situation in Hungary which will close the wide gap between the Helsinki committments and every day actions of the government in Hungary. These should be the conditions for continued extention of MFN status for the Hungarian People's Republic in the future.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN HUNGARY

SPRING 1985

An Evaluation Of
The Government in Hungary's
Compliance With The Helsinki Accords

by
The Coordinating Committee
of Hungarian Organizations
in North America
and
The Canadian Hungarian Federation

I. Introduction

The Hungarian People's Republic by signing the Helsinki Final Act assumed responsibilty to "promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development." The government in Hungary made a further committment "to recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief, acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience." Hungarian authorities acknowledged and confirmed "the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in this field."

The Hungarian government's committments to respect the above cited fundamental human rights have not been fulfilled.

Hungary is an occupied country, dominated by foreign ideology, foreign interests and foreign troops. It is ruled by the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party, which maintains a complete monopoly on political power. The totalitarian one-party rule reimposed upon Hungarians by Soviet tanks in 1956 denies the most basic elements of democracy. Human rights are violated by the laws, edicts, regulations, general policies and everyday practices of the system. Hungarians, when they act in accordance with their rights as defined by the Helsinki Final Act, are effectively silenced by persecution, incarceration and intimidation.

Under these circumstances it is our responsibility, as citizens of free, representative democracies, to raise our voices against the continuous violations by the Hungarian Government against the principles expressed in the Helsinki Final Act.

We share the views of former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, as expressed in the November 1983 issue of ENCOUNTER;

> "It is very important that we always recognize and affirm the legitimacy of resistance to tyrannical governments of whatever type. We should always recognize the legitimacy of a people's desire to be free of tyrannical controls. We should always refuse to acquiesce in the notion that the demand for free elections or

> democratic participation in the decisions of government is "extreme"... We must, as free societies, always make clear that we stand on the side of the aspirations of the people to have governments that 'govern by the consent of the governed.'"

We, on behalf of all Hungarians who fled totalitarian oppression and on behalf of their children seek unequivocal support for the full implementation of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. We call the attention of the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act to the fact that the Government in Hungary has continuously violated the accords written into the Third Basket of the Helsinki document. We are not willing to ignore or cover up these violations by our silence. Silence in the face of cruelty is complicity. Therefore we absolutely refuse to acquiesce in the falsification of what Mr. Janos Kadar, as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has solemnly undertaken in Helsinki on behalf of the Government in Hungary when he signed the Helsinki Final Act.

We, the undersigned and those whom we represent, are committed to the encouragement of the full implementation of the principles and accords of the Helsinki Final Act. We urge the delegates to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting to fully review the implementation of the principles and articles of the Final Act.

The Government in Hungary in recent years has not provided any convincing evidence that it intends to make substantive, meaningful changes in the denial of the fundamental freedoms of speech, religion, and assembly to its citizens. Hungarian authorities failed to produce any credible signs that they intend to cease or diminish the internal repression which has characterized their behavior both before and after the meetings in Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid. The absence of these signs indicates that the government in Hungary does not have the slightest inclination of honoring the human rights commitments it agreed to at the series of CSCE meetings. We trust the conscience of the delegations of the signatory states attending the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting. We remind them that the diplomatic recognition of the leaders of the totalitarian regime of Hungary as de facto rulers of the Hungarian people means only the acknowledgement of their position which is based on police and military power alone rather than the "legitimacy of consent." It is the duty of free men and women everywhere to challenge the moral legitimacy of totalitarian regimes.

We hope that our MEMORANDUM will contribute to the execution of this duty by the delegates of the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting through the objective, constructive and effective review of the current status of the implementation of the principles and articles of the Helsinki Final Act regarding respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

On the eve of the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting we call the attention of the signatory countries to Ambassador Max Kampelman's words spoken in the White House on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1984: "We must, all of us, never lose our sense of identification with the heroes of the human spirit who keep reappearing in the pages of history and who are with us today.

All of us and our societies fall short of our aspirations. We grow by stretching to reach them. As we do so, however, let us be reassured by the conviction that the future lies with freedom because there can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new rights. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream, and to do. We seek these values for all the children of God. Our task is to stretch ourselves to come closer to that realization."

The Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting provides an opportunity for all of us to stretch ourselves, to come closer to the realization of the aspirations of our fellow human beings in the bondage of totalitarian dictatorships.

II. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The human rights record of the Government in Hungary is poor. Many of the laws governing the life of the Hungarian citizens violate the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki Final Act. The exercise of the most basic human rights is arbitrarily restricted by the authorities. The regime tightly controls the **expression of political opinion** and participation in the political process is not possible outside the limits which it sets. Hungarian citizens may not critically comment on the Communist form of government or Hungary's alliance with the Warsaw Pact. If they do they are subjected to harassment, even persecution. **The right to**

privacy is violated daily. Telephone lines are tapped and correspondence opened when the authorities have an interest to do so. Institutionalized **censorship** is not practiced but editors of newspapers, magazines, publishing houses who do not conform sufficiently to party lines are removed. Consequently self-censorship in media and cultural circles are pervasive. When authors do not practice "sensible" self-censorship and violate the boundaries of tolerance their writings are banned by the authorities.

Political dissidence is kept in check by official harassment. **The right of free press and free speech.** — guaranteed by the Constitution — is severely limited by the requirement that the exercise of this right needs to confirm to the "interest of socialism and the people." The "interest" is not defined by law. The prosecuting authorities have discretionary power to establish what kind of acts are suitable for violating this "interest."

Another tool to check free speech is the article on **incitement** in Hungary's penal code. According to this article whoever commits an act "suitable for inciting others to hatred against the Hungarian nation or any national minority, against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic; against another nation, race, religious denomination or any other group of people because of their socialist conviction is punishable for incitement by deprivation of liberty ranging from 1 to 5 years."

"Aggravated cases are punishable by sentences ranging from 2 to 8 years." Preparatory acts are also punishable. The authorities — not the laws —establish the acts suitable for inciting hatred against protected groups or interests. The law is used to prosecute ordinary citizens who in their frustrated state of mind critically comment on party policies, rock groups whose lyrics do not meet the "political standards" of the authorities, and many others. In the past 10 years well over 570 cases of "incitement" resulted in sentences. Nearly 80 percent of those involved were of working expressions of dissatisfaction with the regime are not limited solely to a small group of intellectuals as claimed by the authorities.

The authorities interfere in and constrain **intellectual freedom.** Recently stormy meetings of the Writer's Union protested government and party demand for changes in the leadership of the Union. Despite the protest the party prevailed, its will was imposed on the Union.

The edicts regulating the production of printed material allow for administrative procedures to be applied by police against certain types of offenders. These include various restrictions on movement, surveillance and forms or house arrest. The goal of these edicts and their implementation is to destroy the expression of free thought without political trials which would inevitably domestic and western publicity.

Non-political trials are more likely to be handled in an impartial manner than are trials involving offenses considered to be political or crimes against the state.

Freedom of assembly is non-existent in Hungary. Political activity is not possible outside the party-sanctioned organizations. Attempts to establish independent groups promoting peace and charity were met first with tolerance which proved to be useful propaganda for the promotion of the regime in the West but later followed by the less ostentations methods so familiar to those who try to take an independent stand in East-Central Europe. Intimidation, loss of employment, confiscation of passport resulted in the dissolution of the short lived "Dialogue for Peace" group which tried to exist outside of government and party influence.

The Hungarian **emigration laws** are a blatant violation of the free flow of people and information provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. No one under 55 years of age can apply to emigrate. Those over 55 can apply only to join a parent, spouse, or child abroad. The implementing decree of this law provides that a waiver may be granted from these two conditions in justified cases; however the statue does not make any mention of what a justified case is, and who is authorized to grant the waiver.

Travel abroad is not a right of the Hungarian citizen. It is a privilege granted by the authorities. Passports can be withdrawn as punishment of outspoken, critical behavior.

Freedom of religion is severely curtailed in Hungary. Holding religious belief limits the citizen's advancement in government, industry and professions. The churches are controlled by laws administered by the State Office of Church Affairs. Religious instruction is limited, censored and monitored by government authorities. Priests, ministers and rabbis who violate the prescribed procedures are "administratively" punished (demoted, transfered, etc.). The faithful are intimidated and coerced in order to abandon their religious beliefs, traditions and practices. The Churches are exploited for the advancement of the political goals of the regime. As the result of government decrees and edicts the Churches are subjected to subversion from inside. The government's prerogative to approve appointments to the leaderships of the various religious denominations results in undermining the confidence of the faithful in their leaders.

Nearly ten years after signing of the Helsinki Accords the regulations limiting religious activity, and thereby violating the spirit and letter of the Final Act, remain in force. There is no relaxation of the administrative harassment, of those who openly practice their faith (baptism, confirmation, church marriage) and in the persecution of those who practice their faith according to their conscience, often outside the state-recognized denominations.

A recent pronouncement by the Minister of Internal Affairs cautioned the dissidents that the "patience" displayed by the authorities in the past "does not mean that we tolerate without limit the activity of people who are teetering on the verge of legality." He further warns that: "The state exercises its rights and acts against those who go beyond the limit and damage the vital interests of the people."

These statements signal that the authorities are willing to resort to more severe methods to oppress and to eliminate internal opposition and to further limit the exercise of the rights contained in the Final Act.

A recently enacted new law extending the power of the police indicates that the authorities' intent is to exercise control over the opposition within the realm of police activity instead of risking the publicity of a court trial. The new law in effect authorizes the violations of basic human rights.

The current attack by the authorities on the opposition and the call for "vigilance and firmness" against them imply that the Government in Hungary does not seriously intend to comply with the Helsinki Accords.

The only hope for compliance rests in the vigilance and firmness of the delegates to the Ottawa, Human Rights Experts Meeting with which they recognize and deplore violations committed by the

Government in Hungary.

Detailed description of specific acts of violations is presented in the following sections of this document.

III. VIOLATIONS AGAINST PRINCIPLE VII OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT

The generally poor record of compliance by the Government of Hungary with the Final Act was presented in our Memorandum: "The Hungarian People's Republic and the Helsinki Final Act" submitted to the delegates of the signatory states at the Madrid Review Conference. No positive changes were observed since the fall of 1980. The widely reported crackdown on dissidents, the selected use of psychiatric treatment as punishment for political behavior, the number of indictments and sentences for "incitement," the use of administrative rules and regulations against the editors of samizdat publications and members of the Writers' Union, and the harassment of the members of religious communities indicate that the rulers of Hungary are maintaining their tight control of the whole of society.

The main areas of infringement of human rights by the Government in Hungary fall in the following three categories: freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of movement. There are at the same time numerous, hard-to-document infringements on such human rights as the right to privacy, the right of assembly, the right to a fair trial, and the right to freely choose one's political affiliation. These are sometimes **a priori** denied and even though in the course of our contacts, we fail to take notice of them, they are nevertheless painfully present for millions of Hungary's citizens who must live according to political and human rights standards so far inferior to ours that it is hard for us to comprehend them. This inability to comprehend the scope of totalitarian control over the individual and over society may very well be the source of our tendency to either deny, or at least act as if we deny, the absence of these most basic human rights.

The fact that in Hungary violations against basic human rights are often carried out with more sophisticated, more refined methods than those committed in other parts of the world by other totalitarian governments is irrelevant to a consideration of the compliance by Hungary's regime with the Helsinki Accords.

The following details of the specific infringements by the Hungarian government on the human rights of its citizens are only the most obvious, the most easily demonstrable injustices committed by it. They are the manifestations of an all pervading denial of individual freedom and justice.

(A) VIOLATIONS AGAINST FREEDOM OF SPEECH

"The Constitution provides for free speech and free press but in practice these rights are subject to substantial limitations. A Hungarian citizen may not speak publicly against the Communist form of government or Hungary's alliance with the Soviet Union. If a citizen publicly opposes these basic tenets, he or she may be subjected to varying measures of admonition, harassment and punishment. Self-censorship in media and cultural circles is pervasive and prepublication censorship occurs from time to time." (Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1984; Department of State).

The most blatant violations against the right of freedom of speech have to do with the publication of an ever-growing number of samizdat writings and periodicals, the misuse of psychiatry for the punishment of political dissidents and with the conviction of an indefinite number of individuals for "incitement" and "harming the public interest."

The ongoing intimidation of intellectuals active in the dissident movement and the persecution of an indeterminate number of ordinary citizens shows that a positive evaluation of the Hungarian authorities by certain Western observers is seriously mistaken, and what is worse, is misleading.

Those responsible for writing, duplicating and distributing samizdat periodicals such as BESZELO (the title is hard to translate because of its multiple meanings, but it can be rendered as "The place where prisoners are allowed to talk to their loved ones") and HIRMONDÓ (The Messenger) are under particular pressure. After the so-called Samizdat Boutique, the place where illegal publications could be obtained by anyone brave enough to visit it, was evicted from the central Budapest apartment of László Rajk, the most notorious form of police brutality was used against Gábor Demszky, another prominent member of the underground network of regime opponents. He had been one of those who started an illegal publishing house called AB.

Demszky was approached on September 24, 1983 by police outside the Budapest apartment building of Laszlo Rajk. Demszky refused to allow the confiscation of a private letter without a warrant. The ensuing argument developed into a scuffle, resulting in Demszky being so badly beaten that he was hospitalized for three days with a concussion. Concern about the fairness of the anticipated trial was expressed by the State Department and by Congressman Fascell, the Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Demszky was charged with attacking the policemen and tried on December 21, 1983. Western observers, including a member of the U.S. Embassy were not allowed in the trial room. The court found Demszky guilty and handed down a 6 months jail term. The sentence was suspended for 3 years. Demszky's appeal was rejected on May 22, 1984. (See Annex 1 of this Memorandum).

At 6 a.m. on June 8, 1984, György Krassó, was taken in by the police for questioning about an interview he had given to the samizdat periodical HIRMONDÓ in December 1983. Released nine hours later, Krasso was warned that charges of incitement were prepared against him and told he should enlist the services of a lawyer to defend him at his forthcoming trial. A few days later however — presumably after the Western reactions were assessed — he was told that the investigations had been closed and that no further action was contemplated against him, though he was given a police warning.

On October 18, 1984, policemen again searched the apartment of György Krassó. The same day, they searched the car of a small businessman, in Budapest. On October 19, they searched Tibor Philip's apartment, and on November 1, the home and place of work of György Gadó. In each case the police came in response to a "citizen's complaint" and conducted an "inspection of the premises" without the required warrant. The above named individuals were questioned along with an office manager, and two printers, who were accused of cooperating in the copying and distribution of "printed matter produced without a permit." Gadó was charged with being the author of articles which appeared in "Hirmondó" under the name Győző Ravasz, and taking part in the writing of documents for the independent peace group Salom. Gadó denied these charges.

The large amount of material confiscated during the searches include not only photocopied articles but also photographs, prints, manuscripts and personal notes.

On 1 November, György Krassó was fined 10,000 forints. Earlier, the others had been fined from 5,000 to 7,000 forints for their alleged violations. We can add that a 9,000 forint fine was imposed on Gábor Bouquet on 12 October for distributing "Beszélő" on a city street. ($1 ≈ 50 forints). In one month, penalties totalling 54,000 forints were levied on these publications, also known as the "second public opinion," penalties equivalent to the average monthly earnings of ten Hungarians.

In each case, officials cite regulation number 21/1982/VI.15./MT, which places "violation of press regulations" under police jurisdiction.

On November 22, 1984, Krasso's home was again searched by police, his personal papers were confiscated and he was placed under "indefinite police surveillance." These actions were "justified" by his involvement with various "illegal" (samizdat) publications. His appeal to police authorities to reinstate his civil rights was rejected in early January 1985. A few days after this rejection he suffered a heart-attack. Hospitalized for a long time he is now convalescing at home, and continues to be under police surveillance. (Relevant documents of his case are attached as Annex II of this Memorandum).

On December 30, 1983, the police of the provincial town Szolnok raided the home of the mother of artist Tamás Molnár, who prepared illustrations for BESZÉLŐ's issue commemorating Imre Nagy, the martyred Prime Minister of Hungary's government during the 1956 Revolution. A subsequent search of Molnar's apartment resulted in the confiscation of all artistic material and of his typewriter. The investigation was widened to involve Ferenc Kőszeg, the editor of BESZÉLŐ, who ordered the illustrations.

The "administrative proceedings" ended with charges brought against Kőszeg and Molnár with violation of the press law. They were fined 6,000 and 8,000 forints respectively. Nevertheless, the commemorative issue of BESZÉLŐ was published after a long delay and without illustrations. (See Annex III of this Memorandum).

The goal of these intimidating actions and sentences is clearly the destruction of the independent samizdat press and of expressions of free thought without political trials which would inevitably invite unwanted publicity. These arbitrary restrictions of civil liberties violate the fundamental right of free speech even when they are carried out discretely.

Sándor Csoóri, one of Hungary's internationally respected writers was banned from publication of his prose writings for a year. He was punished by party officials for writing an introduction to a book written by a member of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia and published in the United States. Csoóri was critical of the Hungarian regime's apathy towards the fate of Hungarians living in neighboring states. His writing caused heated debates in the Writers' Union and gained the respect of all Hungarians but the authorities remained unmoved. (See Annex IV).

The most recent incident involves a poem written by Gáspár Nagy, a member of the secretariate of the Writers Union. The poem touched on the "delicate" subject of Imre Nagy, the Prime Minister of Hungary during the days of the 1956 Revolution. Nagy was executed for his role in that effort to free Hungary from Soviet domination, and according to a widely accepted story, János Kádár, the man whom the Soviets chose as Hungary's leader after 1956, personally witnessed his comrade's execution. Whether this story is accurate or not, the fact remains that Kadar is extremely sensitive about his personal role in the Revolution and his eventual collaboration in its suppression.

Thus, the poem (see Annex IV), caused problems for the regime well beyond its literary significance, or even its potential to have a political effect. The HSWP cultural authorities attracted attention to its publication by insisting that its author, Gáspár Nagy (no relation to the subject of the poem) be removed from the secretariate of the Writers Union.

For the first time since 1956, the leadership of the Union, consisting of a majority of non-Communist Writers, including the President, Miklós Hubay, refused to acquiesce to the demands of the party authorities. At a number of stormy Union meetings, members loudly protested against the regime's interference and against the constraints on intellectual freedom! An impasse of a number of months followed in which the Union was effectively stripped of its authority. The President and Vice-President offered their resignations. Fearing an even greater scandal, the party authorities under the leadership of. György Aczél refused to accept the resignations. For a certain period of time, it looked as if the writers would eventually have their way. According to the latest information Gáspár Nagy has resigned his official position in the union but the list of the leadership has remained the same. Even though this action seems to resolve the affair to the satisfaction of the party, the fact that the writers have again been aroused to criticize the party for its interference in their union's activities indicates that the conflict between the union and the regime is far from resolved.

Although these instances of official intimidation and administrative punishment are by no means negligible, their subjects have one advantage over other victims of arbitrary police actions which disregard the law. They have access to publicity through their writings and their contacts with various Western supporters. This is not the case for the more than 50 ordinary citizens who are convicted every year of "incitement, and harming the public interest."

The above estimate is based on a February 1984 **Magyar Jog** article, which presents the results of a study determining "the causal factors involved in incitement and harming the public interest." The author was Dr. Lajos Kovács, Professor at the Hungarian Police Officers Academy.

According to this study of 402 cases involving 570 accused, a significant portion of those investigated were workers and students who had not had any form of higher education. 79.2% of the 570 individuals examined had not completed the equivalent of our high schools, and only less than 5% of them had a college degree. (For further details of the study see Annex V).

The significance of the study is that it gives evidence of widely based dissent — as expressed by "incitement" and reveals that this dissent is not limited to "intellectuals". The statistics reveal that "political/crime" exists in Hungary and the majority of the convicted are blue collar workers who the regime fears more than the intellectuals and whom do not enjoy the international publicity afforded to the well known intellectuals.

The information conveyed by this article, combined with the articles in HIRMONDÓ, clearly indicates that the situation in Hungary is not so rosy as some western observers, diplomats perceive it.

The case of the members of the Cpg Rock Group also belongs in the category of freedom of speech.

The Capital Court sentenced the following on May 23, 1984: Zoltán Benkő, a 22 year old unskilled worker, Béla Kaska and Zoltán Nagy, both 20 year old unskilled workers, to 2 year prison sentences and the underaged Z.V., trade school student, to a suspended sentence of 2 years in prison.

The legal justification for the sentence accused these young men of "incitement against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic and against its international alliance, friendship and cooperation agreements. Their motives were rooted in nihilism and anarchism, or in other words in the **desire to create hatred.** This was born out concretely in part by the rock numbers they performed. They however also had numbers which achieved these ends by using allegories and metaphors intended to create these emotions." See Annex VI for the lyrics of their songs earning them these sentences and for the legal justification given by the court for the verdict.

Besides the Cpg group, three members of a rock group called "Mosoly" (Smile) were also convicted early this year for three of their numbers with similar messages, Jozsef Erdos, a 20 year old worker, received 1½ years in jail plus 1 year suspended sentence, two underaged members of the group received 1 year in jail plus a 3 year suspended sentence each.

Another violation of human rights by the Hungarian authorities is its misuse of psychiatry for the punishment of those who speak up about the regime's totalitarian nature.

Two such cases became known for western observers in the past few years:

Mr. Károly Jakab an agronomist wrote several letters to the authorities of his home town complaining about the undemocratic procedures that they followed in conducting the business of the township. He was arrested and charged with "insulting the authorities, i.e., official persons." Jakab was convicted of this "crime." The prosecution asked for compulsory use of psychiatric treatment as part of the sentence. Subsequently Jakab was declared mentally incompetent and went through the whole panoply of coercive treatments including closed wards and electroshock therapy. (Excerpts from Jakab's letters are presented in Annex VII). The other case is the well publicised case of Dr. Tibor Pákh. In the fall of 1982 he was travelling to Poland when at the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border his passport was confiscated and he was forced to return to Budapest by officials of the Government in Hungary. Pákh filed a complaint with the highest judicial authority and began a hungerstrike. During the hungerstrike he was forcefully carried to the National Institute for the Mentally Ill where he was "treated" with the drug haloperidol in such doses that he became delirious. He was given other drugs after the haloperidol "treatment." When Pákh's will was not broken by the drugs, he was force fed. Pakh gave a vivid description of the brutal procedures used on him by hospital personnel. (See Annex VII) Pákh gave up the hungerstrike: "I had to swallow when the food was stuffed in my throat. I would have been cheating myself if I had insisted that I was still fasting."

Pákh was eventually released after he gave up his hungerstrike. It is important to note that this was not Pákh's first encounter with psychiatric "treatment" by the regime. In 1960 he was secretly tried for his political writings — some of which found their way to the West and informed the United Nations about the brutal executions of teenaged participants of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution on their 18th birthday — and sentenced for 15 years in prison for treason. In the prison he demanded that his case be retried in open court. He conducted several hungerstrikes in support of his demand. The authorities responded by "treating" him with insulin and electro-shock "therapy." Later, to justify these "treatments" Pákh, — still in prison — was officially declared insane.

It is hard to judge how many other Hungarians are similarly abused. The authorities responsible for these violations of human rights are careful to disguise their attrocities, so that little or no information about them becomes available in the West.

Government censorship is not prohibited by the Constitution, however the citizen who exceeds the generally understood, often ambiguous, political limits on the expression of ideas is not constitutionally protected either.

Pervasive self-censorship in media and cultural circles serves to remind the Hungarian citizen where these boundaries are. Despite the absence of institutional censorship, authorities banned the circulation of a number of particular books or articles.

The most significant intellectual product of the past-1956 era, a book of essays was banned in 1979. The book was written by some seventy— Hungarian intellectuals in memory of István Bibó, minister of state in the government of Imre Nagy during the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and a prominent contemporary political thinker. The Hungarian authorities refused to publish the book, because a number of the book's essays criticized the legitimacy of communist party rule.

Another recent act of government censorship occured last year when the August issue of the literary monthly review MOZGÓ VILÁG was ordered destroyed because it contained some reprints of material written by Leon Trotsky. An August issue, without Trotsky's works, appeared in the middle of September.

Other incidents of explicit censorship involved the writings of a wide spectrum of authors. "The Theory of Needs in Marx" by Ágnes Heller was banned in 1977, the Intellect and Despotism by Gyula Illyés was ordered to be destroyed just before distribution would begin in 1978.

Sándor Csoóri's article addressing current problems of the Hungarian intellectuals — already printed in the 1980 No. 2 issue of FORRÁS, a literary magazine published in Kecskemét, — was banned. The issue was destroyed and reprinted without Csoóri's article.

These actions of the government in Hungary not only prevent publications of writings considered damaging by the authorities but serve as reminders of the tolerable limits of expression of opinion.

Mr. Sándor Gáspár, member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in an article: "The Freedom of Socialism" written in 1977 gives the authentic definition of freedom as perceived by the present rulers of Hungary:

"The freedom of socialism is not unlimited. The frameworks are determined by the public interest, the order and discipline of the socialist present and future, what we could also call the class content of freedom... We take into consideration also that freedom is not merely a matter of decision, is not a matter of slogans. The economic, political and cultural conditions prevailing at a given time determine the extent to which we can turn our potential into reality . . . we have never denied that socialism's principles of freedom were established on behalf of and in the interest of the historical objectives of the working class."

There is no room for pluralism in the press. As the regime does not and cannot tolerate multiple parties, it does not allow other views or opinions than its own print. In Hungary, "there is no class force, no social base for parties which disavow the system, for opposition parties . . ." writes Gáspár. Accordingly, there is no "social base" for a legitimate press which would provide for the publication of opinions, views and observations not in agreement with the approved, official line either.

(B) FREEDOM OF RELIGION

The largest religious group and thus the one most prone to political manipulations by the state is the Catholic Church. It has experienced some of the most extreme forms of persecution since the Second World War, documented in great detail by many writers. Possibly the best known of these was Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty. Since of all the religious groups, the Catholic Church has been the best organized and the most powerful, the destruction of its hierarchy and the successful subjugation of its leadership to the will and interests of the Hungarian state was of primary importance to the Communist regime established in Hungary after World War II. The Kádár regime, no less than its infamous predecessor under Matyas Rákosi, placed the subjugation of the Catholic leadership and by extension the flock for which they were responsible at the top of its political agenda. Though the methods used differed in kind and in the magnitude of their cruelty, the effects were and are often more devastating. The leadership of the Church was cowed by the repetition of some of the terror tactics of the Rákosi regime in the period immediately following the revolution of 1956. Once these measures had had their effect, the policy of compromise took over. This worked so well that by March 1985, the Archbishop of Hungary, Cardinal Lászlo Lékai could express his thanks on the commemoration of his 75th birthday in the Hungarian Parliament to the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, Pál Losonczi, and the other government and HSWP party dignitaries gathered for the occasion, by saying that it was his personal goal and part of the efforts of his church to serve the pursuit of happiness of his homeland and its people and to cultivate and strengthen the national unity that had been achieved in the country." (**Népszabadság,** arch 12, 1985)

That this "unity" did not even involve a group of his own flock did not seem to disturb the cardinal. In the interests of compromise and understanding, he simply disregarded the conflict that had continued unabated since the mid-seventies between the compromising hierarchy and those so called basis groups which refuse to do military service, believing that the Gospels have taught them to take this non-violent, anti-military stand.

> The leader of these groups, the Parist priest György Bulányi, has been subjected to harassment unparalleled in the recent history of the church in Hungary. His treatment can only be compared to that suffered by him and by many of his religious brethren in the 50's under the Stalinist regime of Matyas Rakosi. To underline the fact that the State Office of Religious Affairs (AEH) and those it allows the Vatican to appoint to leadership positions in the Church hardly differ in their methods from another infamous state agency which existed in Hungary before the revolution of 1956, it is enough to quote Father Bulányi's words about the treatment he received at the hands of the representatives of the Church hierarchy. He writes that the major in the Hungarian State Protective Agency (the infamous AVH secret police whose acronym differs from the above mentioned Office of Religious Affairs only by one letter, a fact not lost on those who suffer under its authority) who interrogated him in 1952 was more respectful toward his person and his activities than those Church leaders who subjected him to something that "could in no way be called a dialogue."
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> Statements made by Cardinal Lékai, especially at the 125 anniversary celebration of the consecration of the basilica at Esztergom in 1981, arethe clear indications that the prelate chooses to subordinate the interests of the Church in all questions that have to do with military service to those of the

state. He does so even though the dangers to the people of Hungary inherent in any strict adherence to Soviet military interests are well known among Hungarians both within and without the country.

The list of those persecuted by the state with the active consent and help of the hierarchy grows longer and longer as the number of those unwilling to cooperate in shortchanging Catholic religious principles and denying Hungarian national interests grows. Two priests, László Kovács and Audrás Gromon, who support Father Bulanyi and who openly expressed their views were suspended by the hierarchy in 1981 from the performance of their priestly duties. Six priests who protested in an open letter against the treatment of the above two were subjected to a series of "administrative restrictions." One of the latter, has disclosed through private channels how these innocuous sounding retributions work in practice. He was at first threatened with the possibility of not being ordained, since when he first signed the protest letter, he was still a novice at the Theological Seminary of Budapest. When this threat could not be carried out, he was told by a priest representing the hierarchy and the Office of Religious Affairs that if he were willing to cooperate, he could be one of the rising stars in the hierarchy. Nothing, not even the position of bishop could be denied him, especially considering that he was one of the brightest students at the seminary. When he refused to cooperate, he was subjected to every form of harassment available to the authorities. Even though invited to study in the Federal Republic of Germany by a leading theologian, he was not given permission to leave the country. Periodic visa applications were denied on the basis that providing the visa harmed the interests of the People's Republic and the public welfare. He has been assigned to small, out-of-the-way parishes in the hope that his will would eventually be broken. In spite of the fact that he is qualified to do scholarly theological research, (he knows a number of the major European languages as well as Latin and Hebrew) he works with the youth in his parish and does everything in his power to keep alive religion among those entrusted to him. He also is working on his doctoral dissertation which he is not sure will be accepted in Hungary. In case he meets with rejection, he intends to submit his work to a Western theological university or department.

There are many other examples of even more brutal persecution of those who, because of their opposition to military service, and their desire to be declared conscientious objectors, have been imprisoned and harassed. One of the most tragic cases is that of Jozsef Merza, a mathematician, and his son, both of whom are conscientious objectors. The father, despite his 47 years was called up for military service in 1979. After he refused to report for duty, he was imprisoned by the military (by its nature a much harsher form of incarceration than a civilian prison) for six months and subsequently transferred to a mental hospital for treatment. When he was released, he lost his job at the Mathematical Research Institute and was allowed to return there only as a librarian. József Merza Jr. served a two year prison term for the same "offense" as his father.

The case of two of the young men from among the twelve known cases of Catholics imprisoned for their refusal to do military service is representative. They were both in their early twenties at the time of their imprisonment and they both were sentenced by military tribunals and served their sentences in military penitentiaries.

The question may also be raised, why are these young men tried by military tribunals if they were not in the military at the time of their alleged crimes. Their right to a fair trial includes the right to be tried as civilians as long as they are not serving in the military. The two examples are the following:

1. Gábor Csizmadia was sentenced to 2 years and 8 months in a military penitentiary for asking to have his compulsory military service changed to an alternative, civilian one. His conviction was upheld by a court of appeals on 2 April 1982 and he began to serve his sentence thereafter.

2. When Béla Simonyi refused 6 months of military service, he was sentenced to 16 months in prison in April 1982 and according to the information available to us, he served his sentence.

These cases, along with the ten other, are the only ones of which court records exist, so that they can be documented. Those others, the cases of intimidation in which practicing Catholics are discouraged from openly attesting to their faith or from sending their children to Catholic instruction are more numerous but harder to document. There are no records kept of party officials, job supervisors, school principals and others in positions of authority advising subordinates or the parents of their charges against practiceing their faith. Even though these cases are the hardest to document, it is they which form the bulk of the Communist effort to eradicate religion in general and Catholicism in particular.

Those young men and women who are willing to risk their lives and choose imprisonment rather than relinquish their beliefs will probably never be weaned away from their faith, whereas the many thousands of others who are not as firm in their convictions, who need the exposure to religious instruction and guidance the most are systematically denied it and discouraged from even being interested in it. This then is the most insidious form of the denial of religious rights. Though the other ones documented above are cruel and reprehensible, their long-term effect is not as damaging, they cannot destroy the foundations of religion and the propensity of young people to look at the world and at their lives from a religious point of view.

The two main Protestant Churches in Hungary are the Evengelical (Lutheran) and the Presbyterian (Calvinist). The President and Presiding Bishop of the smaller Evangelical Church is Zoltán Káldy who according to a number of his critics, both in Hungary and in the West, has led his congregation in ways satisfying the needs and wishes of the state, rather than primarily those of his Church. The complex political manoeuvers that preceded his elevation to his present position of leadership and his succession in that position of Lajos Ordass are worthy of a separate historical study. Suffice it to say, the details point to Káldy's collaboration with the Kádár regime in its efforts to bring the Evangelical Church under its control. None of his activities in later years contradict this conclusion. In fact, his development of the theology of "diaconia," that is service, was a way of theoretically justifying the Evangelical Church's practice of deferring in all political and social matters to the state authorities and limiting its field of activity to the care and support of the sick, the aged and the otherwise afflicted of society. Following the World Conference of Lutherans in Budapest this summer the views of those challenging Kaldy's "theology" were contained in a letter addressed to Kaldy from the West by a minister who had left the country only a few weeks before. The Church leadership found the letter important enough to publish an open response to it in its weekly EVANGELIKUS ÉLET. This was certainly not the first time that they tried to counter such criticism. Despite the apparent calm, assiduously nurtured by the state and the Church leadership, there are some serious problems addressed occasinally by members of the Church, but certainly not aired or seriously tackled. The scope and importance of these conflicts between the leadership and the faithful are again hard to measure, but it is safe to assume that the above are merely indicators.

If anything, the situation of the Presbyterians is even worse than those of the Evangelicals. Bishop Tibor Bartha's conflict of interest with the Hungarian government extends to his membership on the Council of Ministers. That he espouses the "theology of diaconia" goes without saying. Though many copious examples could be presented of the total control of this larger Protestant denomination by the state, let that largely symbolic one suffice.

> The Hungarian regime's exploitation of religious leaders is well illustrated by the recently issued declaration condemning "U.S. imperialism that threatens world peace." This statement was signed jointly by the leaders of Hungary's major religions. A group of young Jewish leaders stating that they "had no right to sign on behalf of Hungarian Jewry a unilateral declaration that ignores the role of Soviet weapons held by Arabs who are plotting to annihilate Isreal."
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> Hungarian authorities not only exploit the Jewish leaders to further the cause of the international aims of the Soviets, but outright persecute the Jewish faithful. Two students of the Rabbinical Institute of Hungary, Ferenc Benyi (born in 1960) and Tamas Szabados (born in 1963) were drafted in the Army in 1982. (Students of the seminaries of all religions routinely are drafted after the acceptance by the seminaries for military duty, during which they are exposed to special hardships, harassments to discourage them to return to the seminaries). Both Benyi and Szabados requested permission to adhere to the regulations of

their religion: opportunity to pray twice daily, access to ritual food, and observance of Jewish religious holidays. After their request was made they were arrested and transported to a military penitentiary. There they were forced to take off their religious clothing worn under their shirts. At their trial, they were informed that if they persisted in their requests, they face a possible 4 year internment for denial of military service. Benyi, with the other draftees from theological seminaries, cannot attend church, cannot visit any religious activities, and is forbidden to meet with others for any reason for the duration of his military service.

The example of these two Jewish students illustrates the sophisticated method of using military service to disrupt theological studies and to discourage seminarians from pursuing their chosen vocation.

A few short comments must also be made about the situation of small Christian denominations who because of their limited numbers are often more prone to persecution by "administrative means." One example of such a group is that of the Nazarenes who were persecuted for many years for their refusal to do military service and came to an agreement with the state in 1977. This provides that they can perform military service and came to an agreement with the state in 1977. This provides that they can perform military duties that satisfy both the country's compulsory service laws and their religious beliefs. We do not know exactly what they had to agree to as far as the government was concerned, but the fact that an agreement was reached was due probably to their small number and the government's desire to conform to the Helsinki accords, at least in this respect. A similar agreement with the much larger Catholic Church is out of the question since that would involve a large enough portion of the country's population to possibly cause problems with Hungary's "Warsaw Pact allies."

Finally, the situation of the Seventh Day Adventists must be mentioned. Their leadership, hand-picked by the state authorities, carried out the measures designed to destroy the autonomy of the Church. In their case as in the case of the Nazarenes the methods of intimidation were often more blatant than those applied against larger groups such as the Catholics. Nonetheless, these are all familiar to those who have studied totalitarian systems. They are always selected in such a way as to make documentation difficult if not impossible. These actions are always directed at the isolated individual who fears to appeal his case to international forums or to free public opinion, just as the victim of organized crime in U.S. is afraid to go to the courts or the police.

In the case of the Seventh Day Adventists, some of the state "appointed" leaders were so dissolute and morally reprehensible that they eventually had to give up their positions.

The inevitable result of the state's manipulations was a split between the leadership and a group of preachers and faithful who chose an independent path. Their goal, as in the case of the Catholic basis groups was to return the Church to its earlier, autonomous state. They seek a return to the original principles of their religion, free of political manipulation and the direction of the State Office of Religious Affairs. Especially since the latter is so avowed by hostile to their views of the world and has expressed on numerous occasions its purpose of destroying all religious movements.

One additional comment must be made, especially for the sake of those who belittle opposition in Hungary, whether it is within the world of religious people or in society in general. A country such as Hungary, in which power is concentrated in the hands of the state and where it is always ultimately up to the state how it uses that power, any form of opposition must be taken much more seriously than in a democracy. Whereas in the latter a small group of people with strong opinions, or even extreme ones, can have an echo way out of proportion to their numbers, in Hungary even one lonely voice, without any publicity or forum, without the least traces of an echo speaks for a possible multitude of silent, terrified people who have no way of expressing their dissatisfaction and who are too afraid to stand up for their freedoms. So that, rather than belittling the "isolated manifestations" of protest, we should see them as the reflections of a deep-seated dissatisfaction not only with the way the state treats a religious group, but with the whole unbearable uniformity of life under a totalitarian system. Each religious person, whether he is a Nazarene, a

Seventh Day Adventist, a Baptist, a Jew, or a Catholic, when he protests about his lack of freedom to practice his faith in the way he believes it to be his inalienable right is speaking for millions of Hungarians who given the chance to speak without fear or the danger of retribution would speak up about the abuses of freedom and of human rights that they have suffered under the "liberal" Kádár regime.

Beyond the right to practice one's religion, there is also the right of parents and religious communities to pass on their beliefs to their children. There is the right of children to be given the choice to either follow their parents' and their communities' teachings or to seek other ways of looking at themselves and their world. This right, which is not often mentioned as part of an individual's or a group's basic freedom of religion is the one most systematically abused in Hungary. The direct and indirect methods used by the Hungarian state to discourage the young from seeking alternatives to Marxist-Leninist principles, indeed, the conscious, often-voiced effort of the state and party authorities to "eradicate religious superstition" from the world are the most systematic forms of abuse of the basic freedom of religion. They constitute an effort to limit the choices of young minds even before they ever become aware that these may exist. (For selected documents on the State of the Churches in Hungary see Annex VIII)

(C). VIOLATIONS AGAINST FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY

Political activity is not possible outside the party or party sanctioned organizations.

Attempts to establish independent associations failed. In 1979 young professionals and intellectuals formed a group which they called The Foundation for the Assistance of the Poor (known by its Hungarian acronym SzETA). The stated purpose of the Foundation is charity, to provide financial, legal and other aid for the poor within Hungarian society. The members of this organization were subjected to illegal arrests, they were detained by police for hours, their cars, homes were searched. Intimidation resulted in the virtual inactivity of this organization by the end of 1984.

Other groups that tried to establish independent organizations of like minded individuals did not fare better despite the fact that they based their association on a universally appealing emotion, the love of peace.

There are two main groups in the independent peace movement in Hungary. The older one is that of the Catholic basis groups led by the Piarist priest, György Bulányi. A newer and less firmly established one is the Dialogue (Dialogus) for Peace founded in the late summer and early fall in 1982.

The Catholic basis groups are firmly rooted in theological ideas, and trace their pacifism to the teachings of Christ. They have challenged not only the Marxist authorities, whose ideology they completely reject, but have also questioned the official stand of the hierarchy in Hungary.

The concrete acts of the Bulányists have consisted of refusing to do military service. Since 1979, a number of their young members have chosen military courts-martial and imprisonment rather than bear arms. The drastic measures have not discouraged Bulányi or his followers, since they see these as merely opportunities for bearing witness to their faith.

Since they are so deeply religious, with many of their beliefs in the strengths of small communities and the need for a total rejection of the materialist assumptions of modern life harking back to the lifestyle of the early Christians in the Roman empire, analogies with Western peace movements are inappropriate.

The "Dialogue for Peace" movement, or simply, "Dialogue," presents an interesting contrast to the above. The young people, mainly students, who were its initial members did not have the strong non-Marxist ideas that motivate the basis groups. They were and are more sympathetic to the idealism of peace in the West. Their tendency is to take the slogans for disarmament seriously, as a basis for an activist peace platform, with the proviso that these apply both in the East and in the West.

What Dialogue has tried to do from the beginning of its activities in 1982 was to stayh within the limits of Hungarian law. It has made an effort to keep up contacts with both the National Peace Council and representatives of the state and party authorities. It tried, especially at the time of its inception to keep its distance from dissident intellectuals, but the facts of public life in Hungary have led to its disenchantment.

Soon the tolerance which proved to be such a useful piece of propaganda for the regime in the West, and the "openness" of the authorities were followed by the less ostentatious methods so familiar to those who try to take an independent stand in Eastern Europe. On 19 April 1984, according to a report in the Italian Communist daily Unita, plainclothesmen confiscated the valid passport of Ferenc Ruzsa, one of the leaders of the Dialogue peace group, at his apartment. It seems that he had been chosen as the group's delegate to a West Berlin peace rally. He had intended to visit London before the rally and meet with members of the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) movement, who had had earlier close contacts with Dialogue.

There were other searches and "unofficial" forms of intimidation, such as "friendly talks" with superiors at places of employment or with university advisors, who encourage the young peace activists to avoid any contacts which would have jeopardized their future.

The peace group, which has had to learn a lot about Hungarian political reality since early 1983, when according to the UNITA reporter quoted above, it had approximately 300 members nationwide, has gone through some transformations. As the Oslo daily, Ny Tid, reported in January 1984, the movement was disolved in 1983.

The dissolution came on the heels of a series of harsh, intimidating moves by the Hungarian authorities, aimed principally at dissident intellectuals but extended to included the leaders and the organizers of Dialogue.

The fact that the moderate peace group which insisted on respecting the laws of the land collapsed so quickly points up the dilemma of this type of initiative in Eastern Europe, and specifically in Hungary. It also points to the essence of a totalitarian system. A totalitarian state can only tolerate independence by any of its inhabitants as long as such acts do not threaten its power either from the inside, or raise doubts in the minds of the sponsors of the state (in this case, the Soviets) about its ability to continue to exercise total control.

Thus, any group who either out of naivete or a sense of firm conviction, believes that it can challenge the state's supreme authority, must be ready either to make the most extreme sacrifices or must be ready to dissolve itself. The two types of peace groups briefly described here are representative of these two possibilities.

The Catholic basis groups, because of the strength of their commitment to their faith and their willingness to sacrifice their lives for their beliefs, continue to defy the state. They are a tiny minority of the population, but their defiance is of a far greater significance that their numbers. The state knows this, otherwise it would not be so ruthless in their persecution.

The members of the one-time Dialogue for Peace group have not been able to withstand the overwhelming power of the state. A few tenacious individuals have become dissidents, some have kept to their beliefs in the privacy of their homes, but their "movement" is in disarray. Too many of their followers were intimidated by the "friendly talks" of their university not being to enjoy the minimal material security that Hungary would provide them today was enough to dissuade them from continuing their independent initiative.

Many young people concluded that the authorities were not prepared to tolerate a genuinely autonomous organization.

The lesson is obvious and yet it bears repeating: In a totalitarian system there is no room to counter the ruling ideologies, authorities, political processes. The very basis of opposition, free speech, free press, freedom of assembly, unimpeded access to the public is denied even for those who remain within the limits of the letter of the law. Intimidation silences even the brave. Only those few continue to try to speak out, to change the system, to act according to their conscience, who have those rare inner resources which are inaccessible to the authorities. They speak for the millions who do not possess the capability, the opportunity, the courage to express their thoughts.

In the commitment based on the inner strength of the devoted believers in human dignity, in the freedom of the human spirit and in the liberty of people lays our hope for victory over tyranny in Hungary.

(IV). VIOLATIONS OF BASKET III. ISSUES; COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS

The intention of the accords of the Helsinki Final Act regarding Cooperation in Humanitarian and other Fields is to provide the free flow of information, ideas and people among the participating states.

A. VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT

The emigration laws of the Hungarian People's Republic of Hungary are the most severe in East-Central Europe and severely violate the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Accords.

At the end of 1978, the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic-in an apparent attempt to defuse criticism regarding the inaction concerning revision of the strict emigration laws of Hungary-issued a new edict regulating the foreign travel and stay abroad of Hungarian citizens and the issuance of passports. This edict became effective on January 1, 1979.

The European Law Library of the Library of Congress at the request of Senator Robert Dole, who is a member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, conducted an exhaustive analysis of this new Edict in order to determine a trend in the policy of the Hungarian People's Republic. Is it leaning toward relaxation of the restrictions imposed on its citizens, thereby taking steps toward compliance with its obligations set in international public law, which is also part of the national law? Or are the changes meaningless amendments of the substantive and procedural laws that do not offer any relief for Hungarian citizens from the severity of the restrictions?

The conclusion of the Library of Congress report titled: "Travel Abroad and Emigration Under New Rules Adopted by the Government of Hungary" states: This analysis of the statutory provisions on foreign travel and stay abroad issued in 1978, and a comparison of these statutes with the statutes in force until 1978 reveal that very few changes have been made in the new regulations. Moreover the changes of benefit to citizens are insignificant. In fact, some of the changes are detrimental to Hungarian citizens, especially to those citizens who live permanently outside Hungary, regardless of whether or not they have acquired the citizenship of their present homeland.

"The conditions for emigration from Hungary have not changed at all. But it may be assumed that under new regulations only those persons who declare that they want to retain their Hungarian citizenship and therefore request the issuance of the Hungarian passport instead of an emigration permit will receive permission to leave the country permanently. . ."

It is a well known fact the authorities in the People's Republic of Hungary, through the use of their discretionary power in practice do not observe their own laws consistently. In some cases the practices of the authorities are stricter than the written law; in other cases they are more liberal.

Travel abroad is not a right in Hungary, it is a privilege granted by a representative of the regime.

Passport regulations — in our opinion, part of emigration, freedom of movement issues — are arbitrary and provide the state with a tool of punishment for dissidents. Contrary to the popular perception not all Hungarian citizens enjoy the privilege of having a passport. György Krassó, one of the Hungarian dissidents, applied in vain for a passport for the past 15 years to visit his brother in England. The passport of Gyorgy Kocsi, a young Catholic priest, was withdrawn last year as punishment for the participation in the Charismatic basis communities disapproved by the state. Sándor Csoóri the internationally respected writer was denied permission to go to Italy as a punishment for writing an introduction to a book authored by a member of the Hungarian minority in Czecholovakia and published here in the United States.

Most recently Miklós Tamás Gáspár, one of the most critical analysts of current events in Hungary applied for a passport in order to accept an invitation from Columbia University. He was told that he can obtain permission to leave only if he promises not to return. When he refused, his passport allowing him to visit the socialist countries only was reportedly withdrawn.

There are many similar cases of interference by the state with the right of free movement in Hungary. Besides the above mentioned cases, there are still many other, involving ordinary citizens who are denied passports and exit visas for "administrative" reasons. In these cases, the considerations are never clearly identified and the individual is forced to rely on his imagination to figure out why he was not permitted to travel.

The harassment of certain intellectuals who have joined the illegal opposition often includes the threat of not being allowed to travel abroad. It is always made clear to those applying for travel documents that the responsible state offices reserve the prerogative to deny these to anyone they wish to prevent from travelling. Since the system of appeals is controlled by those who make the decisions to begin with, these do not provide any suitable safeguards to the individuals of the right to know the grounds for ruling against them.

(B). THE UNIQUE FAMILY UNIFICATION CASES OF IMRE NAGY AND OTHERS EXECUTED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

The attitude of the Government in Hungary on humanitarian issues is reflected best by its continuous and stubborn refusal to reveal the location of the burial place of most of those who were executed by the present regime in the years after the 1956 Revolution. The remains of the executed Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter, Miklos Gimes, József Szilágyi, the murdered Géza Losonczy, and the many scores of teenagers who were hanged on their 18th birthday during the years of 1957 and 1962 are buried in graves whose locations are kept as a state secret. The bodies were not released to the relatives. Repeated attempts to recover the remains or gain permission to visit the gravesites by family members failed. On the 25th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, Senator Moynihan, Representatives Fenwick and Horton, wrote to the Ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary to the United States expressing interest in this matter and requesting that he convey their "sincere concern to the Government and to First Party Secretary Kádár, and our request that the many unmarked graves be identified". Ambassador Petran refused to relay the request and with unusual diplomatic discourtesy returned the original letter to Congressman Horton. A follow up request to Mr. Kádár mailed on January 26, 1982 still remains unanswered.

In 1983, on the 25th anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy, many distinguished Americans, Jimmy Carter, Arthur Goldberg, William Buckley, Walter Mondale, Charlton Heston, Claire Boothe Luce, Bayard Rustin, Eugene Wigner among them signed an appeal to the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic requesting him and his government to identify the gravesities, to permit the recovery of the remains for proper interment by the surviving family members. President Reagan in a public letter strongly endorsed this appeal stating: "I commend the efforts to identify the graves of the gallant men and women of the Revolution and to secure access to their remains for proper burial after so many years of anguish on the part of family and friends."

In 1984 Senators Percy, Lugar, and Quayle wrote in this subject to different officials of the Government in Hungary. As to the inquiries of others, no response was received by them. (For selected documentation see Annex IX.)

It is frequently stated nowadays that the regime in Hungary is doing its utmost to comply with the accords of the Helsinki Final Act, that it is relatively "liberal."

Even Ayatollah Khomeni, whose regime is never referred to as "liberal", released the remains of the murdered or executed victims of his uncontrolled vengeance, to their families. The "liberal" Mr. Kádár consistently refuses to do the same with the remains of the betrayed victims of his bloody ascendancy to power.

(C). VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

Only selected, approved Western publications are allowed to be legally disseminated in Hungary. Books, newspapers, other printed material not meeting the "standards" of the unofficial censors are not allowed in the country.

Many Western books, magazines, newspapers are banned, among them those published in Hungarian. The Hungarian regime expends large amounts of energy and resources to promote its image among Hungarians living in the West. Additional resources are spent to block the flow of writings questioning the regime's carefully manufactured "liberal," "tolerant", "pragmatic", "innovative" image.

Even religious circulars, published in Hungarian by the churches of former Hungarian citizens in the West, are banned. The authorities violate not only the Helsinki Accords but the principle of reciprocity as well, since all publication produced in Hungary is obtainable in the West.

Cultural exchange, outside of the control of the regime is difficult. Those who conduct cultural activities outside the institutionalized structures either from Hungary in the West or from the West in

Hungary are suspected, surveilled, even threatened.

In a recent article the Minister of Internal Affairs attacked those Hungarian intellectuals who accepted individual scholarships, grants given by independent institutions or philantropists in the West. He asserted that they become part of a "policy of subversion." "The host countries by assuring publicity to certain invited persons are striving to prove that there is opposition to our social order" — stated the Minister. He further charges that routine contacts, private and public between travelling Hungarian tourists and Western individuals, members of academic, cultural, social, and political institutions, government officials "are used to gain information or to convince Hungarian citizens to remain abroad or to spy."

These intimidating words from the mouth of the chief of the Hungarian security organizations cannot but chill the free flow of information, and goes against everything that the Government in Hungary promised to comply with in Helsinki.

V. CONCLUSION

The authorities of the Hungarian People's Republic are in violation of the Principles expressed in the Helsinki Final Act.

Many Hungarian laws contradict the letter and spirit of the accords agreed to by the government in Hungary in Helsinki. There are no signs visible which would indicate that the authorities have any serious inclination to revise their laws, edicts, practices to observe the basic human rights requirements of the Helsinki Accords.

Freedom of speech does not exist in Hungary. Those who practice their faith outside of state control are persecuted.

Citizens who take the law of the land seriously and act upon their rights, find that the interpretation of the law is flexible and interpretation is up to the very authorities whose power it pretends to regulate.

The ruling regime intimidates, infiltrates and controls Hungarian society by violation of the individual's right to privacy, by denial of freedom of assembly and by the monopoly over all sources of income, all important awards and benefits. This sophisticated system of tyranny must be recognized for what it is: a totalitarian dictatorship.

We respectfully urge the delegates to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting to:

- Fully review the compliance of the signatory states with the principles and accords of the helsinki Final Act:
- Seek to ensure that specific instances of persecution of persons for activities condoned by the Final Act publicly cited;
- Recommend that the relevant current laws of the signatory states be examined for compliance with the Helsinki Final Act;
- Seek — again — the legal recognition of Helsinki monitoring groups by all signatory states.

We, free Hungarians living outside the boundaries of our homeland, respectfully request the delegates to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting to consider these conclusions and recommendations. We consider it our duty to call the attention of the delegates to the undeniable fact that the most essential principles embodied in the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act are grossly flouted by the government in Hungary. By the submission of this Memorandum we execute that duty.

Coordinating Committee of
Hungarian Organizations in
North America,

Robert Harkay, Chariman
Istvan B. Gereben, Executive Secretary

Canadian Hungarian Federation,
Domokos Gyallay-Pap, President
István Walter, Vice-President

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN HUNGARY SPRING 1985

(ANNEXES)

ANNEX I
The Case of Dr. Gábor Demszky
selected documentation

Announcement — U.S. State Department's Noon Briefing
December 19, 1983

Demszky Trial

We understand that Gábor Demszky, a Hungarian editor of samizdat publications, will be tried in Budapest on December 21. The charges against Mr. Demszky will reportedly be assault on a police officer, growing out of an incident that occurred in September when he was stopped for a police inspection of his car. Allegedly, Mr. Demszky refused, claiming that the police did not have a warrant, and sufferred a concussion as a result of the ensuing struggle.

We note with regret that this will be the first trial with political overtones in a decade involving the independent Hungarian intellectuals. We trust that Mr. Demszky will be afforded the opportunity to defend himself in a fair and open trial, and that this will remain an isolated incident.

CSCE NEWS RELEASE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

U S Congress • **Washington, D C 20515** **202 225 9C**
Dante B Fascel Chairman
Robert Dole Co-chairman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE December 20, 1983

FASCELL EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR HUNGARIAN DISSIDENT

Washington, D.C. Congressman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.), Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, otherwise known as the Helsinki Commission, has expressed his concern for Gábor Demszky, a publisher of samizdat in Hungary, who will be tried on December 21 for assaulting a police officer. Chairman Fascell said, "the circumstances surrounding the trial, coming so soon after the ending of the Madrid Conference of the Helsinki signatory states, raises questions about Hungary's renewed pledge to permit citizens to know and act upon their rights. The trial has political implications unprecedented during recent years in Hungary, where dissent has generally been tolerated to a greater extent than in other Warsaw Pact states. It is hoped that Gábor Demszky will be permitted to defend himself adequately in a fair trial where the objective facts of the case will be brought out. For the trial to be otherwise would be to go against the spirit of the Helsinki process and would blemish the relatively favorable view of Hungary in the West."

The charge against Demszky stems from an incident on September 24, when police approached him outside of an apartment building where another leading dissident resides. Demszky refused to allow a search of his car without a warrant. According to reports, an ensuing argument developed into a scuffle, resulting in Demszky being so badly beaten that he was hospitalized for three days with a concussion.

A 31-year-old sociologist, Gábor Demszky is co-founder of AB: INDEPENDENT PUBLISHERS, a publishing house for samizdat, and of SZETA, an organization created to assist the poor. He and several other dissidents, who refer to themselves as the democratic opposition, have been repeated targets of harassment in a general crackdown on dissent which began in late 1982. Last December, Demszky and several others were detained for questioning as a samizdat 'Booutique,' or bookshop, was raided and official material confiscated. In March he was detained again and charged along with four others for the publication and distribution of unauthorized material (the charges were later dropped). Demszky and another dissident were detained for questioning in April after their car was stopped and they were held at gunpoint for refusing to allow their bags to be searched.

PETITION TO JUSTICE MINISTER IN DEMSZKY CASE

BESZÉLŐ/No. 9, May 84

Letter written by Ottilia Solt and signed by 178 citizens sent to Dr. Imre Markoja, minister of justice, and Dr. Jenő Szilbereky, president of the Supreme Court, on 31 January 1984

Esteemed Minister! Esteemed President!

Complying with the right of citizens to make public interest announcements, we would like to communicate the following:

On 24 September 1983 police sprayed tear gas on and struck Gabor Demszky, editor of the AB Independent Publishers, with rubber truncheons. The police harassed him because he protested the confiscation and reading of his private, personal letters. Demszky suffered a brain concussion and external injuries in the process and was treated in a hospital for 4 days.

The police involved were cleared of any responsibility. On the other hand, Demszky was charged with "violence against the authorities." The Budapest Central District Court handed down a suspended sentence of 6 months imprisonment.

More than 100 people gathered in the audience at the trial, but the president of the council of judges excluded everyone who did not have an official invitation. The group was thereby limited to people like the two men Lang and Ganz, who said they were machine tool workers, representatives of the Office of Information, MTI and other members of Hungarian authorities. Of those banned from the courtroom, 59 signed and submitted a letter protesting the violation of the principle of open access to a public hearing. They did not get an answer. After a long debate, the authorities let in several members of the foreign press, but they banned Amnesty International, the United Nations Human Rights Commission, and the International League of Lawyers. All of the groups applied for and received visas specifically to attend Demszky's trial.

The court's verdict contradicts the unproductive, meaningless investigation. The charges did not even attempt to justify the police version of the story, that Demszky was arrested for speeding, and that he and his belongings were searched on suspicion of a crime. Besides the policemen involved only one witness corroborated the prosecutor's description of Demszky's actions, but the reasons provided for the verdict themselves raise doubts about the reliability of this witness. Neither the other witnesses nor the material evidence supported the charge that the policemen suffered any kind of injury.

In Hungary, only the ESTI HIRLAP (a mass circulation daily evening tabloid appearing in Budapest) reported on the trial. The article, by means of veiled references attempts to turn the reader against the defendant, avoids any mention of the circumstances of the trial, or the position of the defense, and distorts substantiated facts.

Esteemed Minister! Esteemed President!

Unpunished police brutality, a lack of proper evidence, an unsubstantiated verdict and the bias of the press coverage fills us with great concern.

We ask you to secure enough room for the audience, provide enough time for investigation, guarantee impartial judges and make sure press coverage is unbiased at Gabor Demsky's appeal hearing.

We are looking forward to your kind reply.

Ottilia Solt
Budapest 1023
Komjadi u. 3

ANNEX II
The case of Dr. György Krassó. Selected documentation

CSCE NEWS RELEASE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

U.S. Congress • Washington, D.C. 20515
Dante B. Fascell, Chairman 202/225-1901
Robert Dole, Co-chairman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE **December 3, 1984**

FASCELL EXPRESSES CONCERN FOR HUNGARIAN DISSIDENT

Washington, D.C — Congressman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.), Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, commonly known as the Helsinki Commission, expressed concern today over recent events surrounding György Krasso, a prominent Hungarian intellectual who has recently been placed under restrictions and police surveillance for his involvement in dissident activities.

Chairman Fascell said that "the actions taken against György Krassó last month and earlier this year are distrubing. Hungary, as a signatory of the Helsinki Final Act, has pledged to permit citizens to know and act upon their rights. The commitment to full implementation of these pledges, which were renewed at the Madrid Conference of Helsinki signatory states, is brought into question by the restrictions placed on Mr. Krassó, particularly when they are imposed on him while the meeting of the preparatory conference for the CSCE Cultural Forum is being held in Budapest. It is hoped that the restrictions and surveillance will end, for they go agianst the spirit of the Final Act and can only serve to damage Hungary's image in the West."

Statement of the United States Government concerning the case of György Krassó.

Read by Mr. John Hughes, spoksman of the Department of State at the daily News Briefing on December 5, 1984.

> We have learned, with great disappointment, of recent acts of Hungarian government harassment of dissident intellectual György Krassó (KRASH-o). We understand that on November 22, Mr. Krasso's home was searched by police, his personal papers confiscated, and he was placed under indefinite police surveillance. He is forbidden to leave his home at night and may not appear in public places. These actions against Mr. Krasso reportedly derive from his involvement with various samizdat publications in Hungary. We deplore all such actions aimed at suppressing the freedom of expression of any individual. At a time when Hungary is preparing to host the Budapest Cultural Forum, a follow-up to the Madrid Review Conference of the Helsinki Final Act aimed at promoting better communication and understanding among peoples, this is particularly disturbing.

Letter of Hungarian intellectuals to the Delegates attending the preparatory conference of the Budapest Cultural Forum.

The privilege to organize the international Cultural Forum went to Hungary as a sign of recognition of its seemingly liberal policies, a respectable degree of tolerance, a bearable amount of censorship viz. state interference in the exercise of spiritual faculties. This implicit praise of the Hungarian regime now turns out to be a trifle undeserved.

Mr. György Krassó /aged 52/, an economist, was recently — November 22, 1984 — put under police surveillance owing to abuse to press regulations, i.e. for having written, edited and spread **samizdat** literature. Police surveillance means in his case a weekly appointment with officers; the interdiction to leave his flat between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m., to use his telephone, to attend public gatherings, to visit public establishments such as cafes, sport stadiums, libraries and railroad stations. The violation of these requirements is punishable by 10, 000 Forints fine or reclusion for 1-60 days.

Mr. Krassó is an outstanding representative of the 1956 revolutionary generation: after the uprising he spent seven years in jail. In the subsequent years he was many times harassed by the police for his outspoken ways and dissenting opinions and activities. He edited and published important historical, political and literary works not asking for the censor's seal; he reported the Helainki Federation of Human Rights about the situation of these very rights in Hungary. Doing this, he was only enjoying his rights ensured in the IIIrd basket of the Final Act of the Helainki Conference, the respect of which you are called to monitor. Please consider this case before reaching any conclusion concerning the state of civil liberties in Hungary.

November 23, 1984
Budapest, Hungary

G. M. Tomás, philosopher
János Kis, philosopher
Miklós Haraszti, writer
Lászlo Rajk, architect
Gábor Demszky, sociologist
György Konrád, writer

András Nagy, sociologist
Ottilia Solt, sociologist
Ágnes Hay, film director
Sándor Szilágyi, literary critic
Ference Köszeg, teacher
János Kenedi, author

Authorized copy

ANNEX III
The Case of Ferenc Köszeg and Tamás Molnár selected documentation

POLICE ACT TO CURTAIL UNDERGROUND PRESS

BESZÉLŐ No. 9, May 84

Letter from the editors of BESZÉLŐ

Respected readers and friends!

Szolnok Police Headquarters has fined Ferenc Köszeg, an editor of the unofficial journal BESZÉLŐ 6,000 forints and Tamás Molnár, graphic artist and member of the Inconnu artists' group, 8,000 forints for a violation of the press laws. The decision was preceded by many house searches and police interrogations. During the house searches, the police confiscated the copied cover of BESZÉLŐ No 8, and its pictorial supplement showing (1956 Prime Minister) Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs. They also seized the Inconnu members' avant garde publications and political graphics. The police action and the sentence, which also calls for the destruction of the seized materials, is part of a series of measures taken against the "second public opinion."

A press law trial would make obvious the world over what is already well-known here. The press law, as it exists in practice, is governed by outdated regulations, contradicts the Constitution and its Agreement on Civil and Political Rights, which is a part of Hungarian law, and the Helsinki Accords. This contradiction was previously brought to the attention of the public and the lawmakers in the seventh issue of BESZÉLŐ, when the editors requested official permission to publish legally. In the meanwhile, the request was unjustificably rejected. They also sent a citizens' proposal, attached to this letter, to the National Assembly's Legal, Administrative and Judicial Committee.

We ask our readers, each to the best of his ability, to declare that they do not agree with the punishments of our coworkers. We ask you to urge the thorough examination and democratic reform of the decrees which apply to civil rights.

Budapest, 1 May 1984

Respectfully,
Editors of BESZÉLŐ

ANNEX IV

The case of the restive writers

WRITER QUITS WRITERS ASSOCIATION

NEMZETŐR 15 Apr 84

Excerpts from a letter by István Csurka: "Silence Is a Serious Moral Transgression"

We have described the sharp debates that have taken place in the Hungarian Writers Association. These have now come to a head because of the sanctions against Sandor Csoóri. One result has been Istvan Csurka's resignation from the association. He informed Miklós Hubay, the association president, of his decision in a dramatic letter which was duplicated and circulated in Budapest and elsewhere for several months in the form of "samizdat" literature. Though by the time it reached us it was known throughout the country, we refrained from publishing it for fear that we may have endangered someone. Now that we are certain that publication does not infringe on a "correspondent's privacy," and especially since it concerns the future of all Hungarians, we hereby print it in full.

Miklós Hubay
President, Hungarian Writers Association

52-704 O - 86 - 17

Dear Miklós:

Our friendship of many decades requires that I tell you my thoughts openly. I have decided to resign from the presidium and at the same time to give up my membership in the Hungarian Writers Association. The two decisions are related and one is the result of the other. Giving up my membership is a private matter which requires no further explanation.

I do not think that I was the only person who was enthusiastic at the time of that general assembly. I believed that the association, primed for renewal, would become a democratic forum. With its inertia, its new working style and democratic spirit, it could set an example by its commitment to work on matters involving the nation's fate. I also saw clearly that with the increasingly weighty foreign and the dismal internal social, political and economic conditions, there was burning need for the above changes. Besides this, I began to entertain a foolish hope. I thought that those in power, that is, the political leadership, would come to some of Istvan Bibo's conclusions in these hard times, that is, they would apply the principle of power-sharing. For example, by giving the Hungarian Writers Association the independence indispensable for its healthy operation.

I was resoundingly disappointed in my hopes. Policy (as it has become popular to call political power in the association nowadays) not only did not come to accept this idea of Bibo, but, if at all possible, it accepted its opposite. The whole of Hungarian life is at a standstill. Not the way a frozen lake is, but more like a swamp or a bog. You can drown in it, since it is a swamp and it will pull you down, but you cannot make any waves. The Writers Association was not merely denied autonomy, but nowhere in the country can you see any independent initiatives or natural movement from below (that is, if we do not count private taxis).

Hungarians today are unconscious, vegetating without heads, without brains or souls. They live from day to day, they believe, without further thought, that everything in their lives is in order just because they have enough to eat. Hungarians have simply erased the future from their thoughts. Not a man, not a single arm points in any direction. The principal slaps those hands which are raised by people like Csoori.

The tragic decline in the country's population is a subject of idle conversation, but there is no forum for the expression of responsible and possibly constructive thought on the subject. There have been no official measures taken to alleviate the problem.

Are these then the main reasons for my resignation and quitting? No, finally, these are just motifs. My resignation and quitting were provoked by a recent event. On 16 June 1983, at Balatonederics, I received the following telegram:

"Dear Steve: I am passing on the request that you appear at the Ministry of Cultural Education on Friday, 17 June at 9 am, at the unscheduled meeting of the presidium called by the minister in the second floor ministerial conference room. Gyula Csák." Soon, I found out that this extraordinary meeting of the presidium was not a real one, since according to the bylaws the minister does not have the right to call one. Besides, the more senior officers of the association and the presidium were not in Hungary and thus that group was considerably underrepresented. But this was not unusual. We are used to the loose interpretation of laws and regulations in this country.

As he informed us, the minister rounded up the presidium to impart information to them quickly. In his own words, he told us about the government decision that Sándor Csoóri, a member of the presidium, was to submit to certain sanctions. He would not be allowed to publish anything harmful to the political and the foreign policy interests of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The reliable explanation is that all this happened because Csoóri wrote a preface to Miklós Duray's book, which was published by Püski (the owner of a bookstore, specialising in Hungarian books periodical, papers and casetts) in New York. In this preface, there were sentences and terms which harm the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic and which could not be disregarded by policymakers. At the time of the meeting with the minister no one beside Csoóri and maybe Gyula Fekete was acquainted with the writing in question, and no one could form, even with the best of intentions, a substantive and honest opinion on the case.

Now, howe~~ver, I am~~ familiar with Csoóri's piece. Having read the preface, I realized to my astonishment that I agreed with every line and every word of it. It is likely that I would not have been able to write it as well, but what it said could have come from my pen and they were words from my heart.

Thus, if the lack of an immdiate protest may be considered a mistake for these reasons, after having read the piece in question, to keep silent would have been a serious moral transgression, indeed it would have been a sin on my part. I see clearly now that the censure of Sándor Csoóri was unjust and undeserved. I cannot imagine myself after this sitting at endless meetings of the presidium beside Csoóri with this knowledge. Why am I not censured? Or am I? But let me come back to this later.

Let us look more closely at who is affected by this "governmental" sanction. Sándor Csoóri is one of those Hungarian intellectuals who in the past few years and decades have done the most possible in the tragic matter of "Hungarian fate," a metter mentioned all too briefly above. Sándor Csoóri is respected and honored the world over wherever there are Hungarians not only for his poetic and writing gifts but also for the above-mentioned devoted, self-sacrificing willingness to accept his special role. I have had the opportunity to hear for myself the unqualified love that even those people who are far removed from the literary scene, those who work with their hands on both sides of the border, have expressed for him. Who then was affected by this affront, this humiliation? That I personally was is unarguable, but I will not say that every Hungarian was also because I am afraid of big words and pathetic exaggerations. "Many Hungarians, irrespective of sex, rank or religious affiliation were affected." Let us leave it at that. This then is the basic reason for my resignation.

There are several more prosaic motives for my withdrawal. The first one is that I thought about resigning only my position in the presidium and letting myself simply sink back down to the level of everyday membership. Then I could lead the passive, lethargic life to which we are are so accustomed today, a life which is the basis of the functioning of every social organization and institution in this country. I could at least be certain then that no one would use me as a whipping boy. The days when that could have happened are over now. They would only continue to play these silly games with me as time passed. Well, I got tired of always sinking into this institutionally guaranteed passivity and indifference. I do not want to support being relegated to a state of helplessness by providing my signature and by my membership.

My second reason may sound a bit cynical. In the course of my membership in the presidium I have had the opportunity to get to know the life of the Writers Association a little better. What was merely a suspicion before has now ripened into a recognition that this life has no meaning. The Writers Association, the way it is forced to function, cut off from the traditions of Hungarian literature, incorporating the operational principles of an alien organization, as the appendage of power or those in power, without its own journal or forum, stewing in its own juices, is a useless waste of time and money.

I know that especially these last cynical words cause you a great deal of pain, you as the president of the association, who have never ceased to struggle against these stifling conditions. Yet, I still say these things, hoping that you do not take my words as the irresponsible sarcasm toward celibacy of a priest who has given up his calling, but that you sense in them my friendly compassion and desire to help.

In closing, let me clarify that this is a private letter to you containing communication for the association. I say this with the firm conviction that this fact excludes any kind of incorrect interpretation, citation or other use. I leave it to your judgment to decide what part of this you wish to disclose for the internal use of the association. I would naturally be happy if you presented the whole letter.

Budapest, 20 June 1983

Respectfully yours,
István Csurka

A18 SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1985
THE WASHINGTON POST

Hungary's Restive Writers

Government Keeps an Eye on Dissent Among Intellectuals

By Bradley Graham
Washington Post Foreign Service

(Excerpts)

BUDAPEST — Ever since 1848, when the poet Sándor Petöfi read a poem on the steps of the national museum inciting Hungarians to revolt against Austrian rule, political regimes here have kept an attentive ear cocked toward the writers' community.

Lately, Hungary's communist leadership has had to contend with increasing signs of restiveness among the country's literati. No writer of rank is espousing another revolution, but a series of confrontations between writers and the state has highlighted some daring attempts by artists to expand the boundaries of expression and to place taboo political topics on an agenda for public discussion.

The most recent conflict ended last week when the board of the Union of Writers confirmed the forced resignation of one of its officers, Gáspár Nagy, for a poem that authorities said exceeded the limits of tolerance.

The work, a brief and relatively abstract piece of literature, touched on the delicate subject of Imre Nagy, the former premier executed for his role in Hungary's short-lived revolution of 1956. A line at the poem's end - "one day he will have to be buried, and we must not forget to name the murderers by name" — was interpreted by state officials as an accusation against the Soviets and János Kádár, the Hungarian leader, who is widely rumored to have witnessed the execution.

Had the government not called attention to the poem, it might have gone largely unnoticed in the low-circulation provincial journal in which it appeared. But communist officals, worried about a precedent and fretting about how the Soviets might respond, insisted that Nagy give up his office as one of seven union secretaries.

"The problem was that the poem was written by an elected official of the writers' union, and we were worried about the international repercusions," said Dezső Tóth, Hungary's deputy minister of culture, in an unusually frank admission of sensitivity to Soviet supervision. "The estimation and standing of the union among our neighbors would have suffered if Nagy had remained."

At first, Nagy refused to quit, contending that authorities had misread his poem. So the president and the secretary general of the union both regarded as relatively open-minded men, threatened to resign, raising fears that a more orthodox union leadership would then be installed. Eventually, the errant poet agreed to step down, but not before a number of stormy union meetings in which members loudly protested the state's interference and constraints on intellectual freedom.

The episode marked the culmination of several years of unrest in the writers' union. "It led to the crystallization of a number of conflicts and controversies that exist here," said Miklós Jovanovics, the union's secretary general and a member of the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

ANNEX V

The Case of Subversion and Harming of the Public Interest

by

Dr. Lajos Kovács

Professor, Police Officers College Hungary

Translation of excerpts

and critical evaluation

*** Published in Magyar Jog (Hungarian Law) February 1984**

In connection with exploring the causes behind the crimes of subversion and harming public interests it does not take any special research to be able to determine that the influence of alcohol, a capitalist environment, family and enviornmental influences, the disorderliness of one's living conditions, etc., all have something to do with them.

During the past period I examined almost 420 cases, involving a total of 570 accused offenders facing criminal action on the charge of subversion and harming public interests. These constitute a significant part of the criminal proceedings that have been conducted during the past 10 years, thus they also enable us to draw appropriate conclusions. The reason why I am discussing these two criminal activities together is because many of the behaviors which before the Criminal Code came into effect had been considered subversive today are qualified as harmful to the public.

The direct motives found to be behind the cases examined because of subversion or activities harmful to the public interests were as follows:

- hostile disposition	110
- anti-public attitude	126
- hostile propaganda	98
- peer pressure and family enviornment	18

- existential reasons	4
- alleged or actual injuries	97
- influence of alcohol	236
- pathological mental condition	56
- lack of intelligence	155
- other	39
	Total: 1,050

The discrepancy between the 570 offenders and the 1,050 a motives is to be attributed to the fact that a given activity may have had several motives, or that the offenders committed the same crime on several occasions, each time for different reasons.

In trying to determine the goals of perpetration — by looking at individual offenders —, in the case of 205 persons held responsible we have been unable to come up with an answer. In those cases where we have succeeded they have been found to include the following: A desire to be conspicuous, a need to disseminate views, wishing to protest certain measures, revenge, "criticism," a desire to cross the border illegally and to gain "distinction" for that purpose, making threats in response to alleged injuries, wishing to be transferred to a different penal institution or returned to the person's original penal institution, organizing a conspiracy, trying to obtain a discharge from military service, "just" wanting to insult someone, spreading the broadcasts of RFE, advocating Hungary's supremacy, and we could continue with a long list. Another goal which we have encountered in some cases since 1980 is to call attention to the events in Poland.

These criminal activities have also been affected, among other things, by such crime-related factors as urbanization, restratifiction and political disposition. By bringing about changes in the distribution of social work and in the social restratification of society and socio-economic development can temporarily reinforce certain crime-related effects. Most conspicuously, one of the things that has been causing problems for our society for a long time is the fact that more than a million people — thousands of the young — are commuting between their places of residence and work.

Closely connected with urbanization has been the restratification of society. Although restratification is an objective process, under our circumstances we also cannot neglect the subjective factors. If we look at the last period we find that the most important such movement has been the flux of our agricultural population into other branches of our national economy. Since it is well known that the structure, ratio and frequency of criminal activities among our agricultural population differ from those experienced among our non-agricultural population, from the point of view of criminal trends this phenomenon deserves special attention.

In the case of 462 of the 570 offenders we could find no evidence that they had maintained ties with persons in the West, while in the case of 108 persons this could be unequivocally determined. Regarding the propaganda broadcasts of Western radio we have been able to determine the following from available documents: While the investigation of 349 persons turned up no evidence that they had been listening to the broadcasts of these radio stations, in the case of 152 offenders this could be clearly determined from the documents and in 69 other cases this was suspected, although there was no unequivocal proof to support this in the documents.

The Effect of the Family Environment

The role of the family is of special importance in the development of one's personality, and its effect is extremely significant especially during early childhood, however, since it is not limited to the development of the child's personality, examining its connection with crime can only be done properly in conjunction with other circumstances. Of the 570 offenders some 227 had lived or still live under disorderly conditions. Their parents had either been divorced and hence they were raised by foster parents, relatives or institutions, or there were other irregular circumstances.

Among the persons affected in the cases examined the following irregular circumstances could be determined:

- parents divorced	87
- raised by foster parents	30
- raised by relatives	19
- raised in an institution	35
	Total: 227

Occasionally, the perpetrators of these crimes have been young people who have lived under proper financial and otherwise regular conditions. This can happen especially if they are affected by foreign — Western — ideological propaganda, and they do not receive a good enough answer to the problems confronting them, and if in addition their political knowledge and scope of information is insufficient.

Cultural and Educational Level

The connection between one's cultural level and the various categories and types of criminal activities varies in character and intensity.

The persons suspected in the cases examined had the following educational levels:

- illiterates	5
- completed grades 1 through 4 of elementary school	29
- completed grades 5 through 8 of elementary school	389
- started but have completed secondary school	29
- completed secondary school	70
- started but have not completed their higher education	21
- have completd their higher education	27
	Total: 570

In connection with our educational activities József Vigh points out that in our society students are exposed to various and often conflicting influences. If the opinions expressed in the family or among peers about human relations and society differ from the "official" view taught by our schools it may happen, as it often does, that instead of accepting the opinions professed by our schools and adapting to his social circumstances the student adopts the views held by his family and peers. Given the right situation these distorted consciousness-related factors may easily lead to the perpetration of crimes."

Attitudes Toward One's Occupation and Work

In the life of a person the school is eventually replaced by the workplace as an organized microenvironmental form. Influenced by their working conditions, their relatioships at work and their colleagues people become aware of their social role in society. Work if properly performed is uplifting, and it helps to promote the social development of the individual. On the other hand, loafing about without work, spending one's time idly, or having to perform poorly organized, burdensome work provide fertile ground for the development of antisocial views, and can easily lead to crime." In the present period of our social development we still often find that the assertion of the educational and awareness-forming role of work is hampered or hindered by the specific conditions under which certain persons must perform their work."

If we look at the offenders of the studied cases by occupation we find that they can be broken down as follows:

- skilled workers	141
- semi-skilled worker	61
- unskilled worker	140
- white-collared worker	38
- employed	38
- self-employed	14
- retired	20
- student	64
- without occupation or dependent	48
- other or cannot be determined	16
	Total: 570

The above presented data clearly show how overwhelming the number of skilled and unskilled workers is among them, amounting to nearly one-half of the offenders of the studied cases, and if we add to this the number of semi-skilled workers they well exceed one-half. This, of course, is to a great extent due to the fact that they also represent the great majority of society. Coming up with an explanation as to why it is that in our social system so many of the perpetrators of such crimes come from among the working classes, however, would require more thorough expert — mainly psychological — studies.

In addition to looking at their occupation, let us also examine their attitudes toward work:

- likes to work	122
- does his job but does not like to work	17
- his attitude toward work can be said to be average	199
- slack at his job	82
- leads a roving life style	80
- is not employed or there is no available data	70
	Total: 570

The Effect of the Environment

In addition to the above, environmental factors may also be involved in the shaping of one's personality, hence they may also play a role in the commission of crimes. Friendship ties are micro-environmental collective, social relatioships which play an extremely important role in the person's life and in the development of his personality. Family ties, the schools and very often also the work place are relationships that have been created independently of the individual. Friendship ties, however, are much looser, although such relationships can also only occur within certain limits. Although the selection of friends is also affected by intellectual consideration, the most important factor in making such a selection are the emotions of the individual. Also affecting the development of these relationships are circumstances such as sharing similar ideas, having the same outlook on life and struggling with identical difficulties.

Of the socially recognized forms of entertainment we can also include harmful traditions as factors which contribute to the development of antisocial personalities. The close interrelationship between entertainment and hospitality and the consumption of alcohol often puts the nervous system of young people in a state which causes their learned cultured behaviour to give way to instinctive behaviors aimed at finding immediate satisfaction to their needs. In the cases examined we have also found that a significant number of the offenders had committed their crimes under the influence of alcohol. This implies that by restricting the consumption of alcohol we could also reduce the number of crimes. But as József Vigh has pointed out: It is unlikely that in the near future we will be able to prevent alcohol consumption from rising while our state continues to increase production, and as long as our store windows filled with a wide variety of alcoholic beverages continue to lure people to consume."[21] Other harmful traditions mentioned by the author include the cult of physical force and the tendency by people to take the law into their own hands. These, however, do not play any role worth mentioning as far as the above discussed crimes are concerned.

In connection with the way people spend their free time he also mentions the role of radio, TV and the press as factors which affect the personality. In several cases we were able to show that members of younger generations had received occasional "tips" from these different means of mass communication.

If we examine the persons involved in the cases studied in terms of their vices we find the following: 154 of them have lived the life of an alcoholic. They are not to be confused with the people who have committed their crimes under the influence of alcohol; their number is considerably higher.

ANNEX VI
The Case of the CPg, Rock Group Selected documentation

MEMBERS OF ROCK GROUP CONVICTED FOR INCITEMENT

Budapest BESZÉLŐ in Hungarian No 10, 1984 pp 43-45

(Report by kg: "Incitement")

(Text) INCITEMENT before large audiences, as members of a group, continuously . . .

On 29 Sep 1983 the Central District Court of Pest sentenced the three members of the Budapest Mosoly rock group, József Erdős (b. 1984), György Szappanos (b. 1966) and Zoltán Pokorny (b. 1966), to 1½ - and 1-year prison terms, with 4- and 3- year suspensions, respectively. Charges were brought against them because of the lyrics of four of their songs: **Gypsy-free Area**; **Immigrants's Wages** — which speaks out against the Arabs and blacks living in Hungary, saying that they receive more money and better apartments from our government than Hungarians; **Rumania** — which contains the following lines: " They are a hairy-soled lazy people whom death awaits, they received Transylvania as a gift. . ."; and **My Uniform is Clean**, which contains the following lines: "My uniform is clean, my integrity is stained . . . At the concert I nearly beat a kid to death, for which I received a decoration I proudly wear. . . "

On 7 Feb 1984 the court sentenced four members of the rock group CPg of Szeged; Zoltán Benkő (b. 1963), Béla Haska (b. 1964) and Zoltán Nagy (b. 1964) received two years in prison; Zoltán Varga (b. 1966) received a 1½-year suspension of prison sentence. This issue of the BESZÉLŐ reports on the sentences handed down in the CPg proceedings — which have since been upheld by the appeals court.

As this time, let us not dwell on the details and legal merits of the verdicts.

Rather, the purpose of this short commentary is an attempt to provide an understanding of the noteworthy phenomenon that police regulation of the youth rock culture — including the objectionable "punk" and "new wave" — has also reached the stage which was initiated by the prison sentences handed down to the Plastic People and DG307 in Czechoslovakia between 1976-77; the time of political lawsuits.

In Hungary, the starting premises were surprisingly similar to those in the West. The promoted, but aging and fading stars of popular music had bcome boring, the old symbols (jeans and long hair) had become passe, the new youth subculture was greeted with intolerance, and last but not least, at the end of the 1970's feelings of pessimism, hopelessness and a mood without ideals reigned over a larger segment of the youth, but most especially in the marginal groups whose numbers had significantly increased (and who had already gained attention due to the "pipestem problem"). This situation was coupled with an intersting fact: various university and cultural organizatons provided rather varied and broad performing opportunities for the 10-20 amateur groups who utilized new wave and punk symbols. This is how a youth music subculture which was more disrespectful and insolent than anything prior to it was able to develop — before the popular music censors or the youth supervisory agency of the police and its political organ could even realize what was happening.

Issue No. 5-6 of the BESZÉLŐ already documented that the Szeged police who are in the forefront of political heavyhandedness have begun the task of eliminating the undesirable youth subculture; presumably, the goal already at that time was to lock up the CPg. Incidentally, during this same year the police also "chatted" with quite a few leaders of Budapest groups: they were advised that since they were amateurs, professional sanctions could not be used against them; therefore their immediate supervisory agency was the Ministry of the Interior. They were also warned never again to perform their objectionable numbers becasue they will not fare well.

Why, precisely, were these two groups singled out as scapegoats? There are two fundamental reasons which may be discerned. The first is that it was expedient to select a group that was "outside" the artist rock music intelligentsia milieu, since this afforded a certain degree of informal protection. In both instances, the groups' members were from a blue collar background and originated from the outskirts of the city. Additionally, the CPg group was from the provinces. The other reason was that partly due to their extraurban and lower class origins, the lyrics they wrote were the least sophisticated in their opposition and the most thinly veiled in their coarseness. Thus they could be portrayed most effectively even to the public as the most persecutable representatives of the new "trash movement", i.e., the entire rock music movement, as, for example, Péter Erdős had done in several issues of KRITIKA in 1983.

And what could be said on their behalf? That in their own undifferentiated, aggressive, shouting way, they gave vent to the unbridled expression of their malaise, unhappiness, rantings or prejudices with the aid of a medium and uncultural form which was accessible and understandable to them? That not only they are cultured, but also those who label as fascist a subculture of youths who are alien to them and who live in merciless conditions unknown to them? That tolerance begins when we are able to accept something which our good taste and convictions disapprove of? We all know that these are non-existent arguments, not only in the eyes of the police, but also in the eyes of the public. However, perhaps there are a few people who attempt to understand these phenomena, and who do not necessarily consider the political trial as the best method of quelling occasionally surfacing discontent.

TEXT OF COURT DECISION

(Excerpts)

Budapest BESZÉLŐ in Hungarian No 10, 1984 pp 101-110

("Document")

(Text) **DOCUMENT**

Central District Court of Pest
1.B. 21.158/1983/13.

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC!

The Central District Court of Pest based on publicly held proceedings in Budapest on 17 and 18 Nov 1983 as well as 13 Jan and 7 Feb 1984 has handed down the following verdict:

The first-order accused, Zoltán Benkö (Guzu), who has been in custody since 27 Jul 1983 and in prison awaiting trial since 30 Jul; born 1 Jan 1963, Szeged; mother: Erzsébet Balázs; permanent residence: 2/a Becsei St., Szeged; and temporary residence: 14 Zichy St., Budapest VI; identification no. 1 630101 0914; and the second-order accused, Béla Haska (Vau, Kutyas), who has been in prison awaiting trial since 3 Oct 1983; born 30 Dec 1964, Szeged; mother: Katalin Sonkoly; permanent residence: 13/b Alsókikötö Sor, Szeged; identification no. 1 631230 3032; and the third-order accused, Zoltán Nagy, who has been in prison awaiting trial since 3 Oct 1983; born 22 Aug 1963, Bácsalmás; mother: Erzsébet Turcsányi; permanent residence: 22/b Murányi St., Szeged; identification no. 1 640822 1074 are found guilty of the criminal act of continuous incitement carried out in public before large audiences, as members of a group, and as accomplices.

Therefore, the court sentences the first-order accused, Zoltán Benkö, to 2 (Two) years imprisonment and 1 (One) year ban on participation in public affairs; and the second-order accused, Béla Haska, to 2 (Two) years imprisonment and 1 (One) year ban on participation in public affairs; and the third-order accused, Zoltán Nagy, to 2 (Two) years imprisonment and 1 (One) year ban on participation in public affairs.

The fourth-order juvenile accused, Zoltán Varga (Takony), who has been in custody since 3 Aug 1983 and in prison awaiting trial from 5 Aug to 2 Sep and free since then; born 7 Oct 1966, Szeged; mother: Erzsébet Csanád; residence: 4/b Retek St., Szeged; identification no. 1 661007 4300 is found guilty of the criminal act of continuous incitement carried out in public before large audiences, as a member of a group and as an accomplice; and of the misuse of firearms.

Therefore the court terminates the 4th juvenile decision no. 1/1983/8 establishing probation handed down on 4 Feb 1983 by the District Court of Szeged and finds the fourth-order juvenile accused, Zoltán Varga, guilty as another accomplice in the committed hooliganism and as an accomplice in attempting to cause serious bodily injury and as cumulative punishment sentences Zoltan Varga to 1 (One) year and 6 (Six) months imprisonment.

The court suspends the prison term meted out to the fourth-order juvenile accused for 4 (Four) years probation with the stipulation that during the probation he be under the supervision of a juvenile patron.

Reasons of Judgement

The court has determined the following facts:

During their performances, among other songs, the following seven were presented either in whole or in part:

A YOUTH STANDS . . .

A youth stands in the meadow, a first rate worker,
coming from volunteer work on a communist Saturday . . .

Artists, painters, you bastards — a likeness,
A worker hero in stone, on canvas . . .

WE'RE ALL CREEPS

We're all creeps in the HPR (Hungarian People's Republic)
Where everything new is bad,
Where money gives birth to silence,
Where people are always silent.
We're all creeps in the HPR.

Refrain: We want trouble (four times)

YOU'RE PUPPETS

We have a puppet for a king.
His legs and arms jerk on a string.
We are the people,
We bow, scrape, we're humble . . .

We are not the ones who clap
A shadow stands b'hind our back.
He holds every thread in his hands.
He guards every gate. There he stands.

Refrain: You're puppets, you're puppets, you animals.

CONNIVER

Someone's memory . . .
The conniver is dead,
the animal is dead,
the dictator can
be an idol-head.
The conniver is dead,
the animal is dead,
the dictator can
be an idol-head,
animal, conniver, animal, conniver, animal, conniver . . .

ANARCHY

The anti-christ, that's me,
I see what you don't see,
let there be anarchy.

I want to be free, to be free,
Not a dumb animal, not me . . .

PRIMITIVE BUMS

We're primitive bums, we're animals,
But we don't want to shake with fear.
Remember, we'll hit first!
Could our world really be more beautiful?

We have nothing to do with anything here.
We don't know where we'll go tomorrow.
We are terribly bored with ourselves.
And we won't keep on dreaming anymore.

CC20

A Soviet atom is also an atom
I can't stand totalitarianism
the police are hassling me
SS 20's in the Est
Neutron bombs in the West

A US atom is also an atom
In the East and in the West
they fight for power everywhere
SS 20's in the East,
Neutron bombs in the West.

Power is power
In the East and in the West
The race is the same everywhere
SS 20's in the East,
Neutron bombs in the West.

Between 15 and 25 Mar 1983, the Cultural Committee of the Geodesic and Map Enterprise of Budapest held an exhibit of Marietta Borza's paintings. On 16 Mar 1983, the first- and second-order accuseds attended the exhibit and the first-order accused wrote the following comment in the guest book:

"Down with rules; every custom, order and tradition must be ground underfoot . . .

We are a country of suicides, of alcoholics,
We are a country of hidden unemployment . . .

We want bloody, murderous actions, PRUK-Pruks (?) —
and not pictures!
I want the rotten one to topple.
A sweeping war of vigorous men . . .

Insults, fighting, the destruction of morality
and then its rebuilding . . .
. . . WE ARE NOT FASCISTS.
We're intelligent people — we'll sweep you away
because we're better. . .

We don't strike out blindly.
We kill with intelligence.
You will fail because of your obsolescence, not
bureaucratic obstacles. But you should be shot
with your own weapons . . .

. . . GUESTS, and to you, MADAME ARTISTE!
I pray that you have a serene life
and that our revolution, which will be more advanced
than ever before, will not find you alive . . .

"P.S. Had it been cut out with a razor or scissors?

16 March is the second day of a revolution."

Under these circumstances according to the unambiguously and reassuringly verifiable facts, the accused by their conduct in the context of the CPg group endeavored to incite sentiments against the constitutional order and the federative, friendly and cooperative international relations of the Hungarian People's Republic; moreover, this was based on nihilism and anarchism, thus with the intention of inciting hatred. In part, this was clearly expressed in the songs they performed, e.g., "Gas Blues", "A Youth Stands", "We're All Creeps", "You're Puppets", "Anarchy" and CC20". However, they also have songs which, by the use of emotional images, allegories and metaphors, also lead the listener, by way of thought, to a similar conclusion, e.g., the opening two lines of "Gas Blues", "Rotten Angels", "Fairy Tale Land", "Conniver", and "Primitive Bums".

Since it may be clearly determined that the songs performed by the accused and appearing in the statement of facts were not merely directed against the public order but also against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic and this was the aim of the accused by their performance, the court has found them guilty as accomplices according to Article 20, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code — of the crime of continuous incitement, according to Article 12, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code, before large audiences as members of a group, in violation of points (b) and (c) of Article 148, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code and as classified according to point (a) of Paragraph 2. During the course of this classification, the court differed in part from the prosecutions's charges which moved to establish in its indictment No. B.10 558/1983 that the actions of the accused are in violation of points (a), (b) and (c) of Article 148, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code — which was also upheld in the final motion. According to the facts established by the court, the songs that were performed were fundamentally directed against the police, communists, the leaders of the Hungarian People's Republic, and in general, against the constitutional order and that the songs "Conniver" and "CC20" were directed against the Soviet Union, that is, against the international relations of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The fourth-order juvenile accused Zoltán Varga also committed the crime of possession of firearms which is in violation of Article 263, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code.

Because the fourth-order juvenile accused Zoltán Varga was found guilty on the basis of Article 73, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code, the court suspended the probation he was placed on by the Szeged District Court and pronounced him guilty of the crime of hooliganism in violation of Article 271, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code and as classified in point (a) of Paragraph 2, as well as an accomplice according to Article 20, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code in the crime of attempted aggravated assault, according to Article 170, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code.

Therefore, considering Article 120, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code, thecourt had to sentence him on a cumulative basis.

In setting the punishment of all the accused, the court had to take into consideration the mitigating circumstances of their confession of the facts as well as the circumstance that the organizers of various concerts, by neglecting preparations, authorization or subsequent warnings, significantly participated in allowing the crime to be perpetrated for so long and in this manner.

The court appreciated the youthful ages of the first-, second- and third-order accused, and appreciated the contrition of the second-, third-and fourth-order accused. In the case of the first-order accused, the court appreciated the pathological mentality which, to a slight extent, limits criminal responsibility and the ability to tolerate punishment.

In addition to the mitigating factors, it was determined that there were a large number of circumstances, among which some were aggravating. The court weighted continuity of actions against all four of the accused, that is, that there were continuity of actions against all four of the accused, that is, that there were two different phases, and it is counted twice as seriously against the first- and third-order accused that from 1979, separately from their co-defendants, they also committed the crime of performing the three numbers, which they continued by involving new associates regardless of the warnings they received in connection with this. An aggravating circumstance counting against the first- and second-order accused are the comments written in the guest book at the Mariette Borza exhibit which itself is a crime, while weighing against the first-order accused is the organizing and leading role, and weighing against the second-order accused is that, despite the warnings of the others, he performed the third verse of the song "A Youth Stands" at the Youth Club on Cossack Square, and weighing against the third-order accused is that after being put on probation, he continued the criminal behavior. Weighing against all the accused is the rowdy behavior which was manifested especially in the self-inflicted bleeding wounds of the second-order accused at the assembly hall of the University of Veszprém and inQthe dismemberment of a live chicken at the Youth House on Cossack Square.

In addition to the various criminal circumstances, the degree of guilt, or rather jthe danger they and their actions represent to society, seemed to be less only in the case of the fourth-order juvenile accused, while that of the others seemed identical. The attainment of the goal of punishment only seems possible by meting out the sentence of imprisonment without a mitigating phase. Therefore the court sentences the first-, second- and third-order accused according to the minimum term of imprisonment stipulated in the operative clause of the law, which legal minimum also seems adequate for the attainment of general and individual protection. Since the accused are unworthy of participation in public affairs, the court also set an additional punishment prohibiting their participation in public affairs based on Article 53 and Article 55, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code.

In the cases of the adult accused, the order regarding the enforced degree of punishment is based on point (a) of Article 43 of the Penal Code and the inclusion of prior detention is based on Article 99, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code.

In the case of the fourth-order juvenile accused, Zoltán Varga, the court, with reference to Article 110, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code, also suspended the enforcement of the fixed term of imprisonment without mitigating phases according to Article III, Paragraph 3, while the inclusion of time spent in detention was determined according to Article 99, Paragraph 1.

The court's order regarding supervision by the guardian was based on Article 119.

With respect to the evidence confiscated during the proceedings, the court based its decision on Article 102, Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 and regarding the 33 HILTI cartridges, on the basis of Article 77, Paragraph 1, point (a) of the Penal Code.

The obligation to repay court costs is based on Article 217, Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4.

Budapest, on the 7th day of February, 1984.
János Lenke — People's Judge
Dr. Péter Kaufmann — Presiding Judge
László Magula — People's Judge

The sentence regarding the fourth-order juvenile accused Zoltán Varga is effective on the day of pronouncement.

Dr. Péter Kaufmann

Presiding Judge

9956
2500/85

ANNEX VII
THE MISUSE OF PSYCHIATRY
SELECTED EXCERPTS FROM BESZÉLŐ

The regime's misuse of psychiatry for the punishment of political dissidents was reported in two successive issues of BESZÉLŐ. The samizdat magazine cites two incidents:

Károly Jakab's plight is reported in the October 1981 issue under the telling title: "Things Like That Don't Happen Here". Jakab, an agronomist, was indicted for writing a number of letters to his local council which, in the words of the District Attorney, "insulted the authorities, i.e. official persons". BESZÉLŐ provides some of the evidence on the basis of which Jakab was eventually convicted. The strongest statements were:

> "The local council does not enjoy the trust of the population. . . The council, which is purportedly democratic, has done nothing. It should be ashamed of itself, and should never say that it basis its authority on the trust of the township's population because if it were so then its activities would be tantamount to an abuse of that trust."

The prosecution asked for compulsory use of psychiatric treatment as part of the sentence. Since then Jakab was declared mentally incompetent and went through the whole panoply of coercive treatments including closed wards and electroshock therapy. According to BESZÉLŐ it is hard to judge how many other people are similarly abused, since the ones affected are often hidden by their anonimity. The report ends with a plea for the help of doctors and lawyers, indicating that Jakab, now with the valuable assistance of the "second public opinion" intends to carry on his fight for justice and against arbitrary use of authority.

The other case, reported in the March 1982 issue of BESZÉLŐ is the well known case of Dr. Tibor Pákh. In an interview Pákh himself gives account of his ordeal.

> "I was stuffed when several of them held me down, and they forced the food in my mouth with a spoon. Some of the food got in my mouth, most did not. They thrusted the spoon in with force, one of my teeth chipped. . . It was impossible to continue/the hungerstrike/. They restrained me, grabed my nose, twisted it so that I was unable to breath. I had to open my mouth and then they forced the spoon in. My nostril was ripped. I had to swallow when the food was stuffed on my throat. I would cheat myself by insisting that I am fasting, I was swallowing food. And it was repulsive that the food that did not get in my mouth was spilled on my pajamas and my bedsheet. After every "meal" I was laying in a pool of food."

ANNEX VIII
SELECTED DOCUMENTATION ON THE STATUS OF THE CHURCHES IN HUNGARY

DOCUMENT II

Fr Bulányi writes to Cardinal Lékai

We have already published extensive documentation in RCL on the controversy between the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy, headed by Cardinal László Lékai, and the "Basis" groups led by Fr György Bulányi, a member of the Piarist order now in his seventies (Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 95-108). The document which follows is a letter from Fr Bulányi addressed to Cardinal Lékai. It throws further light on the philosophy of the "Basis" groups and the reasons for the controversy which has arisen. The introduction to the documents previously published in RCL outlines developments during 1982 up to June, when Fr Bulányi was suspended a divinis (p. 95). The letter below was written on 7 March 1982, after Fr Bulányi had had two meetings with Cardinal Lékai and others, but before his suspension.

Your Eminence,

I have received from you two invitations to a meeting. Your telegram arrived on the afternoon of 2 March, asking me to see you on 3 March. Your vicar's letter arrived on 5 March in the afternoon, inviting me for the same day or on 6 March. Unfortunately, the dates fixed by you at such short notice were inconvenient for me, not only because as my engagement diary is full for at least a month I would have been obliged to cancel some of my engagements, but also for other reasons. At our last meeting I received the rudest possible comments on my "Answers" (to questions about his views posed by the hierarchy — Ed.), which I had prepared with great care. Even now I have not after two weeks received the minutes of that meeting, and cannot verify whether or not they contain the insults. It would be unwise on my part to expose myself and my flock for a third time to being insulted for hours. I am not prepared to make statements contrary to the teachings of the Church. I have taken part in two meetings and have on both occasions fulfilled the words of Archbishop Poggi: "they trust the authority of the Church; the Church will have the strength to conduct the enquiry in truth and justice." This is why I have chosen to write. I apologise for the delay of five days, but the importance of the subject matter requires it to be thoroughly thought out.

I respectfully request Your Eminence to consider our aims as summarised below. These aims are our motivation, in spite or our weakness and our modest achievements.

1. Mindful of God and the Church, we consider it our constant duty, given to us by Jesus, that our little communities should become more and more acquainted with God, who wants to communicate with us, and bear witness in words and deeds to what we know of Him. We cannot be deterred from fulfilling our obligations, even if we are threatened with the harshest punishments, even if our lives are in peril, and with God's help we want to stand fast in the future, too.
2. We stick unflinchingly in our duties as human beings and as God's children. We try to see clearly, as the Second Vatican Council requires of us, by observing the signs of the times (Matt. 16, 4), what the Kingdomof God means here and now. In order to serve the Kingdom of God, we will continue committing our thoughts on the subject to paper, so that by reading, criticising and adding to each others' manuscripts, and by mutual encouragement, we shall do what we are able in this respect. If our Church has — thanks be to God — unequivocally supported freedom of thought in the Second Vatican Council, then it is our sacred duty to make this freedom an unquestionable reality within the Church. We are prepared for a "dialogue" with any readers of our manuscripts, a summary of the conceptual contents of which I handed over at our last meeting for the minutes.
3. On the strength of what we have seen so far, we try to serve life, so that it should become more abundant (John 10, 10)

a) In service of life, we face the death of our nation. Last year the population declined by two thousand, and according to forecasts it will decline further in the near future by hundreds of thousands. In our communities we consider it quite normal for families to have four, five, six or even more children; wethink a mother should stay at home to rear the children; and we think a family should be able to manage on one person's income. Since the Second World War the nation has condemned five million lives to death by abortion. The losses in the tragic battles of Mohacs (1526) and of the Don (1943) were negligible compared with those due to abortion. Atheists have already raised their voices courageously. The families of our small communities protest with their lives against this gross immorality of our society, which eats up its own children in the interest of raising material living standards.

b) In the service of life, we reject all other forms of killing people. We do not learn war any more, as Isaiah dreamt of the times following the birth of Jesus. We do not promise the destruction of our enemies, because everybody is our neighbour. We are not prepared to become patriotic mass murderers, war criminals. Other people's consciences may speak differently, but we see it as an intrinsic element of our faithfulness to Jesus that we cannot ignore the Fifth Commandment, any more than we can the other nine.For us the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" is a hundredfold sacred — it is a divine commandment that knows no exception. We believe and openly declare that without the Fifth Commandment the Kingdom of Heaven and the classless society are unattainable, violence will not cease, and the State will not wither away. Fighting will stop only when there are no more fighters. Whatever punishments or suffering we have to face, we are not going to give up our faith. We pray that Your Eminence's Catholic heart, formed like that of Jesus, should be filled with pride and joy at the knowledge that since September 1979 eight Hungarian Catholics have made a heroic confession of faith, and that at present there are still four imprisoned for their witness. (This is a reference to refusing military conscription — Ed.)

c) In the service of life, we endeavour to direct our consciences in such a way as not to increase our standard of living. We want not to increase it from two to three but to reduce it from three to two, so far as purchasable goods are concerned. We do this so that the superfluity can be given to the hungry rather than turned into superfluous goods for us to save, because this is "pure religion and undefiled" (James 1, 27), and because without feeding Jesus who hungers in billions of people, we cannot expect to be gathered among the blessed (Matt. 25, 31-46).

d) In the service of life we exclude from our little communities all governing, commanding and subordination of others to ourselves, all forms of compelling obedience, remembering the words of Jesus: "All ye are brethren" (Matt. 23, 8). We place our hopes in revelation and in human conscience. We hope we all listen to Jesus and to the Spirit. We obey Jesus' commandments and we obey the Spirit, which reminds us of His words, for this is what the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit — the Holy Family — requires from the Church, and from each member of the Church. It is required in imitation of Jesus, who was willing to hearken to His Father, and was consequently condemned to death for disobedience by his nation's high priest; in imitation of the apostles and the martyr Stephen, who were incarcerated, beaten or stoned to death by order of the same high priest, and who knew that they had to disobey man in order to obey God, even if it meant laying down their own lives. in the Church we all have to obey God (Acts 5, 29).

4. This is how we want to serve Jesus, who has taught us the Word of Life in His Church:

in humble, not lordly, positions, serving and not ruling, watching and drawing attention to the Spirit, without commanding others or compelling obedience;

as poor, not rich people, as ordinary men producing and delivering rather than exercising power as privileged people, feeding the hungry rather than pushing our standard of living up and up: P4;

as meek lambs, not ravening wolves, not throwing our children in the canal, not trusting murderous weapons, not defending our rights by violence, state authority or lawsuits, but forgiving all; not repaying evil with evil but striving for peace.

(. . .) We are trying to emulate the poor persecuted Jesus in our lives, in the service of love that is ready to give, to sacrifice and to make peace.

We are not trying to change the dogmas of the Church, which are mysteries described more than once by the apostle Paul in the words: "for now we see through a glass darkly" (1 Cor. 13, 12). What we are basically interested in is to understand and imitate a Jesus-like way of life. We are trying to serve the historical development of the dogmas (orthodoxy) through emulating Jesus (orthopraxis). Within the Church and in society as a whole we are striving for unity brought about by loving service. By this means we hope also for the revival of unity in faith, because Jesus-like faithfulness and our clinging belief have no more sublime, more basic or more universal object than the love we have learned from Jesus. We are sure that no dogma can originate from Jesus which would make us hate or kill an enemy or be indifferent towards the hungry.

We all stand before Christ's judgement seat. The whole Church stands there, too, because Christ's message is love. Our aim is to fulfill this commandment and to let everybody recognise that we are His disciples. Our small communities are motivated by this alone.

5. The number of our priests is diminishing alarmingly. Our churches, deprived of priests, are empty, yet we trust in the authority of Jesus (Mark 1, 22). We trust implicitly in the power of the Word and its teaching to bring society, irrespective of religion or non-religion, to the realisation that the unadulterated (Matt. 10, 16) words of Jesus speak for the life of society as a whole. It will understand that He is the only way, and everything else is a cul-de-sac. For this very reason we would think it natural if the chief Hungarian shepherd of Jesus' poor, meek, unprotected Catholic Church, which defies the powerful of this world, were to embrace us with all the love of his heart, moved by our Jesus-like ideals, our optimistic efforts to reverse the population decline and our pastoral conceptions based on small communities — since, as Pope Paul VI said, the small communities are "the hope of the Church".

6. We consider it natural and claim, as always, that our chief Shepherd should extend his love, his attention and his care to us. With this in mind, I have the honour to inform Your Eminence of the following:

   a) It must be evident to you from my consistent statements at the two meetings and my "Answers" that we adhere to the unerring teachings of our Church. This we declare again.

   b) If in any words of ours, spoken or written, you should find anything that you judge contrary to the teachings of our Church, we shall respectfully and conscientiously think over your corrections, stemming as they do from your high office, your understanding, your responsibility and your love. The reason why I submitted my "Answers" to the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is because for us it is extremely important to teach what the Church has learned from Jesus, as the Spirit reminds the Church. We are always prepared to learn from those who have received a special charisma from the Spirit.

   c) I am ready and willing to take part in further dialogues, if I receive a guarantee that at the meetings not a single participant will revile us or our aims. Such behaviour is not necessary for achieving justice, and is totally inadequate for expressing the truth of the love of Jesus. Vilification nullifies argument. Since I want to preserve the Church's teachings concerning human dignity, I do not wish my presence at a meeting to give anybody the opportunity of offending human dignity. I say this in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council: "It is the disciple's obligation to his Master, Christ, to come to know as fully as possible the truth received from Him, and to propagate and effectively protect this truth, excluding all means contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. At the same time Christ's love urges you to

> treat your erring and ignorant fellow men with understanding, tolerance and love" (Dignitatis Humanae, 14). It is very sad for me to think that in 1952 under the Rákosi regime, the atheist major who interrogated me at the secret police headquarters under the direction of Gábor Péter (secret police chief — Ed) for sixty days showed more respect for my person and my activities than was my lot at the two above-mentioned meetings, which can in no way be called dialogues. Again and again I protested against the proceedings and the tone of voice. I wanted my protest to be entered in the minutes, but unfortunately this was not done.

As early as the dialogue of 5 December, I asked that the unacceptably rude criticisms of our writings by Professors Gál and Vanyó be attached to the minute book. Your Eminence rejected my request. The minutes contain neither my request nor the refusal. Now I ask again that they should be attached, together with my brethren's replies to criticisms, in order to dispel any doubts as to our own conscientious respect and love in the face of whatever style of behaviour. I have to ask for this most particularly because the minutes of the meeting of 5 December do not reflect the behaviour to which we were subjected.

It may seem superfluous, but to avoid any misunderstanding I must mention that my frequent use in this letter of the first person plural means unequivocally that I do not state these things alone, but together with all my brethren of the same persuasion.

In an effort to promote reconciliation within the Hungarian Church, I am sending copies of this letter, as I did with my "Answers", to all Hungarian bishops. Of course, I have informed my superiors in Rome, too. I am always ready to serve the Church of Jesus, and my continuing aim is that you should treat me as your brother in Jesus Christ and not as an enemy to be put aside. I greet you with respect and love.

BULÁNYI, GYÖRGY Sch. P.

Budapest, 7 March 1982

DOCUMENT III
HARASSED RELIGIOUS GROUP ASKS FOR SUPPORT PUBLISHED IN BESZÉLŐ II

The writers of this statement are seeking the good will of Hungarian public opinion since they have been harassed by certain officials and have only experienced indifference on the part of those authorities responsible for handling such matters.

Our Christian sect, God's Assembly, which is being reorganized, is comprised of a charismatic, fully evangelical congregation. Because of the growth in our numbers and official reaction to this increase, on September 1983, we submitted our organization's by-laws to the President of the State Office of Church Affairs for approval.

When our request remained unanswered, on 7 June 1984, we asked Pastor Tibor Ivanyi, President of the Evangelical Brotherhood, to provide legal sponsorship for our congregation. We notified the President of the State Office of Church Affairs of the step in writing.

We received no official response to this letter either but the official harassment we had experienced over the past several years continued. Some members lost their jobs, some had their apartments searched, while others were subjected to minor police harassment on several occasions at our places of worship. In the No. 10, 1984 issue of**Magyar Ifjuság** (Hungarian Youth, the weekly of the Communist Youth League (KISZ)), Ágnes Seszták attacked us in an extensive, slanderous article.

It was the shocking incident involving the widow Mrs. József Galambos who has a serious heart condition that prompted us to write this statement. She is a member of the Reformed Church and has close ties with members of our congregation. On 30 October 1984, at 11 o'clock in the morning, two men, both in their 30's, came to her apartment in Balatonfüred, at number 3 Népköztársaság Street, and asked to be let in, saying that they came from Budapest.

The unsuspecting, elderly lady let them in, assuming that they were also Christians. After a quick survey of the apartment, the guests started to question Mrs. Galambos about her connections. When they did not receive answers which satisfied them, they screamed at her and demanded to know why Levente Petrócz, the son of the Reformed

Minister and a member of our congregation, comes to visit her from Budapest with his "buddies." When they received another evasive answer, the two who affected the manner of officials, began to abuse and slander Levente Petrócz, whom Mrs. Galambos has known for almost 10 years, along with the leaders of our congregation. They called our fellowship a "Western supported maffia" which could expect extra funds for ensnaring Mrs. Galambos. They declared that "We'll make sure they don't make a catch here."

When Mrs. Galambos said that neither she, nor the congregation, is afraid of the police, since they are not doing anything wrong, they asked her if she had heard that "some people have inexplicably disappeared, and a few dead bodies have been found in various places?"

The old woman was terribly frightened by this threat. She thought that they may try to kill her right there. They made her promise to break off all contacts with Levente Petrócz and his "buddies."

After the visit, her health was severely shattered.

We are firmly convinced that this and similar cases of crass atrocities can happen as a result of the conduct of the State Office of Religious Affairs which failed to respond to our submission of our by-laws, prepared and provided to them according to regulations. Because of our unsettled legal status, we are vulnerable to further harassment and other official abuse. Even if these are perpetrated by individuals (without apparent official connections), such actions do not serve to enhance either the international reputation of our country or the peaceful coexistence of peoples with varying world views. Moreover they certainly do not contribute to improvement of the atmosphere of violence and tension which is so noticeable nowadays.

We ask the support of all well-intentioned public opinion in the effort to normalize our legal situation so that we may live our lives undisturbed within our religious communities.

Budapest, 6 November 1984

In the name of God's Assembly:
Tamás Havas, Gábor Nagy, Pál Nemes,
Sándor Németh, Levente Petrócz, Ervin Piszter,
István Taller, Uzoni Péter, Tamás Vácz.

DOCUMENT IV

HIS-PRESS-SERVICE

Special Topic: Religion and Church in Hungary

No. 28 — Vienna, February 1985

20 Years after the partial agreement between the Vatican and the Hungarian Government

The 15th of September 1984 marked the twentieth anniversary of the so-called Partial Agreement made between representatives of the Holy See and representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic. This event caused considerable international interest as this was the first time a Socialist country in the Warsaw Pact had made an official agreement with the Vatican. Usually, settlements concerning the relations between Church and State are only negotiated within the national frontiers, i.e. with the episcopacy of the country in question. The right to negotiate with the Vatican was considered as the privilege of the Soviet Union. The agreement shows, on the part of the Hungarian government, an open acknowledgement of the authority of the Holy See in matters of leadership in the Hungarian Church. The Vatican, in its turn, noted its recognition and acceptance of the State's claim on the loyalty of the Hungarian Church leaders to its interests.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE STATE BEFORE THE PARTIAL AGREEMENT

In the Fifties the Church in Hungary was subjected to brutal persecutions and to a series of oppressive administrative measures imposed by the authorities. Church activity was considerably limited and was totally pushed back to behind the church walls. The relationship between Church and State could only be called totally one-sided: The Church was virtually completely at the mercy of the State. After the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty (December 1948), the establishment and active engagement of the Priests' Movement for Peace (1949-50) — this was seen at the time as a kind of Fifth Column of the State in the Church —, the internment of members of religious orders (June 1950) and a series of other oppressive measure, the first important step on the way to the policy of agreement was made on the 30th of August 1950: An aggreement — which was, admittedly, extremely disadvantageous for the Church — was made between the Hungarian Bishops Conference and the State. This agreement sealed the almost total dissolution of the religious orders, and demanded that, in future, every priest should swear an oath to the Constitution; disciplinary measures were also to be carried out on the part of the Church against members of the clergy guilty of violating the regulations laid down by the State.

In 1951 the State started it most violent wave of oppression against the Church: A so-called State Office for Church Affairs was created (15th of May) which, working closely with the Ministry of the Interior, was to determine in future the national policy towards the Church; police arrests were made on a series of bishops, József Grosz, Archbishop of Kalocsa, who, as head of the Hungarian Bishops Conference, had signed the above-mentioned agreement in 1950, was arrested and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment (18th of May).

With Stalin's death (March 1953) the oppressive administrative measures abated a little. The State began to seek a modus vivendi with the Church. The events of 1956 showed all too clearly how urgently a true real-politik was needed; and the unjust methods which had been applied up till then, were not reconciliable with a state leadership striving for consolidation whose policy was aimed at creating a national unity.

In a decision which was recently confirmed in 1983 and which is still valid today, the Central Committee of the Party laid down the guidelines of the new policy towards the Church in 1958, thereby fixing the relationship between Church and State.

Looking back at the Fifties it has to be said with justification that the oppressive measures and persecutions brought other results apart from just disadvantages to the Church: During this period the Church got rid of a number of superfluous burdens, such as the totally outdated — from an economic point of view — Church estates. But also in fact that the various possibilities of pastoral care were taken away from the faithful and that they were made to undergo a kind of ideological "withdrawal cure", had, at the same time, a boomerang effect; for a real spiritual hunger for the values of the gospel was thus aroused among the people. The fact that religious base groups were established so early in Hungary, can be traced to the prohibition of every kind of religious society. The people for whom religion in the community was a necessity looked for a replacement which they found in the form of groups of friends interested in religion. Moreover the critical activities directed by the State against religion aroused interest in religious issues among the non-believers.

In its attempted to re-educate the people according to the "socialist view of man" the State had failed; the socialist values did not seem to have any attraction. In view of this fiasco the Church with the alternatives she was offering, had the best chances: The persecuted — because as well as adults who were searching in vain for ideals and values.

THE POSITIVE EFFECTS OF THE AGREEMENT

As was shown in the course of time, the Partial Agreement opened up more possibilities than had been foreseen when it was signed in 1964. Keeping the problems continually in awareness is, as State Secretary Imre Miklós, of the State Office for Church Affairs, expressed, virtually the seal of quality the head of the gradual improvement in the relations between Church and State, with regard to the Church's possibilities of pastoral care —which amounts to the same thing. According to Imre Miklós, no aim — at least verbal — should be out of the question in this process of improvement for the Church. As far as the practical results are concerned, however, it must be said that he has, admittedly, brought about a more elegant solution concerning the State's "supervision" of the Church, but, in actual fact, there has been hardly any real relief as far as pastoral care is concerned. Nevertheless, every possibility of extending her activity in a legal way has become very important for the Catholic Church in Hungary. The development of her relations with other countries led to her involvement in the conciliatory renewal in the pulsating Church at large. — The relaxing of import regulations on books and periodicals of religious content, written in Hungarian and which were printed outside Hungary. — The need for priests, who had continued their studies at foreign universities, was particularly great, both in the initial and in the continuing activity of the theological aggiornamentos today. — The formation of a committee for the edition of new religious books was the beginning of a catechetic movement, which, for its part, — in the interest and for the promotion of religious instruction — led to the establishment of a diocesan committee, as well as a supra-regional institute. As it became evident that there was a growing interest in theology amount the faithful, the Catholic Church — like the Protestant Churches — roughly on the same scale — was allowed some years ago to start up a correspondence course on theology for lay persons. It was designed to cater for the increasing thirst for religious knowledge as well as for engaged Christians will to involve themselves in the pastoral activities of the Church. There are no obstacles to the theory, but as for the practice, the State has still not given its permission for the actual engagement, i.e. effective employment of course participants who have completed the course, in the diocesan pastoral care service. — For spiritual intensification, as well as for practical training as helpers for the Church, there is the recently opened retreat-house (which holds up to 30 beds) which has met with great success among the faithful and, as originally forseseen, is well-frequented by mostly elderly people.Apart from the already mentioned major significance of the agreement as the beginning of a future dialogue, the most important immediate result must be seen in the smoothly effected filling of several episcopal sees: with the appointment of Laszlo Leki as Archbishop of Esztergom in 1976 the Hungarian hierarchy was complete once more.

UNRESOLVED MATTERS

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Partial Agreement a series of assessment was made; and there was general reference to the fact that there was still, as before, a series of unresolved problems and further steps must be taken to find a solution to them. Let us now express these general demands in a more concrete way, showing, in our opinion, what steps are necessary within the Church in Hungary.

THE PROBLEM OF THE "ORDERED CONDITIONS"

The so-called "ordering" of the relations between Church and State is guaranteed by an open-ended ruling which offers the State countless possibilities of interfering in internal Church affairs. The most drastic of these is the interference of the State — regardless of the unequivalent written regulation — in all of the bishops, actions. As the practice shows, the State is not just content that the bishops, according to the decrees No. 22/1957 and No. 18/1959, and the slightly moderated decree of June 1971, should keep the State Office for Church Affairs informed about significant measures only, but, moreover they cannot even transfer a chaplain at their own discretion; furthermore, it is often the authorities themselves who instruct the bishops about transfer, especially if a particular pastor is, in their opinion, too successful in carrying out his work.

Another grave interference on part of the State is that it insists, as before, on filling the key positions within the Church with persons of its own choice, who are amenable to the State, (mostly with priests from the Peace Movement) regardless whether these persons further the needs of the Church or meet with the approval of the bishops.

Both practices are in flagrant contradiction to the rulings of the Council regarding the independence of the Church. These regulations expressly underline the appointment and installation of bishops as the exclusive right of the Church and her leader responsible for this. The exact wording of this ruling is — "Thus the holy ecumenical Synod declares that it is the fundamental, independent and exclusive right of the Church leader responsible for this matter to appoint and install bishops. In order to legitimately protect the freedom of the Church and in order to promote the welfare of the faithful in an improved and freer manner, the Holy Council expresses the wish that, in future, state authorities should no longer be given the rights and privileges of selecting, recommending, appointing or designating bishops. The state authorities, who goodwill towards the Church is gratefully appreciated and esteemed, are kindly requested, after consultation with the Apostolic See, to renounce voluntarily the rights or privileges mentioned which they enjoy at present through contract or practice." (Vatican II, Decisions taken by the Council, Decree on the pastoral task of the Bishops in the Church, Point 20).

In Hungary the practice which was applied to the partial agreement was kept until now: appointments of bishops are always made only after previous agreement with the State.

A further problem of the "regulated conditions' is seen in the evangelization. The Marxist ideologists are of the opinion that regulations of religious instruction in Hungary represents an ideal solution for the realization of the constitutionally assured religious freedom, guaranteeing on the one hand, the same chances and possibilities for believers and non-believers alike to practise their faith or not, and, on the other hand, assuring the right of every citizen to religious freedom, at the same time, respecting the civil duties. This somewhat falsified way of considering the "principle of equality" needs some explanation:

The ruling termed as "ideal" lays down the following regulation for the religious instruction which, as it is, is minimal in any case:

- Pupils attending a primary or unspecialised secondary school (only in these types of schools is religious instruction allowed to be given) must, if they wish to attend religious instruction, on a morning or afternoon specially set aside for this, be enrolled by their parents personally or in writing. Only those pupils who are formally enrolled for religious instruction may attend the class.

- The religion teacher is not allowed to grade the pupils' achievement. Pupils who miss the religious class are not obliged to excuse their absence.

- The religion teacher working in the service of the Church (in practice only priests) are paid by the hour by the State. In order to teach they require a special work permit from the local council. Should the council, for any reason, believe the religion teacher to be in any way hostile to the State, this permission can be withdrawn again.

As for teaching material the teacher may only use those books on religion which are permitted by the State. He has to keep a daily account of his lessons. He has to conform to school regulations. He is not a member of the school teaching staff and may not be involved in any way in school activities (e.g. as supervisor on excursions etc.), is not allowed to enter the staff room and may only remain in school during the actual hours of religious instruction.

The Church has to struggle against similar obstacles as far as church buildings are concerned. All the "new churches" which state and clerical personalities are apt to refer to, are, almost without exception, new buildings erected in the place of churches which had formerly existed but which had been destroyed or demolished for security reasons or had been abandoned. In most cases the new buildings, —

which are actually more chapels than churches — are the same size as the churches which they replace. The building permission for the erection of new churches is very seldom given. A priest belonging to the Peace Movement received as a birthday present such a building permission for his special merits, so too did Cardinal Lékai on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee as a priest and Bishop Pataky from Győr also was granted permission to build a church on a new housing-estate. The faithful have to present actual proof for the need of a new church — a demand which is very difficult to meet in practice.

INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES IN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

The problems facing the Church throughout the world after the War such as secularization, uprooting, temptations of affluence, etc., were not spared the Church in Hungary either. Only in the case of Hungary, problems which were specifically Hungarian were added to these other ones oo. Due to the changed conditions the Church needed a number of essential measures. And since such measures could only be realised with the help of the State, the inevitable question — what would be allowed by the State — became the fundamental principle of every point to be considered. The most urgent task of the Church is pastoral care. — The lack of priests is more catastrophic than ever. The already insufficient number of 300 seminarians has sunk to even less than 200 in the academic year 1984, — and on top of that, the standard of the training leaves much to be desired. — The taking stock of the situation planned in 1976 and the requirements of the Church, has still mot been carried out. An institute for the examination of the Church's situation had, admittedly, had planned, but this very promising intention did not materialize as it was discovered that the ideas on the methods of procedure of the institute did not correspond to scholarly research work, but rather to the functions of Public Relations activity. The institute would only have served any real purpose if an objective disclosure of the facts and data as the basis for the decisions and preparatory measures would have been possible; instead of this, the authorities expected the institute to corroborate or justify decisions already taken.

At present the Church in Hungary is not only unprepared for the solution of her own problems but she is also helpless in the face of those tasks for whose solution the State would like to enlist her assistance: In the September 1984 issue of the periodical, "Vigilia", Bishop Cserháti wrote that, within the framework of the "Patriotic People's Front", concrete agreements have been made, according to which the Church should take an active part in caring for the family, the young people and the elderly. In areas of such concrete tasks, which demand sound specialist knowledge, goodwill alone is not enough if effective help is to be offered. There are hardly any experts within the Church itself. A state research team, as reported in their brochure, "Integration of Difficulties in Society", conducted examinations on problems such as suicide, criminality, alcoholism, feebleness, dangers facing the young, and came to the conclusion that these "defects within society" are spreading at an alarming rate. To solve these problems the State would gladly enlist the help of the Church and the latter would indeed be ready, with the aid of her system of values and motivated by her mission, to counteract such difficulties. But the acquisition of the necessary specialist knowledge, the concrete preparation of successful work in this field of activity, could only be achieved through a course of intensive study and this cannot be demanded of the already over-burdened parish pastors. If the Church has the intention of efficiently serving the welfare of the general public in this particular field, i.e. approaching the problems not with well-meaning encouragement, but rather with competent knowledge, she must see to it that people are trained not just for evangelization but also that they acquire the necessary sound and specialised knowledge.

OBSTACLES TO MISSIONARY WORK

The fundamental principle of "being ordered" is that everything that is not explicity "regulated" is forbidden. The regulations may be relatively generous in certain respects, but they have to be very strictly and exactly adhered to. Thus, for example, it is possible for a college club to organize a discussion on religion and invite theologians, priests etc. to give talks on the subject, but the Church itself is not allowed to organize anything of the kind. Via the mass media virtually only materialistically oriented information is offered on religious topics, (history of religion, practices of the religious life). A striking example of this was the 32-part broadcast series, "World of the Bible" which, in accordance with the general wish, was not only repeated but was even brought out in book-form too, (100,000 copies) and in a very short time was out of print. The non-religious public opinion celebrated this as a great "religious event".

Likewise managed by the State and thereby materialistically orientated is the telephone advisory service on psychical matters. While the Protestant churches, within a limited scope, have the possibility of offering a pastoral service by telephone, the Catholic Church is not allowed to have anything similar. The Catholic Church virtually has to do without the use of modern means of communication for the purposes of evangelization. The Church can therefore only exert her influence through her own communities, and has more or less adapted herself to this and tries to do justice to her task within the scope of the possibilities open to her. It was already hinted at a number of times in the national press that it would actually be quite good to set up religious competition to the ineffective materialist propaganda which, in its exclusive control, had stagnated into self-complacency; thus more life and dynamics would be infused into the spreading of materialist propaganda, and those people who had not yet bound themselves to any particular ideology, would have the possibility of making up their minds for one direction or the other. The governing bodies have not yet been able to decide on such a "democratic" step.

The two decades which have passed since the Partial Agreement was made, have been a time of upheaval and transition in the Hungarian Church: She is still affected by traits of the former position she once had and subsequently forfeited, and which she must now turn her back on once and for all. At the same time, as far as the future is concerned, she is still at the stage of preparing herself for a firm position in today's society. But in both respects she has made significant progress in these last two decades. Above all, in spite of the trial of strength which the change of roles in society meant for her, she has managed to stay faithful to her mission, and — using the modest means at her disposal, — is well on the way to renewal in the sense of the Second Vatican Council. The results achieved in this period are not least of all due to Rome, particularly to the solicitude expressed by Pope John Paul II in his speeches and in his letters. The Vatican's "Ostpolitik" could not bring about independence for the Hungarian Church, but at least it can create more possibilities of a more intensive engagement in pastoral care.

DOCUMENT V

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HUNGARIAN STATE AND THE HUNGARIAN REFORMED CHURCH

BY DR JOSEPH PUNGUR

(An excerpt)

Rev. Dr. Joseph Pungur is the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Previously he was the minister of the Hungarian Reformed Church and for years he worked at the Foreign-Relations Department of the Synodal Office dealing with protocol matters. Having spent six years in teaching ministry in Kenya, East Africa, he is now the minister of the Calvin Hungarian Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, and lecturer of the University of Alberta. This lecture was delivered at the annual meeting of the American Hungarian Reformed Ministerial Association, Ligonier, PA., September 1984.

We must understand that even the restricted freedoms enjoyed by the Church today are being constantly altered by the State depending on their domestic and foreign policy's difficulties. Although Hungary has recently been depicted by the Western media as the country of "Gulyas Communism", few people know the real difficulties the regime is wrestling with.

In this situation the state obviously needs the Church to help alleviate the dissatisfaction of the masses.

What they are now returning to the Church in concessions is only a fraction of what they had illegally taken from her that what was left after the nationalization of Church schools in 1948.

Let us examine now how the Church is being kept under government control by the totalitarian state.

Most typical and the first of this system is the formation of the State Office of Church Affairs. The task of this office is multifaceted. Within the existing political framework this office is responsible for State-Church relationship. Any request from the Church leaders to the State must be made through this office. This agency also represents the will of state in ecclesiastical matters. Furthermore, the task of the State Office of Church Affairs includes the monitoring of church-activities and the measurement of Church influence on society. Beyond this, this office makes recommendations to the state authority regarding policies connected with the Church and Church personnel.

The State Office of Church Affairs is in constant touch with similar institutions in other socialist countries exchanging views, ideas and sharing experiences. This agency is also connected to other State and Party organizations and its president, in the rank of Undersecretary of State, participates in meeting of the Council of State Ministers. The office has a very close relationship with the Communist Party headquarters and the Security Police.

The State Office of Church Affairs pays particular attention to the selection of Church leaders. At the present time, when one becomes a Church leader, he must be a person with proven loyalty to the State. The decisive criterion is neither suitability nor talents but loyalty to the State.

The second level of the supervisory system over the Church, as unbelievable as it may sound, is constituted by the leaders of the Church, the deans or seniors, bishops and the responsible leaders of the Synod and that of the Synod's Office (which is the equivalent of the General Assembly Office in the Presbyterian Churches). These persons provide regular reports to their superiors which, in the final analysis, end up in the State Office of Church Affairs. Fro' political activities abroad.

The third level of supervision is the State Security Police. A special division of it deals with the affairs of the Church and the clergy, monitoring their activities by informations from their independent network of id that of the Synod's Office (which is the equivalent of the General Assembly Office in the Presbyterian Churches). These persons provide regular reports to their superiors which, in the final analysis, end up in the State Office of Church Affairs. Fronformers. The State Security Police is in communication with the State Office of Church Affairs as well as with the leaders of the Church. If a case is unmanageable by both the Church leaders and the State Office of Church Affairs, then the Security Police will commence action.

After all this let us examine on what theological basis has the Hungarian Reformed Church formed her policies towards the State.

In the first period from 1948 to 1956 Bishop Albert Beretzky formulated the so-called "narrow way" theology what the Church leadership found most appropriate for those times. To briefly summarize, this theology professed that God pronounced judgement on the past conduct of the country during the war years including that of the Church. Only a "narrow way" was given to the Church which meant a limited activity for the Church under the new Communist system. This theology was suitable for the excuse of the State to nationalize Church properties and schools, also to take away two of the four theological academies including the Lonyai — and Sárospatak High Schools a couple of years later. This theology was also suitable for the Church to extinguish post-war religious revival and to silently endure the molestations of her clergy and congregations and the deportation of many believers. In the fall of 1956 amidst shaking political events the judgement of God was manifested on this theology and its most prominent representatives faded out of the limelight of the Church.

Since 1957, the Church has been living in the so-called "Theology of Service" era. This had been worked out by Bishop Tibor Bartha and his co-workers. The basis of it can be found in Luke 22:27, "I am among you as he that serveth." This "Theology of Service", in reality became a "Theology of Servitude", thus, a sell-out theology. This theology acknowledges the goals of the atheistic state and in thorough realization of these coerces the Church to co-operate. So in building socialism, the Church became a collaborator as well as the arm of the State.

Regarding this theology, there are at least three critical remarks that should be made. Firstly, the premise of this theology is false because Christ had said his words to his own disciples and followers and not to Pontius Pilate, the representative of the Roman Empire.

The second remark is that basically the "Theology of Service" is a liberal political theology and its representatives want to cover it with an orthodox theological sugar coat. It is liberal because it equalizes the Kingdom of God with Socialism and perceives the arrival of the former through the realization of the latter.

Thirdly, let us point out the precarious situation into which the Church has been led by her leaders. The theoreticians and leaders of the society, in which the Church lives presently, openly admit of not having any future plan for the Church in the Communistic society to come. At the same time, the Church contributes to the building up of this society by fervently joining the builders of socialism. This means that the Church prepares the way for her own demise to the point when she is needed no longer.

As to the shortcomings in Church leadership let us only mention three.

First of all, there is a noticeable lack of prophetic voice. It is understandable that the Church tries to find her own pathway within the socialist system and agrees with certain political goals on humanitarian basis. The Church leaders, however, should raise a prophetic voice toward those goals and practices of the regime which from both Christian and national points of view are questionable. Let us name some of these areas which should be of concern to the Church leaders. The problem of a decreasing population and the question of abortion, the escalating rate of suicide, alcoholism, oppressed Hungarian minorities living in the neighouring States, the Eastern block's arms race and deployment of new rockets.

Recently, we may have witnessed the latest sins of the Church leaders and we may commonly call it "misinformation"; the willful misleading of Church followers in regard to certain important matters.

It may be mentioned, at this point, that the Church leadership developed a Neo-baroque absolutistic type of leadership in a Church that professes to practice Synod-Presbytery system. Behind the mask of the Synod-Presbytery system the Church fell actually into the hands of a leadership clique. Since State leadership is highly centralized the Church leadership was obliged to follow this pattern. This is how the present style of Church leadership, which can be labelled as Bishopric system of Church government, came about. It is easier for the State Office of Church Affairs to work with a few bishops, who are known and are obliged to it and having a long term in office, than with moderators taking turns yearly. Thus, assuredly, the Neo-baroque Church leadership is perfectly suitable to the leaders of the Proletarian Dictature.

After all this, how do we perceive the Hungarian Reformed Church? It is necessary to differentiate between Church leadership and the Church herself for the two are not synonymous. The Church leadership has developed the wrong theology relating to the State and consequently has been practicing misguided Church policies for which the Church is dearly paying. A theology which leads to a close union with a regime, that holds to an atheistic ideology and involved in a systematic and fervent combat against Church, must be qualified as defective. This regime gradually and systematically elevates itself to the same plateau as God claiming to be omniscient, omnipresent, almighty and fountain and giver of all things. It neither request nor tolerates criticism because within its domain it ascribes to the view of all wisdom, power and glory. The Church leaders living in an illusionary world with momentary advantages and with the euphoric enjoyment of their delegated power. Either they are unable or unwilling to observe the fact that they are helping to build up a ruthless socialistic society which will eventually terminate the existence of the Church. At the same time it must be observed that the majority of congregations and of the parish pastors living plainly and in the faith. It is their devotion to God and dedication to their faith which still keeps the Church alive. The preaching of the Word of God, even if it is done in uncertainty and sometimes vaguely, it still is being heard. Even if the Word of God is preached in this manner it is still an alternative to the propagation of the atheistic ideology. The Church in her condition is still preaching the gospel of mercy and forgiveness and new life through Christ. By doing so the Church helps to preserve Hungary's own national characteristics and awareness.

For the Hungarian Reformed Church living in the West there is a special mission to the Reformed Church in Hungary. This was drafted by the late Bishop Laszlo Ravasz. The task of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the West is the same as it was of the -Princes-of Transylvania who as the rulers of the Principality of Transylvania helped by all means the people of Hungary under Turkish and Austrian occupation during the 16th-17th century. To speak for those who cannot, to say the things they cannot utter, to criticize those whom they cannot criticize; most importantly to cry out for the Church and her members. Last but not least it is our sacred duty to bring in our prayer to the throne of God, His suffering Church in Hungary.

DOCUMENT VI FROM: RELIGION IN COMMUNIST LANDS SUMMER, 1984

Analysis or Slander?

Robert J. Patkai

(Excerpts)

A strongly worded protest from the leadership of the Hungarian Lutheran Church has been issued in the form of a Declaration signed by Bishop Gyula Nagy and four senior ecclesiastical officials—not including the presiding Bishop Zoltán Káldy. The leadership express their shock condemning churchmen in the West who "attack and slander the theology of the Church, her relationship to the State, her leaders, and — above all our presiding bishop Dr. Zoltán Káldy". The wrath of the Hungarian Church is directed in particular against an eminent and respected theologian, the former Director of the Lutheran World Federation's Theology Department in Geneva and of the Ecumenical Institute in Strasbourg, Dr. Vilmos Vajta, who has written a critical analysis of the "theology of diaconia", the official theological system of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. This theology was formulated to fill the void created by the theological stagnation experienced by the Church during the "Stalinist " era and the political upheavals connected with the 1956 Revolution. The main architect and proponent of this system is Bishop Káldy.

In my short evaluation I shall limit myself to Professor Vajta's article and its "rejection" in the above-mentioned Declaration. I shall do this in the light of the recent history of the Hungarian Lutheran Church and in the context of the development of the "theology of diaconia".

Historical Background

The Second World War created a new situation for the East European Churches. The continuation of church life was conditional on the goodwill of the new governments. The main task before the leaders of the Church was to be partners with whom new arrangements were supposed to be made.

Within a few years of World War II the situation in Hungary turned dramatically into a problem of church-state relations. Most people in the West have failed to notice that the primary test case here was not the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty. Instead the authorities turned their attention to the smallest Protestant community, the Lutheran Church, and its leading bishop, Lajos Ordass. In the Autumn of 1948 he was sentenced by a special court for violating the country's currency laws. He spent two years in prison and was afterwards placed under a sort of "house arrest".

When the World Council of Churches Central Committee met in Hungary during the Summer of 1956 — that is, before the October revolution of the same year — officials of the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation (including Dr. George Bell, Bishop of Chichester; Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, American Church President; Bishop Hanns Lilje, Presiding Bishop of Hanover; and Dr. Carl E. Lund-Ouisa, General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation) began negotiations with the government about the rehabilitation of Bishop Ordass. They succeeded, and the court judgement was declared invalid. It comes as no surprise to learn that the Church did the same, although Bishop Ordass was not able to return to office before the October revolution. He remained in office until Spring 1958 when the state officials declared his return illegal.

His office was once again declared vacant and the only candidate, Zoltán Káldy, was formally elected as his successor.

A NEW THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

It was in this situation that a new theological orientation was elaborated by Bishop Kaldy. According to the "theology of diaconia", the aim of the Lutheran Church is to offer service to humanity in a socialist society without formally adopting the tenets of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and at the same time remaining true to confessional creeds. The idea is that the Church will on the one hand avoid a ghetto-like isolation in society and on the other conform to the norms set by the State. This type of diaconia was conceived of as broader and more universal than the traditional diaconia of the Church, including political engagement in "the great questions of humanity", especially that of peace among nations.

Since the early 1960s this theology has become not only the official theology of the leaders of the Church, but also obligatory for the pastors of the Church as well.

THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In Professor Vajta's article we have for the first time an analysis of the "theology of diaconia". He has pointed out its deficiency as far as christological foundations derived from the Bible are concerned. Obviously he is questioning Bishop Káldy's own writings (although he is not criticizing the Bishop personally). He suggests that by dint of the strong authority which characterizes this theology it has in fact become an ideology and therefore does not tolerate any criticism or analysis. The indisputable consequence of this "theological ideology" is that it will manifest itself in one simple way: instead of producing christological arguments to justify its willingness to serve the world and society, as might be expected from a church "theology of diaconia", this particular theology produces a content corresponding to the political programme of the Hungarian government.

Professor Vajta also refers to a recent Marxist analysis of this "theology of diaconia". A leading Marxist philosopher and professor at the University of Debrecen, József Poór, has pointed out that though this theology has christological presuppositions, its practical consequences are in complete harmony with the "Scientific Marxist-Leninist" analysis. Although the theologians might not be acceptable from the scientific perspective, their position can be tolerated temporarily because of their usefulness. This Marxist philosopher adds in all honesty that this is the first time in history that a theological system and consequently a Church (or Churches) can agree with the Marxist programme, a fact which might force Marxists to rethink some of their inherited presuppositions about religion (József Poór, Századunk és a Protestantizmus (Our Century and Protestantism), Budapest 1981, pp. 166-84).

Professor Vajta's short analytical article has caused, as we have seen, a vehement reaction from Lutheran church leaders in Hungary. In the press release entitled "Slanders rejected" it is however surprising that they give no theological answer whatsoever to the serious theological arguments advanced in the discredited article of Dr. Vajta.

ANNEX IX
Selected documentation in the case of the secret graves.

APPEAL
TO
PAL LOSONCZI, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

On June 16, 1958 Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter and Miklos Gimes were executed for their role in the Hungarian Revolution. Their remains, along with those of the many others who were similarly put to death, were buried by the authorities in unmarked graves.

On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the execution of Imre nagy and his associates we appeal to you and to your government to adhere to the principles of human rights embodied in the Helsinki Final Act by fulfilling the repeated requests of the surviving family members for the identification of the gravesites, for permission to visit the identified burial places and for the recovery of the bodies for proper interment of their executed relatives.

Jimmy Carter
(Rev) Imre Bertalan
(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
William F. Buckley, Jr.
Leo Cherne
Arthur J. Goldberg
Lane Kirkland
Czeslaw Milosz
John Richardson
Ted Solotaroff
Eugene

(Most Rev.) Philip M. Hannan
(Rev.) Julian Fuzer, O.F.M.
Anne Armstrong
Vladimir Bukovsky
Donald S. Dawson
Charlton Heston
Clare Boothe Luce
Walter F. Mondale
Bayard Rustin
Edward Teller

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 15, 1983

I am proud to join Senator Dole, Congressmen Fascell and Horton, and the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America in noting this historically significant moment.

June 16, 1983, marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the tragic execution of Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy, General Pal Maleter, Miklos Gimes, and many others in the aftermath of the struggle for their country's liberty during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The valor, dignity, and dedication they displayed in the pursuit of freedom reaffirms our belief in the eventual triumph of the human spirit over totalitarianism. While every freedom-loving American shares the sorrow of this occasion, we all are inspired by the realization that people around the world still yearn for the liberty Hungarians so courageously fought for in 1956.

I commend the efforts to identify the graves of the gallant men and women of the Revolution and to secure access to their remains for proper burial after so many years of anguish on the part of family and friends.

As we remember the events of twenty-five years ago, let us extend our sympathy to the distressed families and friends who pay tribute to the memory of their countrymen who died to further the cause of a free, independent, and democratic Hungary.

Ronald Reagan

Romanian National Council
Branch of the United State of America
The Executive Bureau
1805 Menahan St., Ridgewood, NY 11385
New York, U S A

STATEMENT
OF
THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

addressed to the Committee on Ways and Means, on the occassion of hearings in view of the prolongation of the Status of the Most Favored Nation's Clause to Romania - July 23,'85.-

The Romanian National Council, the USA Branch opposes the prolongation of the Most Favored Nation Status to Romania for the following reasons:

1.Romania is ruled by a tyranical, totalitarian, inhumane regime, a Godless tyranny.-

2.The communist rule, imposed by the Soviet Union which is leading Romania as back as the end of the second Worldwar, is a tool of the Soviets that aim at world wide dictatorship of the communists.-

3.During their administration of Romania the Romanian people has been plundered of the basic means of subsistence, subjected continually to a terrible terror that reduced it to sheer misery. People's basic liberty has been taken away, the religion is practically forbidden, the history is falsified, is hindered in the expression of their traditions, customs and culture, and so a once florishing people is being pushed back to the past centuries of servitude in order to prepare it for an annexation to Soviet Union.

4.The communist regime in Romania has been and still is the most horrible cancer, unprecedented in the tumultuous history of this Latin nation on low Danube, a nation that centuries on end was a shieldwatch of Europe. Now this valliant people"is dying within its frontiers" and none is able to help it.

5.. During the 1948-1962 period, when the communist took away from the peasants their land, about 80.000 peasants were emprisoned, and very many of them couldn't resist and lost their lives.

Starting in 1946-47 till 1964 were sent to prison over 500.000 people from all the social classes and the communists destroied by torture and assasiantions nearly the whole élite of the Romanian nation.Only in this period have died - because of lack of medical assistance,starvation and tortures - over 200.000 people.And this situation continues today in Romania,I testify for it myself Grigore Caraza by wording this memorial,I who in the 1949-1977 period suffered 21 years of imprisonement,as political detainee,plus 2 years of compulsory domicile.-

6. In the capital Bucharest at this very hour 1/6 of the town has been demolished.The buildings are pulled down and the peole left in the streets,the churches are being demolished as well as the historical monuments so that our people be broken away from the historical past and traditions.

7.The aids of every kind that are given to Romania don't reach to the poor people,but they go directly to Soviet Union or are being deposited in an account of a bank in Switzerland with the aim of achieving the world communism.During my political detention I personnally met a detainee,named M , who was empowered by the Romanian communist leadership in this matter.

8.While Romania has a foreign debt of over $10 billions,and the people is subjected to the greatest privations, as for instance:the food penury,the shortage of light,warmth,means of conveyance,unpaid salaries,the increased unemployment and so on, the communist government is granting an unreimbursable loan of $ 3 billions to some third world countries with an obvious purpose of setting up the communism in the repective countries.

9.During last winter because of the cold , lack of warmth, in maternity-hospitals had died 90% of the newly born babies. Our nation is extinguishing!

10.The human rights are trampled under foot in the communist Romania.Here are some exemples:

I. Popescu Stefan,born on Febr.13,1943,
Popescu Elena " " Jan.1,1944
Popescu Liliana Claudia,b.May 22,72
residing in Bucharest,Str.Tg.Neamţ 24.Bl.TD 28,ap.35,
sect.6,who had lodged their emigrations papers since
Oct.1981 didn't get any answer.

II.Also in USA are expecting their brother and family Mrs. Iulia and Ionel Miclău(6053 Drexel,Chicago,Ill.60637.

III. Androne Ana, Androne Paul Adrian and Androne Alexandru Andrei(son) residing in Bucharest, str. Zece Mese 7, Sect.2, had handed in their applications since 5 years(1980).They are waited for by their parents in New York(their parents are Hristescu Elena and Hristescu Jean, 32-39, 47th Street Astoria, N.Y.11103).-

Conclusions:

The Free World Peoples - i.e. those that are not under the communist tyranny - have to know that any kind of help granted to a communist country doesn't reach the real needy people, but is swallowed by the ogre Soviet Union, that is using the aid for promoting the international communism, for the conquest of the rest of the Free World by their forces of evil, and consequently this aid represents a new step forward for the communists and a dynamite more laid at the foundation of the Free World.-

Please, in God's holy name, stop granting the most favored nation's status clause to the communist Romania !

THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

Secretary,

Grigore Caraza

President,

Ion Teodorescu-Faget

New York,

July 20, 1985

Members of the Executive Bureau
1. Eugen Popescu
2. Valeriu Mânzicu
3. Liviu Butura

"Honour to those Freedom Fighters who gave their lives fighting Communism

ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION,Inc.
(A NOT FOR PROFIT PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATION)
104-55 107th St.,Ozone Park,New York,N.Y.11417

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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NICULAE D.MARIN,Eng.

Censor
Mrs.NANCY RADIAN

Censor
Mrs.EMMA EMILIA BRATU

July 23,1985

UNITED STATES SENATE,COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
Subcommittee on International Trade,
SD-219,Dirksen Senate Office Building,
Washington D.C.20510

Attn.Hon.Bob Packwood,Chairman.

STATEMENT

AGAINST THE EXTENSION OF M.F.N. tariff status to the Communist Government of ROMANIA.

HONORABLE CHAIRMAN,AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE:

The "Romanian National Committee of Liberation,Inc.",as a Not For Profit patriotic organization,try to show all over the world the real and actual truth about Romania,promoting the spiritual and historic heritage of Romanian people,and to defend it against the outrageous interferences of pernicious actions.
Romanian National Committee of Liberation,Inc. is struggling for the Human Rights of the Romanian people,disclosing the abuses of the communist totalitarian rule in Romania after March 6,1945,and to affirm the right of the Romanians to elect a free democratic government to rule their native country.
Our patriotic organization is continuously claiming the right to self determination of the Romanians from Bessarabia,Northern Bucovina and Hertza county,forcibly annexed by U.S.S,R. in June 26,1940.
In the same time Romanian National Committee of Liberation considers that all Romanian population is suffering because of the consequences of the Communist Rule,and it is no difference between the Hungarian minotity and other Romanians about these sufferings.We do not agree with the agitation of those Hungarians in exile who try to desinform the Western Powers affirming that the Hungarian minority living in Romanian province Transylvania are more persecuted than other minorities and Romanian majority.
Generally speaking the Romanian people wants freedom of speech,freedom of worship,freedom from fear,and freedom from want.
For years the Westwern Powers hoped to detach Romania from the Soviet Block by encouraging its so called independent foreign policy,but the Romanian Communist Party's chiefs remained constantly obedient subservients to the Soviet Union chiefs and Warsaw Pact. we agree with

the opinion of Prof.David Funderburk,the former ambassador of the United States in Bucharest,Romania,that Soviet Union is the most profitable of the so called "independence" of Romania,and U.S.S.R. surelly has not abandoned the idea of using Nicolae Ceausescu and Bucharest diplomacy for their international purposes on terrorism ,"movement of peace",and economic espionage .

The very large loans made by the United States and Western banks to Romania and other communist countries did not stabilize the conditions of life in the satelite countries.Only the communist oligarchs of tho- countries and the Soviet Union Empire are the real profiteers,in order to conquer the entire world by :external encirclement,internal demoralization and thermonuclear blackmail.

If communist President of Romania -Nicolae Ceausescu- is really independent from Soviet Union,why he does not want to leave the expensive military Pact of Warsaw ?

The"Romanian National Committee of Liberation " considers that Mr.Nicolae Ceausescu,as the General Secretary of the Communist Party and tyrant of Romania,is personally responsible for the demolition of the following monuments,churches,and historical sites in Romania :

- the Monastery "Mihai Voda" founded by Michael the Brave,Prince of Muntenia,who was the first Romanian Prince who realized the Union of all Romanian provinces -Muntenia,Moldova and Transylvania -in 1600 year;
- "Enei Church"from Bucharest,founded by Iana Negoescu at the beginning of the 17th century;
- Church of **Saint** Spiridon-Vechi,founded in 1680,by Prince of Muntenia- Serban Cantacuzino;
- Saint Nicolae Church of Alba-Postavarul,founded in Bucharest -in 1564-
- the Monastery Antim,founded by Prince Constantin Brancoveanu at the beginning of 18th century;
- Church "Izvorul Tamaduirii",founded on the bank of Dambovitza river by the handcraftsmen of Bucharest in 18th century;
- Church of Saints Apostles,founded in 1550 by Matei Basarab,Price of Muntenia;
- Church "Cotroceni" founded by Serban Cantacuzino in 1679,Prince of Muntenia,that who printed The Bible into Romanian language in 1683;
- The Monastery "Vacaresti",founded by Constantin Mavrocordat in 1716-;
- Church "Spirea Noua",founded by Ionitza Selaru at the end of 18th century,in Bucharest;
- Church "Spirea Veche" founded in 1777 by Dr.Spirea Cristofi,originally from Corfu Isle;
- Church "Domnitza Balasa",founded by Princess Balasa,born Brancoveanu, and her husband-Manolache Lambrino-in 1745;
- the Monastery"Schitul Maicilor"founded in 1726 by nun Tatiana Hagi Dima and boyaress Smaranda;
- Church "Saint Ilie-Rahava",fonded by the monk Isaia Novaceanu,his sister Sanda and his brother in laww Atanasie,in Bucuresti-1738;
- Church "Strejarul"founded in 1743 by captain Tanase in Bucuresti,during the rule of Prince Mihai **Racovitza**;

All these old churches and monasteries from Bucharest were demolished under the Neronian rule of Nicolae Ceausescu,in the same time being destroyed the historical monuments as follows:

- Statue of Uranus -erected in the honour of heroes who strggled in 1949 for freedom;
- Spitalul Brancovenesc-founded by Safta Brancoveanu in 1838;
- Statue of Brancoveanu,father of Prince C.Brancoveanu,killed by Turcs Seimeni in 1655;
- The building of "Arhivele Statului",an old Romanian historical monument;

- other historical sites of Romania,among them being also the old towers of defence,named "CULA" -citing only some of them like-Maldonir, Calapăru,Brosteni,Crainici,Rovinari,Frasinet,Popesti-Leordeni,Pojogeni and others .

For these reasons ,the Romanian National Committee of Liberation asks to the United States and United Nations Organization to obliege the Romanian Government of today :

-to stop immediatelly the demolition of monuments and historical sites in Bucharest and other places of Romania;

-to reinstate the Commission of Historical Monuments of Romania,abolished in 1977;

-to respect the Chart of the International Council on Conservation and Restauration of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS),signed by Romania;

-to permit free Unions of Romanian workers and intellectuals;

-to permit the worship of the Romanian Catholic Church of Byzantine Rite,which was interdicted since December 1,1948;

-to accept the free association and activity to other political democratic parties,not only for those of the Communist Party ;

-to release the political prisoners,and those prisoners of conscience, who are retained in jails,forced labor camps,psychiatric hospitals,and forced residence,among them being also engineer ION PUIU,a former political prisoner during December 1947-August 1964,who wrote on February 28,1985,an open letter to President N.Ceausescu (communist dictator of Romania)in order to be admitted as a candidate to the great National Assembly in the electoral district of Jilava.He made his request on the base of **Romanian Constitution** & the name of "His Majesty the Romanian People",but after this letter the brave Romanian freedom fighter Ion Puiu disapeared from his last residence in Bucharest,Calea Victoriei 101,Sector 1,and his whereabouts are not known.He was a member of the Executive Central Committee of the Youth of the National Peasant Party -Iuliu Maniu-since 1945.

For all these reasons,the Romanian National Committee of Liberation,Inc. ask for that the Committee on Finance of U.S.Senate must adopt a resolution of disaproval the President's recommendation to waive Section 402-subsection (a) and (b) of the Trade Act -M.F.N. with regard to the communist government of Romania.

GOD BLESS AMERICA !

PRESIDENT Dr Alexandru Bratu
Dr.Alexandru Bratu

SECRETARY Marin
Eng.Niculae D.Marin

DR. EMANUEL MERDINGER
DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

July 12, 1985

4908 N.W. Sixteenth Place, Gainesville, Florida 32605 Phone (904)372-3715

Chairman Senate Committee on Finance
Subcommittee on International Trade
Washington, D. C. 20510

Esteemed members of the Subcommittee on International Trade:

I am Dr. Emanuel Merdinger, Distinguished Professor at the University Of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. To enumerate the merits of President Ceausescu vis-a-vis the US and the West is not necessary because you know them quite well. I emphasize however that he has been working hard for many years openly, diplomatically and tirelessly, especially during the last five years, for peace. He admonishes, begs and pleads that the USA and the Soviet Union come to an agreement to eliminate the danger of a nuclear war.

This show of independence by Mr. Ceausescu brought severe economic retaliation from Russia on Romania. It led to the economic stagnation which is still choking Romania. One example: While all other Warsaw Pact nations buy fuel from Russia paying with their own internationally worthless currency, Romania has to pay with dollars.

President Ceausescu is our own single friend in the Eastern blok nations and the US can rely on him as a friend. In view of all his endeavors since 1971, I urge that MFN status be extended to Romania for another year.

Among those who oppose the MFN status for Romania is a certain group of Hungarian-Americans. What has disturbed us who follow the politics of South-East Europe is the ever more violent and inciting attacks against Romania by this group of Hungarian-Americans. They aim at a territorial revision of the borders established at the peace treaty in 1945. They want the Romanian Territory of Transylvania.

The propaganda these revisionists carry on by word of mouth, newspapers, publications and pamphlets is scarry, especially the latter. Unidentified, unknown persons have sent me by mail many such pamphlets. I wish to quote some parts of one. (I am enclosing the Hungarian original and its translation in English): "Let us utter like a prayer, like an oath of faith, Dusko Csaba's words: "I shall kill each Romanian crossing my way! I shall exterminate one and all! I shall rip the whole population with my sword. I shall poison the wells. without mercy! At night I shall set Romanian villages on fire. I shall strangle the babies. I shall be merciless! Toward all! I shall have no pity for children or pregnant mothers either ...... Revenge! Without pity dire revenge, etc, etc.

There will not be another "Verdict of Vienna" like that in 1940, when the the two brutal dictators Hitler and Mussolini ripped off a part of Transsylvania and gave it to Hungary. But at the peace treaty in 1945 the Allieds righted the wrong and returned that territory to Romania.

For many years this group of Hungarian-Americans have tried to block Romanian - USA trade. Let this Committee not be taken in this year by their venemous propaganda.

COMMITTEE OF TRANSYLVANIA, INC.

Founded 1956

LOUIS L. LOTE
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The most favored nation status for Rumania has been benefiting Rumania more than the United States. According to the Trade Act of 1974 a communist governed country is eligible for MFN if it does not hinder emigration of its citizens and generally if its record on human rights practices is good.

On the ground of human rights abuses in general, and those of Hungarians in particular, we do not favor extension of MFN for Rumania.

We are aware of thefact that Rumania enjoys a special relationship with the United States but are not well informed by what deeds that country has merited this relationship. We do not know whether the conditions which led up to that recognition are still valid.We believe that reexamination of those conditions would be useful for our country.

We are also aware of other pertinent facts on ground of which extension of MFN for Rumania looks favorable for our country, such as trade, business interest of those enterprises dealing with Rumania.

Our question is how the national survival of over three million non-Rumanian inhabitants stands up in view of political and economic interest of our country? In other words, how human rights abuses by the Rumanian government effect our dealing with that country?

Since the last few years human rights - including national minority rights- have attained to a larger role in relation to our foreign policy vis-a-vis countries with bad human rights record.

In the Eastern block Rumania is successfully competing with the Soviet Union in human rights violations.

Hundreds of pages of testimonies on Rumania's suppression of national minorities, mainly Hungarians, to the distinguished members of the Subcommittee on International Trade at past hearings.

:were submitted

Thus this testimony is limited to a few selected data to support our points:

We enclose here the following informative material:

1/ An open letter to the delegates to the conference on human rights in Ottawa,

2/ "Toilet paper from Bibles ", a report by Dr.Alexander Havadtoy in the Calvin Synod Herald on the recycling into toil-tpaper of 20,000 Hungarian Bibles sent to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania by the World Reformed Alliance (U.S.A.) with the permission of the Rumanian government,

2/ Response to the "Texte documentaire" (Documentary text), a memorandum in French prepared to counteract a resolution in the European Parliament on the suppression of Hungarians in Rumania. As it appears from our response the Rumanian Memorandum tries to whitewash well known curtailment of Hungarian education and cultural activities by distorting facts of discrimination as favorable acts for Hungarians,and keeping silent about other measures detrimental for Hungarians.

July 30,1985

Louis L. Lote

Louis L. Lote
president,
Committee of Transylvania,Inc.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DELEGATES TO THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN OTTAWA, MAY 1985

Distinguished Delegate:

On the opening of the conference on human rights we turn toward you who will bring important decisions concerning the most important rights of human beings: to live in freedom and with human dignity.

During the conference many cases may be presented where these precious rights have been violated; i.e., instances involving arrest without warrant, imprisonment without trial, conviction on trumped-up charges, or the use of torture to extract false convictions, to name but a few.

But our main purpose of writing to you is to call your attention to another type of human rights violation, the willful and systematic oppression of national minorities, in some countries with mixed population. The only "*sin*" of these people is that they are of different nationality than the majority, i.e. they have different motherlanguage, different culture, different aspirations and even different religion. These millions want to keep their national identity as strongly as you want to keep your own to which you and they are fully entitled by natural, codified or uncodified, law.

We have mainly in mind the treatment of Hungarians just outside the present border of Hungary, inside Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Together, they number approximately four million people, being the largest national minority in Europe outside the Soviet Union. The territories referred to belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary for a thousand years until it was split up and distributed among these countries in the peace treaty of Trianon concluding World War I for Hungary — with 3,250,000 Hungarian population. (Slovakia ceded its eastern part to the Soviet Union in 1945.)

Not much is known about the 200,000 Hungarian population of this new part of the Soviet Union. Due to the multinational structure of Yugoslavia, the half a million Hungarians living in that country are not so much discriminated against as the 2.5 million Hungarian population of Transylvania (Rumania) and the 700,000 in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak leadership seems to suffer in a nationalistic fervor since long. To satisfy itself it had led a systematic offensive against Hungarians in Slovakia which resulted in the post-war years in depriving Hungarians from the Czechoslovakian citizenship, closing their schools for a few years (so that the Hungarian youth has not had any education during those years) and wanting to expell all Hungarians from Slovakia in order to have a pure Slavic country including Czechs, Slovaks and Ukrainians only. In recent years Slovak nationalism flared up again threatening anew with the closing of all Hungarian schools. With this and the imprisonment of Miklós Duray, a young Hungarian geologist living in Slovakia, that country got in the forefront of human rights violations in East-Central Europe. Duray who organized a campaign against the closing of the Hungarian schools in Slovakia, was incarcerated last summer, kept in prison since without trial. Charges against him as far as it can be known are the usual in socialist countries: "activities contrary to the interest of the state".

Mr. Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, repeatedly and publicly asserted that Rumania is a unitary, one-nation state. These statements seem to govern Rumania's minority policies which more and more curtail educational and cultural opportunities for the nationalities with the obvious tendency of assimilating them as fast as possible. Of course, Rumania is not a one-nation state. On the contrary, next to Yugoslavia, Rumania is the second most multinational country in the area. It is populated by an estimated 2.5 million Hungarians, 450,000 Germans and several hundred-thousand Jews, Gypsies, Serbs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and others, besides Rumanians. That is why Rumania applies all means available for a totalitarian government to forcibly absorb the non-Rumanian nationalities into the Rumanian ethnic body. Some of the ways used so far are:

☐ *Closing of all Hungarian highschools and drastically reducing the number of elementary schools. The last Hungarian highschool under the process of Rumanianization is the Roman Catholic founded, 400 years old highschool in Kolozsvár (in Rumanian: Napoca-Cluj). The Babes-Bolyai University in the same city (previously the Hungarian cultural capital of Transylvania) has now an ever decreasing small department mainly for the Hungarian literature classes inspite of the Rumanian pledge, at the forcible merging of the Hungarian Bolyai and the Rumanian Babes universities in 1958, to maintain two equal strong Rumanian and Hungarian departments.*

☐ *Squeezing out the Hungarian language from all public use although constitutional assurance to the contrary. Hungarian language cannot be used at railway and bus depots, at law courts, at community authorities' offices, in hotels and restaurants. The suppression of language went so far as to compel Hungarian doctors to speak Rumanian to their Hungarian patients.*

☐ *Complete control upon religious denominations. If a priest or minister is very popular in the congregation, and keeps the church members together and active in an examplary manner, he can count with transfer, or discharge and even with arrest. The number of theology students and seminarians has been radically decreased in the last few years covering not more than 10% of vacant congregations by retirement and death. Studying abroad, a 400 years old Hungarian Protestant tradition, has become practically forbidden.*

☐ *The Hungarian character of certain regions of Transylvania, including the Szekely Land, is being destroyed by forced mass resettlements of Rumanians from the original Rumanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia into Transylvania. Cities with overwhelmingly Hungarian population in the past, are now overwhelmingly Rumanian by resettlements of Rumanians and not permitting Hungarian to move in cities.*

☐ *Hungarian consciousness has been continuously attacked by disseminating government propaganda about the history of Transylvania which radically augments the minor Rumanian contributions to culture and science and belittle Hungarian and German ones which had been the major cultural accomplishment of the area. Distorting history by practically eliminating the one thousand year Hungarian past of Transylvania and replacing it with a few years of Rumanian occupation not only insult all Hungarians in Rumania, but also degrades Rumanian historiography.*

Anti-Hungarian teachings in schools, and publications of anti-Hungarian books supported or even encouraged by the Rumanian government occurs in a crass repudiation and violation of the Rumanian constitution which forbids any expression of chauvinism. Hungarians who complain against these insults of their nation are punished. Rumanian perpetrators of nationalistic agitation go free.

☐ *House searches, confiscation of Hungarian books, arrests, police brutality, beatings, tortures causing even death, imprisonment without court order or judgement is the fate of many Hungarians in Transylvania whose only "crime" is to be Hungarian. A partial list of these unfortunate people which is included in one of the Hungarian-American memoranda to the conference, serves just as a reminder that violating of the most elemental human rights to be free, is the essence of governing in Rumania.*

Distinguished Delegate! Hungarians in Rumania and Czechoslovakia have lived in the last two decades under a steadily increasing governmental pressure to be eliminated as a nation by forcible assimilation into the Rumanian and Czechoslovakian majorities. If the civilized world does not stop the denationalizations process of over three million Hungarians in both countries, it does not compel their governments to reopen Hungarian schools on all three levels of education, a new generation of Hungarian youth will be growing up which will not be able to master his or her own mothertongue and a large part of the nation will cease to exist as Hungarian in the not too distant future.

As the undernourished, hungry people of the world must have ardently wished that the World Conference on Hunger a few years ago stops their own hunger, so wish the suppressed people, the non-Rumanian and non-Slavic inhabitants of Rumania and Czechoslovakia that the World Conference on Human Rights in Ottawa, be the turning point for the better in their hopeless life as a national minority. They ask for your concerted efforts to demand respecting their human rights, the freedom of promoting their own culture, teaching their children in their Hungarian schools in their own mothertongue, freely using their motherlanguage in public, freedom of organizing themselves and protecting their national interests and being free to preserve their national identity and as well as their national regions as autonomous territories.

May God give you the insight, understanding and strength to recognize the problem of national minorities and act upon it with full resolution for significant improvement of their precarious fate now and in the future.

God bless you for your efforts in that direction.

Respectfully yours
Louis L. Lote
president, Committee of Transylvania, Inc.

P. S.: All radio and television broadcasts in Hungarian language are now discontinued in Rumania.

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TOILET PAPER FROM BIBLES

One of the greatest grievances of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania is that it cannot obtain Bibles and Hymnals. These two most important tools of religious life have been simply out of print for decades. The church officials could not obtain permission for their reprint from the Office of Church Affairs, the political arm of the Communist Regime, which supervises the life of the churches. Foreign visitors are thoroughly searched at the borders. The customary question of the border guards and custom officers is: "Do you have guns, drugs or Bibles?" The Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of the West through diplomatic channels have made it known to the Ceausescu Regime that according to the peace treaties after the Second World War, and according to the Helsinki Accords, it is under obligation to permit the reprint of Bibles and Hymnals. They made it clear also that if such reprints would be impossible due to lack of modern printing technology or lack of paper, they would be prepared to supply their Protestant brethren with Bibles and Hymnals.

Under Western pressure, the Ceausescu Regime gave permission to the World Reformed Alliance to send 20,000 Bibles to the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania. The leadership of the Alliance considered this a triumph of patient and persistent church diplomacy. The Rumanian Ambassador in his talks with United States Senators and Congressmen, especially before and during the debates concerning the renewal of the "most favored nation" status of his country, often pointed to the acceptance of 20,000 Hungarian Bibles as a sign of his regimes magnanimity toward the large Hungarian minority in Rumania.

However, the fate of the 20,000 Bibles was shrouded in mystery. The leadership of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Rumania, which was appointed by the Communist Administration and is completely subservient to it, could never give a proper account of their distribution. The congregations themselves never heard anything about their existence. Even if the Bibles had been completely distributed among the approximately 1,000,000 Hungarian Reformed Church members, only one out of 50 would have received a Bible. The great need for Bibles would not have been ameliorated.

After a long silence, the Bibles reappeared in Rumania in the form of toilet papers. The mystery of the Hungarian Bibles was finally revealed. It was observed in the regions with large Hungarian populations that the toilet papers, which were extremely scarce on the market, and for which people were standing in line for long hours, contained certain letters and even words. After careful examination, they noticed that the words and characters were strictly of Hungarian origin, and there were practically no Rumanian words or letters among them. It was also observed that such words, as "Esau," "Jeremiah," "God," "vers," reappeared with frequency, from which it was not difficult to see, that the toilet papers were produced out of Bibles.

The 20,000 Hungarian Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance were obviously sent to the paper-mill in Braila to be recycled for the manufacture of toilet papers. But, as it often happens in Communist Rumania, the pulp-mill did a rather shoddy job. The excellent quality of western bibliophile paper and print could not be recycled by the crude pulp-mill. Shreds of paper, with original words and letters, remained almost intact on the final toilet paper products.

From the rolls of toilet paper brought out of the West, it can be established that they were manufactured in the "Bistrita Prundul Birgaului" factory, located in "C.I.C.H. Braila I.H" industrial zone, under the series "ICA TIP II. Stas 9202 72", carrying the name "HIRTIE IGIENICA Tip. II." that means No. II type toilet paper, which was put on the market for 2.02 Lei. The rolls carry from one end to the other only Hungarian letters and characters, which, according to paper manufacturing experts, indicate that large volumes of Hungarian Bibles had to be used for this purpose. This was they way in which the fate of the 20,000 Hungarian Reformed Bibles sent by the World Reformed Alliance came to light.

The action of the Ceausescu Regime clearly reflects its contempt of religious life in general, and of the Hungarian Reformed minority in particular. There were many book burnings in history. However, such deliberately barbarian and cynical a deed which would use the Holy Scripture for the making of toilet papers is unique in human history.

Ceausescu's appetite for Hungarian Bibles must be on the increase. We received information from reliable sources that he ordered the confiscation of all Hungarian Bibles and religious literature from the homes of the Hungarian population in the district Moldavia, in which, even according to Rumanian statistics, there are still 120,000 Hungarian speaking individuals. One can assume that these Bibles and Prayer Books will also end up in the pulping-mill of Braila in order that they may reappear on the market place in the form of toilet papers.

Dr. Alexander Havadtöy

(On page 8 there are 16 sample words that were collected from the Hungarian Bible fragments on Rumanian toilet paper.)

COMMENTS
on the Rumanian "TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE"

In our view Rumania is a multinational country, with particular regard to Transylvania and other parts of Rumania which were detached from Hungary by the peace treaty of Trianon in 1919.

In Transylvania and attached areas, the non-Rumanian population amounts to an estimated 40% of the total population. Most of the non-Rumanian nationalities of the country have lived in Transylvania for many centuries in closed national territories, and some also scattered all over Transylvania. Hungarians started to settle the area over a thousand years ago, or even much earlier according to more recent findings. Saxons, invited by the Hungarian kings, have settled in Transylvania 800 years ago, Swabians were resettled in the Banat region after the Turkish retreat from Hungary 300 years ago to repopulate the land, replacing Hungarian mass casualties of the 150 years of resistance wars against the Turks.

The Rumanian statement inserted in the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE, notably that "the nationalities in Rumania do not form homogeneous groups in one region or the other" is as untrue as stating that no large number of Scottish people of the United Kingdom live in Scotland and most of them are scattered in all parts of the country.

The opposite is true, namely that Transylvania, like Switzerland, is the homeland of several nations which in the most part have lived as homogeneous nationality groups in closed national regions, or they have been the majority nationality in some other areas:

(1) The Székely Land (Szekler Land) is the south-eastern part of Transylvania comprising the present counties of Harghita, Covasna and Mures, where an estimated nine hundred thousand Hungarians have been living in homogeneously Hungarian cities and villages for at least 800 years or more. Part of that land, particularly the formerly pure Hungarian cities of Marosvásárhely (in Rumanian: Tirgu-Mures), Csikszereda (in Rumanian: Miercurea Ciuc), Sepsiszentgyörgy (in Rumanian: Sfintu Gheorghe) and others, are being forcibly Rumanianized by mass resettlement of ethnic Rumanians from the original Rumanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia.

There is little doubt in our mind that the forced Rumanianization of the Szekely Land will go on continuously and consistently with the final goal to beak up that still overwhelmingly Hungarian historical and cultural stronghold and to destroy that homogeneously Hungarian district of Rumania.

Even the Rumanian government recognized the Hungarianness of the Szekely Land when some two decades ago it established an autonomous Hungarian territory of it.

Thus denying by Rumanian officials, who prepared the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE, the existence of at least one strictly Hungarian homogeneous district which was recognized by their own government, seems utterly strange. One cannot help thinking of ignorance or intentional misrepresentation of facts, as the cause of this untrue statement.

(2) The partly flat, partly hilly region along the western border of Transylvania, an approximate 300 km long and an average of 20 km wide strip, had been overwhelmingly Hungarian populated. The area includes the cities of Szatmarnemeti (Satu Mare), Nagyvarad (Oradea) and Arad (Arad). The total Hungarian population of this area is about one million. It has been intensively Rumanianized so that the Hungarian homogeneity of the area may have been affected by the resettlement of Rumanians. The last census, however, is silent about the ethnic distribution of Rumania's population.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE stresses further that "there has never been national conflict in Rumania ... despite attempts in the reactionary political environment of the past which tried to sow discord and breed national isolation" because the non-Rumanian nationalities have not lived in homogeneous compacts and because the Rumanian population forms the majority.

This statement hardly has any connection with the nationalities. Rather it is an opportunity to recite the usual socialist slogans about the blessings of socialism which attribute all the national and nationality problems to the non-Communist prewar "reactionary" societies. This statement completely ignores the fact that Rumania's minority policies constantly create conflicts between the Rumanian and non-Rumanian segments of the population, and even between the governments of Rumania and Hungary. "Hungary's foreign minister, Mr. Peter Varkonyi, paid a hurried visit to Bucharest this week in an effort to cool his country's long-standing quarrel with Rumania over Transylvania. Tempers have been hotting up lately. The row centers on the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Rumania ..." (The Economist, January 26, 1985). "Of all the displaced minorities caused by the readjustment of Central Europe's frontiers after the First World War, non arouses more passions today than the fate of Transylvania's two million Hungarians .... Behind the Iron Curtain, the issue remains a thorn deeply embedded in Rumanian-Hungarian relations." (The London Times, November 19, 1984).

More communist slogans are enlisted to point out "equality in rights of all nationalities". Students of Rumanian political realities know well that the lofty ideas incorporated in the constitution are for display only to refer to when complaints against the actual minority policy require response on the part of the government. In practice the constitution is mostly disregarded by the Rumanian authorities and the violation of human rights has been going on in respect to the Rumanian people and more gravely to the non-Rumanian nationalities as a daily routine.

It is a well-known tactic of the Bucharest regime not only to deny any wrong doing vis-a-vis the nationalities and other human rights violations but using the opportunity of denying charges for propaganda purposes by making lofty statements on Rumania's treatment of minorities which are mostly untrue and often outright opposite of the truth.

Industrialization of Hungarian regions of Rumania has not been object of complaint by Hungarians. In that regard the complaints are directed to the fact that establishing new industries in Hungarian areas is followed by resettlement of ethnic Rumanians, opening Rumanian schools for a few Rumanian children, closing Hungarian schools for many Hungarian children, appointing Rumanians in leadership positions of the new plants, and squeezing out the Hungarian language from most part of the community.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE points out the increase in investments, new plants and apartment houses in the counties of Harghita, Covasna and Salaj and in the city of Satu Mare to prove that the Hungarian populated areas have been intensely developed in the last few years. We do not quarrel with their statistical figures but we do notice that the statement according to which "the nationalities in Rumania do not form homogeneous groups" now becomes invalid, because the authors of the TEXTE want to emphasize that the Hungarian counties are well mondernized. The counties of Harghita and Covasna are the heartland of the

Szekely Land. By this statement the authors get in contradiction with themselves. In order to prove that there are no "homogeneous" Hungarian regions, they simply deny their existence but when it comes to praising the government's policy of industrializing Hungarian populated districts, they list a large part of Szekely Land as a typical Hungarian homogeneous territory.

As to the "equal rights" of nationalities in the political life and administration, the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE states that nationalities, including Hungarians, are represented in the Grand National Assembly according to the proportion of their ethnic population. Again we do not quarrel with the statistical figures of the TEXTE but for full understanding an analysis of the figures is needed:

- The number of Hungarians in Rumania is estimated by foreign observers 2.5 million, i.e., 11.6% of the entire population, although the last Rumanian census (1977) claims only about 7.9%. It seems that the official figure is heavily understated. It is not known how this understatement comes about but certainly there are ways to bring it about. We know, for instance, that the "csango"-s, a Hungarian group of two to three hundred thousand, located on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains in the province of Moldavia are collectively counted at the census as Rumanians even if they declare themselves to be Hungarians. But not many dare to do so fearing retributions.

- Hungarian communist representatives, a small minority in the Grand National Assembly, dare not to speak up in the interest of the Hungarian community and thereby deviating from the official line. That would risk one's job and personal freedom. In the Rumanian political system decisions come from above, from the polit bureau and in many instances directly from President Ceausescu. The Assembly's task is to dutifully approve these decisions.

- In our opinion, Hungarians should have more to say about their interest right where they live and make up about one-third of the total population: in Transylvania.

As for the labor unions, participation of non-Rumanian workers does not help them in their problems as wages, working conditions and related issues, as it does not further the interest of the Rumanian workers either who unsuccessfully tried to establish their, independent union a few years ago.

Representation of Hungarians in the Supreme Council of Education and in the Council of Socialist Culture and Education does not necessarily mean that they have any influence to improve and promote Hungarian education and the school system. As we said, policies are decided by the polit bureau and President Ceausescu, who made himself famous in Hungarian educational matters having been in charge of forcibly dissolving the Hungarian University in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1958. (He was extremely effective, at the meeting called to proclaim the merger of the Hungarian Bolyai and the Rumanian Babes universities, he silenced Hungarian opposition, pushed through the merger, and drove two Hungarian professors into suicide.)

When Transylvania became a Rumanian provence at the peace treaty of Trianon in 1919, Hungarian education was well developed on all three levels. But instead of extending the scope of education to an increasing Hungarian student age population, the Hungarian school system had suffered a serious blow during the non-Communist years from 1920 to 1945. The post-war era - with the distinct exception of the era of minister/president Peter Groza - brought a gradual and consistent reduction of the Hungarian school system which is not mentioned in the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE.

If, at the TEXTE states, the number of Hungarian children in Hungarian kindergartens was 55,377 in 1983, it was 56,610 in 1982 according to Rumanian official sources. ("The Truth about the National Question in Romania", published in 1982 in Bucharest by Agerpress, the Rumanian news agency.) The same source reveals that 183,154 children attended Hungarian primary and secondary schools in 1982, but only 176,178 in 1983, i.e., 4% less than a year before. The TEXTE states that there were 1,193 schools all together for Hungarians in 1983, the above official Rumanian source knows about 2,754 Hungarian "units and departments" in 1982. It seems obvious that the two figures are not comparable data. For a true picture of Hungarian education in Transylvania it would be desirable to have a detailed status report of Hungarian schools to be prepared by Rumanian competent authorities which could also be used for on-the-spot verification.

Besides the declining trend of Hungarian schools in general, we know, for instance, that the Rumanianization of the last Hungarian high school in Transylvania started in the 1984/85 school year when five Rumanian classes were added to this 400 year-old Hungarian high school in Kolozsvár (Cluj). That was the first step and surely the last step will be the closing down of the last Hungarian classes of the school. That was the way how the many hundred years old Calvinist high school was closed in the same city.

The Babes-Bolyai University in Kolozsvar (Cluj) was established by the forcible merger of the Hungarian and Rumanian universities in 1958. Since the last few years the Hungarian section of the university was reduced to teaching Hungarian literature only in Hungarian language in spite of the Rumanian pledge at the time of the merger that two equally strong, Rumanian and Hungarian, sections will be maintained.

As to the usage of the mother tongue of the minorities, the facts contradict the statement of the TEXTE. The use of mother tongue is assured by the constitution but not in practice. It is not permitted, for instance, at any public places such as law courts, administrative offices, railway and bus depots, hotels and restaurants, and even on the streets. Hungarian-speaking people may be attacked by Rumanians for speaking Hungarian. The suppression of the Hungarian language went so far as to compel Hungarian doctors to speak Rumanian to their Hungarian patients.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE states the number of book titles and copies published in the Hungarian language in Rumania by the nationality publishing house "Kriterion" in 1983. But comparing these figures with the number of books published in Hungarian in 1981 shows a sharp decline. The "Kriterion" and some other publishers all together published 300 books in 3,400,000 copies in Hungarian in 1981 according to the above mentioned official Rumanian source, but only 212 titles in 2,796,000 copies in 1983. The drop is very significant: 29% in book titles and 18% in number of copies. The Hungarian book titles and copies represented only 4% of the total book publication in Rumania, in 1981 about half of what could be expected considering the official 7.9% ratio of the Hungarian population, and little more than one-third of the estimated 11.6%.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE states that 32 newspapers and periodicals were published in Rumania in Hungarian language in 82,298,954 copies in 1983. The official Rumanian report, "The Truth about the National Question in Romania" states that in 1981 one additional newspaper was published in 109,867,020 copies. The 25% drop in newspapers is an alarming decrease.

From these official statistical figures a radical blow emerges suffered by the Hungarian book publishing and press. If the trend does not change for the better, a catastrophic situation can be expected for the future of Hungarian literature, poetry and press, and for the Hungarian language in general.

The TEXTE states that "the cultural and artistic values of the nationalities are promoted by a complex system of art and cultural establishments such as theaters, culture houses, libraries and professional and amateur art assemblies". Out of the 148 theaters and "musical institutions" in entire Rumania, 10 are operating in the Hungarian language, 6.7% of the total. These are mostly theaters that existed already in the Hungarian era of Transylvania. But the control of the program policy of Hungarian theaters by Rumanian authorities greatly diminishes the cultural merits of these institutions. Performing of some Hungarian operas, for instance, are prohibited in the only Hungarian opera house in Kolozsvár (Cluj). Showing stage plays of Rumanian authors becomes a priority obligation of Hungarian theater directors.

Although restoration of some Hungarian castles and manor houses are reported in the TEXTE, uninhabited, the majority of these are left to the ravaging effect of the weather and lack of maintenance. The Hungarian cultural and ecclesiastical institutions, mentioned in the TEXTE, are all creations of the Hungarian era including the cathedrals of Kolozsvár (Cluj) and Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia).

"Manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism, reminiscent of the backward conceptions of the past, is disapproved by the Rumanian national policy of the state and is punishable by state law" - the TEXTE goes on. But the reality is exactly the opposite: anti-Hungarian teaching in schools, publications of anti-Hungarian books supported or even encouraged by the Rumanian government occur in crass repudiation of the Rumanian state law and constitution. The law against nationalism is cynically applied against Hungarians who speak up against curtailment of their cultural activity and against the Rumanian nationalistic insults of the Hungarian nation. Arrest, beatings at police headquarters, and imprisonments without court order are the usual fate of Hungarians, while the Rumanian perpetrators of nationalistic agitation go free.

A good example is the book, entitled "Cuvint despre Transilvania" (A word about Transylvania) which devotes a separate chapter to humiliate Hungarians and incite hate against them. The book was written by Ion Lancranjan, a friend of president Ceausescu and published in 1982 by the Rumanian Sport and Turism Department in the unusually high number of 50,000. What is this book, published by an official government agency in Bucharest, if not a low-minded and savage expression of state sponsored chauvinism at its worst?

In summing up our comments on the TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE our views are as follow:

(1) Denying the existence of the Szekely Land, as a homogeneously Hungarian territory is a new attempt of disseminating misinformation by Rumanian authorities, designed to mislead world opinion.

(2) While the TEXTE tries to make the reader believe that the condition under which Hungarians live is normal and that "persecution discrimination the goal of which is to destroy the Hungarian national identify are without any foundation", the true facts indicate that the Rumanian government entered a new phase of its Hungarian policies that could be best called "final solution". This policy is described by experts, and recently by western diplomats as "cultural genocide". ("At issue are Romania's attempts to assimilate the Hungarians within its borders, using measures that one Western diplomat here termed "cultural genocide". Romania limits contacts between its ethnic Hungarians and Hungarian citizens and has banned teaching and publishing in the Hungarian language." (The Citizen, Ottawa, April 25, 1985)

Statistical figures of the Rumanian government used in the TEXTE and compared with previous years' official data clearly show that Hungarian schooling, book and newspaper publishing are radically curtailed. The Hungarian school system is being dismantled, use of mother language in public is practically forbidden, Hungarian populated districts are being destroyed by systematic resettlements of ethnic Rumanians.

Adding to the gravity of these anti-Hungarian measures, the Rumanian government has embarked on a policy of isolating Transylvanian-Hungarians from the outside world, particularly from Hungary. This goal is served by the following practices:

a) limiting travel abroad for one in every other year,

b) confiscation of Hungarian-language publications at border crossings from visitors from Hungary and the West, as well as from Transylvanian-Hungarians returning from visits abroad,

c) restrictions on the opportunity for Hungarians to subscribe, at their own expense, to publications from Hungary, and obstacles set against the free flow of books, magazines and newspapers from Hungary,

d) limitation on the number of telephone calls allowed to points outside Rumania, (Presently, only one such telephone call is allowed every three months, and a drastic fine is imposed for any violation of this restriction.),

e) prohibition of the accommodation of foreign visitors at the homes of friends and all but the most immediate family members (spouse, child or parent). (It is primarily Hungarians who are affected by this restriction, because of the large number of relatives and friends living in neighboring Hungary.)

f) systematic house searches, harassments, beatings and the general intimidation of individuals who occupy any leadership positions in the cultural, educational, literary, religious and community life of the Hungarian minority,

g) detentions and beatings of those who meet with foreigners,

h) elimination of the Hungarian and German language radio and television programs, and the practice of forcing Hungarians in Western Transylvania to dismantle rooftop antennas capable of receiving broadcasts from Hungary,

i) a steady decline in admission of applicants to the Hungarian Theological Seminary in Kolozsvár (Cluj). Presently only a small percentage of the vacancies are filled at church congregations, and

j) studying abroad, a 400-year old Protestant tradition for theology students and clergymen, has become practically forbidden.

The TEXTE DOCUMENTAIRE is silent about these Rumanian measures which are important instruments applied in the denationalization process of Transylvania-Hungarians. These measures and the ones brought at the congress of the Rumanian Communist Party last year point to further and eventually more radical attacks against the national survival of the Hungarian population in Rumania. President Ceausescu, in his speech of last December 27, demands freedom from intervention by "parties or governments in other countries" in implementing his oppressive minority policies.

Committee of Transylvania, Inc.

The Coca-Cola Company
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANMARIE C. PRUTTING
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202-466-5310

July 30, 1985

Committee on Finance
219 Senate Dirksen Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

To Whom It May Concern:

Enclosed are letters in support of the extension of MFN status for Hungary, Romania and the People's Republic of China.

These are being submitted for the formal record, and attached are six copies of each original letter.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Jan Prutting

JCP/pl
Enclosures

The Coca-Cola Company
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DONALD R. KEOUGH
PRESIDENT
AND
CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GA 30301
404 898-2121

July 30, 1985

The Honorable John Danforth
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Trade
Committee on Finance
337 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Danforth:

As you are considering the extension of the President's waiver authority under Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, I would like to express my strong support for continuing the Most Favored Nation Tariff Treatment for Romania and Hungary.

The Coca-Cola Company sells Coca-Cola in both Hungary and Romania and recognizes the importance of this business to its overall operations. We value highly our business relationships and believe it is necessary to preserve the framework for this mutually beneficial trade which benefits not only my Company but the economic and political interests of the United States as well.

In 1984, the United States had a trade deficit of approximately $123 billion. This figure has almost doubled from only the previous year.

These figures show how important it is for the U.S. to emphasize international trade as a national economic priority. We need to try even harder to achieve a positive trade balance whereby we would also be creating more jobs for Americans. Denial of fair tariff practices at this time would have an adverse impact on the climate in which international trade can grow.

It is my strong belief that continuing fair trade practices with our bilateral trading partners will further benefit our trade with these countries.

I appreciate your continuing efforts to monitor these trade agreements to ensure that our country's best interests are served.

Sincerely,

Donald Keough

Donald R. Keough

DRK:pl